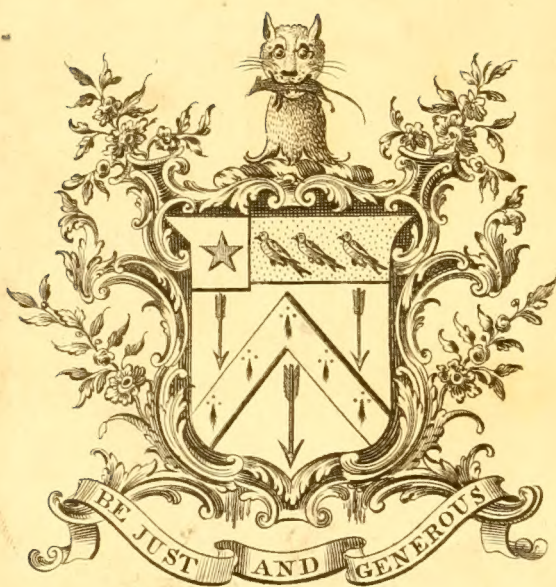




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THE HISTORY OF THE

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BETTER THE HISTORY OF THE
SEVERAL EXTRAORDINARY
BOOKS, SECT. PARTS, AND GLEANINGS

PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1700

THE
L I F E
O F
JOHN MILTON.

To THOMAS RAULINS of *Kilreag* in
Herefordshire, Esq;

I SEND You at length, my best Friend, what you have so often and earnestly sollicitated me to write, the Life of *JOHN MILTON*, a Man eminent at home and famous abroad for his universal Learning, Sagacity, and solid Judgment: but particularly noted as well for those excellent Volumes he wrote on the behalf of Civil, Religious, and Domestic Liberty; as for his divine and incomparable Poems, which, equalling the most beautiful Order and Expression of any antient or modern Compositions, are infinitely above them all for Sublimity and Invention. Observing in this performance the Rules of a faithful Historian, being neither provok'd by Malice, nor brib'd by Favor, and as well daring to say all that is true, as scorning to write any Falshood, I shall not conceal what may be thought against my Author's Honor, nor add the least word for his Reputation: but three things I would have you specially observe. First, I shall not be too minute in relating the ordinary Circumstances of his Life, and which are common to him with all other Men. Writings of this nature should in my opinion be design'd to recommend Virtue, and to expose Vice; or to illustrate History, and to preserve the memory of extraordinary things. That a Man, for example, was sick at such a time, or well at another, should never be mention'd; except in the Causes or Effects, Cure or Continuance, there happens something remarkable, and for the benefit of Mankind to know. I had not therefore related *Milton's* Headachs in his Youth, were it not for the influence which this Indisposition had afterwards on his Eys, and that his Blindness was rashly imputed by his Enemies to the avenging Judgment of God. Secondly, In the Characters of Sects and Parties, Books or Opinions, I shall produce his own words, as I find 'em in his Works; that those who approve his Reasons, may ow all the Obligation to himself, and that I may escape the blame of such as may dislike what he says. For it is commonly seen, that Historians are suspected rather to make their Hero what they would have him to be, than such as he really was; and that, as they are prompted by different Passions, they put those words in his mouth which they might not speak themselves without incurring som danger, and being accus'd perhaps of Flattery or Injustice: but I am neither writing a Satyr, nor a Panegyric upon *Milton*, but publishing the true History of his Actions, Works, and Opinions. In the third place, I would not have it expected that when I quote a few Verses or Passages in a different Language, I should always pretend to translate 'em, when the whole turn or fancy absolutely depends upon the force of the Original words; for the Ignorant could be nothing the wiser, and the best Translation would spoil their Beauty to the Learned. But this happens so rarely, and almost only during his Travels abroad, that it scarce deserv'd an Advertisement. The amplest part of my Materials I had from his own Books, where, constrain'd by the Diffamations of his Enemys, he often gives an account of himself. I learnt som Particulars from a Person that had bin once his Amanuensis, which were confirm'd to me by his Daughter now dwelling in *London*, and by a Letter written to one at
my

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my desire from his last Wife, who is still alive. I perus'd the Papers of one of his Nephews, learnt what I could in Discourse with the other; and lastly consulted such of his acquaintance, as, after the best inquiry, I was able to discover. Thus completely furnish'd, I undertook, most ingenious Sir, the following Work, as well to oblige you, as to inform Posterity; and perform'd what I knew would be acceptable to my Friend with as much pleasure as ever you perus'd our Author's excellent Sheets.

JOHAN MILTON, the Son likewise of *John Milton*, and *Sarah Caston*, a Woman exemplary for her Liberality to the Poor, was born in *London* in the Year of Christ 1606. a Gentleman by his Education and Family, being descended from the *Miltons* of *Milton* in *Oxfordshire*; tho if you consider him in his admirable Works or Genius, he was truly and eminently noble. But he had too much good Sense to value himself upon any other Qualities except those of his Mind, and which only he could properly call his own: for all external and adventitious Titles, as they may at the pleasure of a Tyrant, or by an unfortunat Attempt against his Government, be quite abolish'd; so we often find in hereditary Honors, that those Distinctions which the Brave and the Wise had justly obtain'd from their Country, descend indifferently to Cowards, Traytors, or Fools, and spoil the Industry of better Souls from endeavoring to equal or excede the Merits of their Ancestors. His Father was a polite Man, a great Master of Music, and by Profession a Scrivener, in which Calling, thro his Diligence and Honesty, he got a competent Estate in a small time: for he was disinherited by his bigotted Parents for imbracing the Protestant Religion, and abjuring the Popish Idolatry. He had two other Children, *Anna* marry'd to *Edward Philips*; and *Christopher* bred to the Common Law, who, more resembling his Grandfather than his Father or Brother, was of a very superstitious nature, and a man of no Parts or Ability. After the late Civil Wars, tho he was intirely addic'ted to the Royal Cause, no notice was taken of him, till the late King *James*, wanting a set of Judges that would declare his Will to be superior to our Legal Constitution, created him the same day a Serjeant and one of the Barons of the Exchequer, knighting him of course, and making him next one of the Judges of the Common Pleas: But he quickly had his *quietus est*, as his Master not long after was depos'd for his Maladministration by the People of *England*, represented in a Convention at *Westminster*. To return now to the Person who makes the Subject of this Discourse, *John Milton* was destin'd to be a Scholar; and partly under domestic Teachers (wherof one was *Thomas Young*, to whom the first of his familiar Letters is inscrib'd) and partly under Dr. *Gill*, the chief Master of *Paul's* School (to whom likewise the fifth of the same Letters is written) he made an incredible Progres in the knowlege of Words and Things, his Diligence and Inclination outstripping the care of his Instructors. After the twelfth Year of his Age, such was his insatiable thirst for Learning, he seldom went to bed before midnight. This was the first undoing of his Eys, to whose natural debility were added frequent Headachs, which could not retard or extinguish his laudable Passion for Letters. Being thus initiated in several Tongues, and having not slightly tasted the inexpressible Sweets of Philosophy, he was sent at 15 to *Christ's* Colledge in *Cambridge* to pursue more arduous and solid Studies. This same Year he gave several Proofs of his early Genius for Poetry, wherin he afterwards succeeded so happily, that to all Ages he'l continue no less the Ornament and Glory of *England*, than *Homer* is own'd to be that of *Greece*, and *Virgil* of *Italy*. He first translated some Psalms into English Verse, wherof the 114th begins in this manner.

When the blest Seed of *Terah's* faithful Son,
After long toil their Liberty had won,
And past from *Pharian* Fields to *Canaan* Land,
Led by the strength of the Almighty's Hand;
Jehovah's Wonders were in *Israel* shown,
His Praise and Glory was in *Israel* known.

In his seventeenth Year he wrote a handsom Copy of English Verses on the Death of a Sister's Child that dy'd of a Cough; and the same Year a Latin Elegy on the Death of the Bishop of *Winchester*, with another on that of *Ely*. 'Twas then also that he compos'd his fine Poem on the Gunpowder-Treason; concerning all which and the rest of his Juvenil pieces, the judicious *Morhof*, in his *Polyhistor Literarius*, says, that *Milton's* Writings shew him to have bin a Man in his very Childhood;

and

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and that these Poems are exceedingly above the ordinary Capacity of that Age. He continu'd in *Cambridg* seven years, where he liv'd with great Reputation, and generally belov'd, till taking the degree of Master of Arts, and performing his Exercises with much applause, he left the University; for he aim'd at none of those Professions that require a longer stay in that place. Som of his Academic Performances are still extant among his occasional Poems, and at the end of his familiar Letters. The five succeeding years he liv'd with his Father in his Country Retirement at *Horton* near *Colebrook* in *Barkshire*, where at full leisure he perus'd all the *Greek* and *Latin* Writers; but was not so much in love with his Solitude, as not to make an excursion now and then to *London*, somtimes to buy Books, or to meet Friends from *Cambridg*; and at other times to learn som new thing in the Mathematics or in Music, with which he was extraordinarily delighted. It was about this time he wrote from *London* a Latin Elegy to his intimat Friend *Charles Diodati*, wherein som Verses reflecting on the University, and preferring the Pleasures of the Town, gave a handle afterwards to certain Persons no less ignorant than malicious to report that either he was expel'd for som Misdemeanor from *Cambridg*, or left it in discontent that he obtain'd no Preferment: and that at *London* he spent his time with leud Women, or at Playhouses. But the falsity of this story we shall in due place demonstrat, and in the mean time insert those lines for the satisfaction of the curious.

*Me tenet urbs reflua quam Thamesis alluit unda,
 Meque nec invitum patria dulcis habet.
 Jam nec arundiferum mihi cura reviviscere Camum,
 Nec dudum vetiti me laris angit amor.
 Nuda nec arva placent, umbrasque negantia molles;
 Quem malè Phœbicolis convenit ille locus!
 Nec duri libet usque minas perferre Magistri,
 Cæteraque ingenio non subeunda meo.
 Si sit hoc exilium patrios adisse penates,
 Et vacuum curis otia grata sequi,
 Non ego vel profugi nomen, sortemve recuso,
 Latus & exilii conditione fruor.
 O utinam vates nunquam graviora tulisset
 Ille Tomitano flebilis exul agro;
 Non tunc Ionio quicquam cessisset Homero,
 Neque foret victo laus tibi prima, Maro.
 Tempora nam licet hic placidis dare libera Musis,
 Et totum rapiunt me mea vita libri.
 Excipit hinc fessum sinuosi pompa Theatri,
 Et vocat ad plausus garrula scena suos.*

Et paulo post :

*Sed neque sub tecto semper, nec in urbe, latemus,
 Irrita nec nobis tempora veris eunt.
 Nos quoque lucus habet vicino confitus ulmo,
 Atque suburbani nobilis umbra loci.
 Sæpius hic blandas spirantia Sydera flammæ
 Virgineos videas præterisse Choros.*

He wrote another Latin Elegy to *Charles Diodati*; and in his twentieth year he made one on the approach of the Spring: but the following year he describes his falling in love with a Lady (whom he accidentally met, and never afterwards saw) in such tender Expressions, with those lively Passions, and Images so natural, that you would think Love himself had directed his Pen, or inspir'd your own Breast when you peruse them. We shall see him now appear in a more serious Scene, tho yet a Child in comparison of the Figure he afterwards made in the World. The Death of his Mother happening likewise about this time facilitated his design, which was with his Father's leave to travel into foren Regions, being persuaded that he could not better discern the Preeminence or Defects of his own Country, than by observing the Customs and Institutions of others; and that the study of never so many Books, without the advantages of Conversation, serves only to render a Man either a stupid Fool, or an insufferable

Pedant.

Pedant. First therefore he proceeds to *France* with one Servant, and no Tutor: for such as still need a Pedagog are not fit to go abroad; and those who are able to make a right use of their Travels, ought to be the free Masters of their own Actions, their good Qualifications being sufficient to introduce 'em into all places, and to present 'em to the most deserving Persons. He had an elegant Letter of Direction and Advice from the famous Sir *Henry Wotton*, who was a long time Ambassador from King *James* the First to the Republic of *Venice*. Being arriv'd at *Paris*, he was most kindly receiv'd by the *English* Ambassador, who recommended him to the famous *Grotius*, then Ambassador also from Queen *Christina* of *Sweden*, at the French Court: for we may easily imagin that *Milton* was not a little desirous to be known to the first Person then in the World for reading and latitude of Judgment, to speak nothing of his other meritorious Characters. From hence he parted for *Italy*, where after passing thro several noted Places, he came at length to *Florence*; a City for the Politeness of the Language, and the Civility of the Inhabitants, he always infinitely admir'd. In this place he staid about two months, and was daily assisting at those learned Conferences which they hold in their privat Academys, according to the laudable Custom of *Italy*, both for the improvement of Letters, and the begetting or maintaining of Friendship. During this time he contracted an intimat Acquaintance with several ingenious Men, most of which have since made a noise in the World, and deserve a mention in this place: I mean *Gaddi*, *Dati*, *Frescobaldo*, *Francini*, *Bonmattei*, *Coltellino*, *Chimentelli*, and several others. With these he kept a constant Correspondence, particularly with *Carolo Dati*, a Nobleman of *Florence*, to whom he wrote the tenth of his Familiar Epistles, and who gave him the following Testimonial of his Esteem.

*Joanni Miltoni Londinensi,
Juveni patria & virtutibus eximio.*

VIRO qui multa peregrinatione, studio cuncta orbis terrarum perspexit, ut novus *Ulysses* omnia ubique ab omnibus apprehenderet. Polyglotto, in cujus ore lingue jam deperditæ sic reviviscunt, ut idiomata omnia sint in ejus laudibus infacunda; & jure ea percallet, ut admirationes & plausus populorum ab propria sapientia excitatos, intelligat. Illi, cujus animi dotes corporisque sensus ad admirationem commovent, & per ipsam motum cuique auferunt; cujus opera ad plausus hortantur, sed venustate vocem auditoribus adimunt. Cui in memoria totus orbis: in intellectu sapientia: in voluntate ardor gloriæ: in ore eloquentia. Harmonicos cælestium Sphærarum sonitus, *Astronomia* duce, audienti; characteres mirabilium naturæ, per quos *Dei* magnitudo describitur, magistra *Philosophia* legenti; antiquitatum latebras, vetustatis excidia, eruditionis Ambages, comite assidua autorum lectione, exquirenti, restauranti, percurrenti. At cur nitor in arduum? Illi in cujus virtutibus evulgandis ora famæ non sufficiant, nec hominum stupor in laudandis satis est, reverentiæ & amoris ergo hoc ejus meritis debitum admirationis tributum offert

Carolus Datus Patricius Florentinus,

Tanto homini Servus, tantæ virtutis Amator.

I don't think the Italian Flourishes were ever carry'd further than in this Elogy, which notwithstanding is sincere, and pen'd by an honest Man. *Francini* is not less liberal of his Praises in the long Italian Ode he compos'd in his Honor, which because it dos Justice to the English Nation, and foretold the future Greatness of *Milton*, I have annex'd to this Discourse. That he corresponded afterwards with *Bonmattei*, appears from the eighth of his familiar Letters, which he wrote to him on his design of publishing an *Italian* Grammar, and is not more elegant than pertinent. But he attain'd that perfection himself in the *Italian* Language, as to make som Songs on a real or feign'd Mistress, in one of which he gives a handsom account of his writing in this Tongue.

*Qual in colle aspro, al imbrunir di sera,
L'avezza giovinetta pastorella
Va bagnando L'herbetta strana e bella,
Che mal si spande a disusata spera
Fuor di sua natia alma prima vera:
Così amor meco insu la lingua snella
Desta il fior nuovo di strania favella;
Mentre io di te, vezzozamente altera,*

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*Canto dal mio buon popol non inteso,
E' bel Tamigi cangio col bel arno :
Amor lo volse, ed io a l'altrui peso ;
Seppi ch'amor cosa mai volse indarno.
Deh ! fofs' il mio cuor lento, e' l duro seno
A chi pianta dal ciel si buon terreno.*

From his beloved *Florence* he took his Journy next to *Rome*, where he stay'd two other Months to see the miserable Remains of that famous City, once the glorious Mistress of the World, and deservedly so, as being then not only the fairest thing under Heaven ; but that, till the Ambition of a few Persons corrupted her equal Government, she extended Liberty and Learning as far as the Glory of her Name, or the Terror of her Arms. Here, no doubt, all the Examples he had hitherto read of the Virtue, Eloquence, Wisdom, or Valor of her antient Citizens, occur'd to his mind, and could not but oppress with grief his generous Soul, when with his own eys he saw *Rome* now the chief Seat of the most exquisit Tyranny exercis'd by effeminat Priests, not reigning in the World thro any conceiv'd opinion of their Justice, or dread of their Courage ; for to these Qualities they are known and sworn Enemys : but deluding men with unaccountable Fables, and disarming 'em by imaginary Fears, they fill their heads first with Superstition, and then their own Pockets with their Mony. Here he became acquainted with the celebrated *Lucas Holstenius* the *Vatican* Librarian, who us'd him with great Humanity, and readily shew'd him al the *Greec* Authors, whether publish'd or otherwise, that past his Care and Emendations : He also presented him to Cardinal *Barberini*, who at an entertainment of Music, perform'd at his own expence, look'd for him in the Croud, and gave him a kind Invitation. To thank *Holstenius* for all these Favors, *Milton* wrote afterwards from *Florence* the ninth of his Familiar Letters. At *Rome* he likewise commenc'd a Friendship with the Poet *Giovanni Salsilli*, who in the following Tetraistich extols him for writing so correctly in Latin, Greec, and Italian.

*Cede Meles, cedat depressa Mincius urna,
Sebetus Tassum desinat usque loqui :
At Thamesis victor cunctis ferat altior undas,
Nam per te, Milto, par tribus unus erit.*

Milton in return sent to *Salsilli*, shortly after lying sick, those fine Scazons, which may be read among his Juvenil Poems. And here too did *Selvaggi* adorn him with this Distich.

*Græcia Mæonidem, jactet sibi Roma Maronem :
Anglia Miltonum jactat utrique parem.*

Having departed from *Rome* to *Naples*, he was introduc'd by his Fellow-Traveller to *Giovanni Battista Manso*, Marquis of *Villa*, a Person most nobly descended, of great Authority, renown'd for his military Archievements, and a Patron of learned Men. To him the famous *Tasso* inscrib'd his Poem of Friendship, and makes honorable mention of him among the Princes of *Campania* in the twentieth Book of his *Gierusalemme Conquistata*. He went himself to shew him all the remarkable Places of that City, visited him often at his Lodging, and made this Distich in his Commendation, which he address'es to himself.

*Ut mens, forma, decor, facies, mos ; si pietas sic,
Non Anglus, verum Herclè Angelus ipse fores.*

This exception of his Piety relates to his being a Protestant ; and the Marquis told him, he would have don him several other good Offices, had he bin more reserv'd in matters of Religion. But our Author out of Gratitude for all these singular Favors from one of his high Quality, presented him at his departure with an incomparable Latin Eclog, entitul'd *Mansus*, which is extant among his occasional pieces : And that I may mention it by the way, I don't question but it was from *Manso's* Conversation and their Discourses about *Tasso*, that he first form'd his design of writing an Epic Poem, tho he was not so soon determin'd about the Subject.

He was now preparing to pass over into *Sicily* and *Greece*, when he was recal'd by the sad News of a Civil War beginning in *England* ; esteeming it an unworthy thing

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thing for him securely to be diverting himself abroad, when his Countrymen were contending at home for their Liberty. Intending therefore to return to *Rome*, he was advis'd by som Merchants to the contrary; for they had learnt from their Correspondents, that the English Jesuits were framing Plots against him by reason of the great Freedom he us'd in his Discourses of Religion. Notwithstanding, having resolv'd not to begin any Disputes, but, being ask'd, not to dissemble his Sentiments whatever might ensue, he went the second time to *Rome*, and stay'd there two months longer, neither concealing his Name, nor declining openly to defend the Truth under the Pope's nose, when any thought fit to attack him: yet he return'd safe to his learned and affectionat Friends in *Florence*. I forgot al this while to mention that he paid a Visit to *Galileo*, then an old man, and a Prisoner to the Inquisition for thinking otherwise in Astronomy than pleas'd the Franciscan Friers. He tarry'd two other months in *Florence*, and having seen *Lucca*, *Bononia*, *Ferrara*, he arriv'd in *Venice*. After spending one month here, and shipping off all the Books he collected in his Travels, he came thro *Verona*, *Milan*, cross the *Alps*, and along the Lake *Lemanno* to *Geneva*, where he contracted an intimat Familiarity with *Giovanni Liodati*, a noted Professor of Divinity, and was known to several others, particularly to the celebrated Critic and Antiquary *Ezechieel Spanhemius* now alive, to whom he wrote the 17th of his Familiar Letters, and who, together with *Calandrini*, and som more of that City, sent him intelligence afterwards concerning his Antagonist *Morus*, wherof in due order. So leaving this place, and passing back again thro *France*, he did after one year and three month's Peregrination return safe into *England*, much about the same time that King *Charles* the First made his second unsuccessful Expedition against the *Scots*. As soon as the Complements of Friends or Acquaintance were over, he hir'd a handsom Lodging in the City, to be a retreat for himself and his Books in such uncertain and troublesom times. But he continu'd a long while inconsolable for the loss of his dearest Friend and Schoolfellow *Charles Diodati*, mention'd before, who dy'd in his absence. He was from *Lucca* originally, but an Englishman born, a Student in Physic, and an excellent Scholar, as I have good reasons to believe, and appears by two Greec Letters of his to *Milton*, very handsomly written, and which I have now in my hands. Our Author in mournful Notes bitterly laments the immature fate of this young Gentleman, whom he denotes by the appellation of *Damon* in an Eclog nothing inferior to the *Maronian Daphnis*, and which is to be still seen among his Latin Miscellanies. By this piece we plainly find that he had already conceiv'd the Plan of an Epic Poem, wherof he then design'd the Subject should be the warlike Actions of the old British Heroes, and particularly of King *Arthur*, as he declares himself in these Verses.

*Ipse ego Dardanias Rutupina per æquora puppes
Dicam, & Pandrasidos regnum vetus Inogeniæ,
Brennumque, Arviragumque Duces, priscumque Belinum,
Et tandem Armoricos Britonum sub lege Colonos;
Tum gravidam Arturo fatali fraude Iögernem,
Mendaces vultus assumtaque Gorlois arma,
Merlini Dolus.*

But this particular Subject was reserv'd for the celebrated Pen of Sir *Richard Blackmore*. Som few lines after he declares his Ambition of performing somthing in his native Language that might perpetuat his Name in these Ilands, tho he should be the more obscure and inglorious by it to the rest of the World. His words, because they are wonderfully fine, I shall here insert.

————— *Mibi satis ampla*
*Merces, & mihi grande decus (sim ignotus in ævum
Tum licet, externo penitusque inglorius orbi)
Si me flava comas legat Usa, & pотор Alauni,
Vorticibusque frequens Abra, & nemus omne Treantæ,
Et Thamesis meus ante omnes, & fusca metallis
Tamara, & extremis me discant Orcades undis.*

I said above that it was by his Conversation with the Marquis of *Villa*, who so nobly honor'd the immortal Memory of *Tasso*, that our *Milton* form'd his vast design. That this was not a mere Conjecture, and that King *Arthur* also was to be the Hero of that piece, let but these Verses of his *Mansus* be consider'd.

*O mihi si mea fors talem concedat amicum
Phææos decorasse viros qui tam bene norit,
Siquando indigenas revocabo in carmina reges,
Arturumque etiam sub Terris bella moventem;
Aut dicam invictæ sociali fœdere mensæ
Magnanimos Heroes, & (O modo spiritus adsit)
Frangam Saxonicas Britonum sub Marte Phalanges.*

But to return to his Lodgings, where we left him, there, both to be eas'd in the reading of the best Authors, and to discharge his Duty to his Sister's Sons that were partly committed to his Tuition, he undertook the care of their Education, and instructed them himself in Latin, Grec, Hebrew and other Oriental Dialects; likewise in several parts of the Mathematics, in Cosmography, History, and some modern Languages, as French and Italian. Some Gentlemen of his intimate Friends, and to whom he could deny nothing, prevail'd with him to impart the same benefits of Learning to their Sons, specially since the trouble was no more with many than a few. He that well knew the greatest Persons in all ages to have bin delighted with teaching others the Principles of Knowledge and Virtue, easily comply'd; nor was his Success unanswerable to the opinion which was generally entertain'd of his Capacity. And not content to acquaint his Disciples with those Books that are commonly read in the Schools, wherof several, no doubt, are excellent in their kind, tho others are as trivial or impertinent; he made them likewise read in Latin the antient Authors concerning Husbandry, as *Cato*, *Varro*, *Columnella*, and *Palladius*; also *Cornelius Celsus* the Physician, *Pliny's* Natural History, the Architecture of *Vitruvius*, the Stratagems of *Frontinus*, and the Philosophical Poets *Lucretius* and *Manilius*. To the usual Grec Books, as *Homer* and *Hesiod*, he added *Aratus*, *Dionysius Periegetes*, *Oppian*, *Quintus Calaber*, *Apollonius Rhodius*, *Plutarch*, *Xenophon*, *Ælianus* Tactics, and the Stratagems of *Polyanus*. It was this greatest sign of a good Man in him, and the highest Obligation he could lay on his Friends, without any sordid or mercenary purposes, that gave occasion to his Adversaries with opprobriously terming him a Schoolmaster; tho were this charge as true as it is utterly false, I see not how it should any way tend to his Dishonor, if he had bin necessitated to such a laborious occupation for his living, and discharg'd it with due Honesty and Care. But what's very remarkable is, that the most forward to reproach him in this manner were themselves mean Tutors in the University, and the greatest of 'em only a Professor, which are but nominally distinguishable from Schoolmasters.

He tells us himself in his second Defence, " That on his return from Travelling
" he found all mouths open against the Bishops, som complaining of their Vices,
" and others quarrelling at the very Order; and that thinking from such beginnings
" a way might be open'd to true Liberty, he heartily engag'd in the Dispute, as
" well to rescue his Fellow-Citizens from Slavery, as to help the Puritan Ministers,
" who were inferior to the Bishops in Learning. He first of all therfore in the
year 1641. publish'd two Books of *Reformation*, dedicated to a Friend. In the
first of these he shews, by orderly steps, from *Henry* the Eighth's Reign, what were
all along the real impediments in this Kingdom to a perfect Reformation, which in
general he reduces to two heads, that is, our retaining of Ceremonies, and confin-
ing the Power of Ordination to Diocesan Bishops exclusively of the People.
" Our Ceremonies, he says, are senseless in themselves, and serve for nothing but
" either to facilitate our return to Popery; or to hide the defects of better Know-
" lege, and to set off the Pomp of Prelacy. As for the Bishops, many of whom
he denys not to have bin good Men, tho not infallible, nor above all human Frail-
ties, he affirms, " that at the beginning, tho they had renounc'd the Pope, they
" hug'd the Popedom, and shar'd the Authority among themselves. In King
Edward the Sixth's time, he affirms, " they were with their prostitute Gravities
" the common Scales to countenance every politic fetch that was then on foot. If
" a Toleration for Mafs were to be beg'd of the King for his Sister *Mary*, left
" *Charles* the Fifth should be angry; who but the grave Prelats, *Cranmer* and *Rid-*
" *ley*, should be sent to extort it from the young King? When the Lord *Sudley*,
" Admiral of *England*, and the Protector's Brother, was wrongfully to lose his
" Life, no man could be found fitter than *Latimer* to divulge in his Sermon the
" forg'd Accusations laid to his charge, therby to defame him with the People.
" *Cranmer*, one of King *Henry's* Executors, and the other Bishops, did, to gratify
" the

“ the Ambition of a Traytor, consent to exclude from the Succession, not only
 “ *Mary* the Papist, but also *Elizabeth* the Protestant, tho before declar’d by them-
 “ selves the lawful Issue of their late Master. In Queen *Elizabeth*’s Reign he im-
 puts the Obstructions of a further Reformation still to the Bishops, and then pro-
 ceedes from Antiquity to prove that all Ecclesiastical Elections belong’d to the Peo-
 ple; but that if those Ages had favor’d Episcopacy, we should not be much con-
 cern’d, since the best times were spreadingly infected, the best Men of those times
 foully tainted, and the best Writings of those Men dangerously adulterated; which
 Propositions he labors to prove at large. In the second Book he continues his
 Discourse of Prelatical Episcopacy, displays the Politics of the same; which,
 according to him, are always opposit to Liberty: he deduces the History of it
 down from its remotest Original, and shews, “ that in *England* particularly it is
 so far from being, as they commonly allege, the only Form of Church-Disci-
 plin agreeable to Monarchy, that the mortallest Diseases and Convulsions of
 the Government did ever procede from the Craft of the Prelats, or was occa-
 sion’d by their Pride. Then he encourages the *English* and *Scots* to pursue
 their begun Contest for Liberty by this Exhortation. “ Go on both, hand in
 “ hand, O Nations, never to be disunited. Be the Praise and the heroic Song of
 “ all Posterity. Merit this; but seek only Virtue, not to extend your limits:
 “ for what need you win a fading triumphant Laurel out of the Tears of wretched
 “ Men; but to settle the pure Worship of God in his Church, and Justice in the
 “ State? Then shall the hardest Difficulties smoothe out themselves before you;
 “ Envy shall sink to Hell, Craft and Malice be confounded, whether it be home-
 “ bred Mischief, or outlandish Cunning: Yea other Nations will then covet to
 “ serve you; for Lordship and Victory are but the Pages of Justice and Virtue.
 “ Commit securely to true Wisdom the vanquishing and uncasing of Craft and
 “ Subtilty, which are but her two Runnagates. Join your invincible Might to do
 “ worthy and Godlike Deeds; and then he that seeks to break your Union, a
 “ cleaving Curse be his Inheritance to all Generations.

After this, certain Ministers having written a Treatise against Episcopacy, the
 Title *Smeetyminus* consisting of the initial Letters of their Names, and a Bishop
 of no small Authority having bestow’d an Answer upon it, *Milton*, to use his own
 words, supposing himself not less able to write for Truth, than others for their
 Profit or unjust Power, publish’d his piece of *Prelatical Episcopacy*. In this Book
 he proves against the famous *Usher* (for he would not readily ingage a meaner Ad-
 versary) that Diocesan Episcopacy, or a superior Order to the common Ministry,
 cannot be deduc’d from the Apostolical times by the force of such Testimonies as
 are alleg’d to that purpose. Now *Usher*’s chief Talent lying in much reading, and
 being a great Editor and Admirer of old Writings, *Milton* shews the Insufficiency,
 Inconveniency and Impiety of this method to establish any part of Christianity;
 and blames those Persons who cannot think any Doubt resolv’d, or any Doctrin
 confirm’d, unless they run to that indigested heap and fry of Authors which they
 call Antiquity. “ Whatsoever either Time (says he) or the heedless hand of
 “ blind Chance, has drawn down to this present in her huge Dragnet, whether
 “ Fish or Seaweed, Shells or Shrubs, unpick’d, unchosen, those are the Fathers.
 And so he chides the good Bishop for divulging useles Treatises, stuff with the spe-
 cious Names of *Ignatius* and *Polycarpus*, with Fragments of old Martyrologies and
 Legends, to distract and stagger the multitude of credulous Readers.

His next performance was the *Reason of Church-Government urg’d against Pre-
 lacy*, in two Books, principally intended against the same *Usher*’s account of the
 Original of Episcopacy. The Eloquence is masculin, the Method is natural, the
 Sentiments are free, and the whole (God knows) appears to have a very different
 force from what the Nonconformist Divines wrote in those days, or since that
 time, on the same Subject. In the beginning of the second Book he mentions his
 design of writing an Epic Poem, but continues still unresolv’d, whether his Hero
 should be som Prince before the Conquest, or the Argument be borrow’d from
 the Scripture or the antient Heathen History. But because the account he gives of
 what the Poet should prepoze by such a work is exactly just, and withal so properly
 exprest, I shall not grudge to transcribe it in this place. “ These Abilities (says he,
 “ speaking of Invention and Composition) whersoever they be found, are the in-
 “ spir’d Gift of God; rarely bestow’d, but yet to som (tho most abuse them)
 “ in every Nation: and are of power to breed and cherish in a great People the
 “ Seeds of Virtue and public Civility, to allay the Perturbations of the Mind,
 “ and set the Affections in a right tune;— or lastly, whatsoever is in Religion holy
 “ and

“ and sublime, in Virtue amiable or grave, whatsoever has Passion or Admiration
 “ in all the changes of that which is call'd Fortune from without, or the wily Sub-
 “ tilities and Reflexes of Mans Thoughts from within, all these things with a solid
 “ and treatable Smoothness to paint out and describe. Teaching over the whole
 “ Book of Sanctity and Virtue, thro all the instances of Example, and with such
 “ delight, to those especially of a soft and delicious temper (who will not so
 “ much as look upon Truth her self, unless they see her elegantly dress'd) that
 “ whereas the Paths of Honesty and good Life appear now rugged and difficult,
 “ tho they be indeed easy and pleasant; they would then appear to all Men both
 “ easy and pleasant, tho they were rugged and difficult indeed. And what a Be-
 “ nefit this would be to our Youth and Gentry, may be soon guess'd by what we
 “ know of the Corruption and Bane which they suck in daily from the Writings
 “ and Interludes of libidinous and ignorant Poetasters; who having scarce ever
 “ heard of that which is the main consistence of a true Poem, the choice of such
 “ Persons as they ought to introduce, and what is moral and decent to each one,
 “ do for the most part lap up vitious Principles in sweet Pills to be swallow'd
 “ down, and make the taste of virtuous Documents harsh and sour. But because
 “ the Spirit of Man cannot demean it self lively in this Body without som re-
 “ creating intermission of labor and serious things, it were happy for the Com-
 “ monwealth if our Magistrats, as in those famous Governments of old, would
 “ take into their care not only the deciding of our contentious Law-cases or
 “ Brauls, but the managing of our public Sports and festival Pastimes; that they
 “ might not be such as were authoriz'd a while since, the Provocations of Drun-
 “ kennes and Lust, but such as may inure and harden our Bodies by martial Exer-
 “ cises to all warlike Skill and Performances; and may civilize, adorn, and make
 “ discrete our Minds by the learned and affable meeting of frequent Academies,
 “ and the procurement of wise and artful Recitations, sweeten'd with eloquent
 “ and graceful Enticements to the love and practice of Justice, Temperance and
 “ Fortitude, instructing and bettering the Nation at all opportunities, that the voice
 “ of Wisdom and Virtue may be heard every where. Whether this may not be
 “ don, not only in Pulpits, but after another persuasive method, at set and so-
 “ lemn Paneguries, in Theaters, Porticos, or what other place or way may win
 “ most upon the People to receive at once both Recreation and Instruction, let
 “ them in Authority consult.

Another eminent Bishop having written against *Smectymnus*, our Author pub-
 lish'd *Animadversions* upon his Book; and to the Reasons alleg'd from Councils
 for substituting a constant form to occasional Prayers in public, he gives the fol-
 lowing Answer. “ Set the grave Councils, says he, upon their shelves again, and
 “ string them hard, lest their various and jangling opinions put their leaves into a
 “ flutter. I shall not intend this hot Season to lead you a course thro the wide and
 “ dusty Champain of the Councils; but shall take counsel of that which coun-
 “ sel'd them, Reason: And tho I know there is an obsolete Reprehension now at
 “ your Tongues end, yet I shall be bold to say, that Reason is the Gift of God in
 “ one Man as well as in a thousand. By that which we have tasted already of
 “ their Cisterns, we may find that Reason was the only thing, and not any divine
 “ Command, that mov'd them to enjoin the set forms of a Liturgy. First, lest
 “ any thing in general might be mislaid in their public Prayers, thro ignorance or
 “ want of care, contrary to the Faith: And next, lest the *Arians* and *Pelagians*
 “ in particular should infect the People by their Hymns and Forms of Prayer.
 “ But by the good leave of these antient Fathers, this was no solid prevention of
 “ spreading Heresy, to debar the Ministers of God the use of their noblest Talent,
 “ Prayer in the Congregation; unless they had forbid the use of all Sermons and
 “ Lectures too, but such as were ready made to their hands like our Homilies: or
 “ else he that was heretically dispos'd had as fair an opportunity of infecting in his
 “ Discourse, as in his Prayer or Hymn. As insufficiently, and, to say truth, as
 “ imprudently did they provide by their contriv'd Liturgies, lest any thing should
 “ be pray'd thro ignorance or want of care in the Ministers: for if they were care-
 “ less and ignorant in their Prayers, certainly they would be more careless in their
 “ preaching, and still more careless in watching over their Flock; and what pre-
 “ scription could reach to bound them in both these? What if Reason, now il-
 “ lustrated by the Word of God, shall be able to produce a better Prevention than
 “ these Councils have left us against Heresy, Ignorance, or want of care in the
 “ Ministry, to wit. that such Wisdom and Diligence be us'd in the Education of
 “ those that would be Ministers, and such a strict and serious Examination to be
 “ under-

“ undergon before their admission, as *St. Paul* to *Timothy* sets down at large; and
 “ then they need not carry such an unworthy suspicion over the Preachers of God’s
 “ Word, as to tutor their Unsoundness with the a, b, c, of a Liturgy, or to
 “ diet their Ignorance and want of Care with the limited draught of a Mattin and
 “ Even-song drench. What his opinion was of the Fathers he further declares when
 “ he calls them those more antient than trusty Fathers, whom Custom and fond
 “ Opinion, weak Principles, and the neglect of sounder Knowledge, has exalted
 “ so high, as to have gain’d them a blind Reverence; whose Books, in bigness
 “ and number endless and immeasurable, I cannot think that either God or Na-
 “ ture, either divine or human Wisdom, did ever mean should be a Rule or Reli-
 “ ance to us in the decision of any weighty and positive Doctrins: for certainly
 “ every Rule and Instrument of necessary Knowledge that God has given us, ought
 “ to be so in proportion as may be wielded and manag’d by the Life of Man,
 “ without penning him up from the Duties of human Society.— But he that shall
 “ bind himself to make Antiquity his Rule, if he reads but part (besides the diffi-
 “ culty of choice) his Rule is deficient, and utterly unsatisfying; for there may
 “ be other Writers of another mind, which he has not seen: And if he under-
 “ takes all, the length of Man’s Life cannot extend to give him a full and requisit
 “ knowledge of what was don in Antiquity.— Go therefore, and use all your Art,
 “ apply your Sledges, your Leavers, and your iron Crows, to heave and hale
 “ your mighty *Polyphemus* of Antiquity to the delusion of Novices and unexpe-
 “ rienc’d Christians. The present Ecclesiastical Revenues, he says, were not at
 “ first the effects of just Policy or wholesom Laws, but of the superstitious Devo-
 “ tion of Princes and great Men that knew no better, or of the base importunity
 “ of begging Friars, haunting and harassing the Deathbeds of Men departing this
 “ Life in a blind and wretched condition of hope to merit Heaven for the building
 “ of Churches, Cloysters, and Convents; the black Revenues of Purgatory, the
 “ price of abus’d and murder’d Souls, the damn’d Simony of Trentals, and the
 “ hire of Indulgences to commit mortal Sin.

Milton’s next Book was his *Apology* against the Reverend Person who tax’d his
 Animadversions with being a scurrileous Libel. This Adversary, as it has always
 bin the custom of some People when they can neither answer well nor defend, had
 recourse to Defamation and personal Reflections, which, had they bin true, could
 not derogate from the force of his Arguments; but, being false, must be call’d by
 their true names of Lying and Slander. Our Author therefore intreats those who
 have found the leisure to read his name unworthily defam’d, that they would be so
 good and so patient as to hear the same Person not unneedfully defended. Being
 accus’d of having bin an inordinat and riotous Youth vomited out of the Univer-
 sity, he makes this reply: “ For this commodious Ly I thank him; for it has
 “ given me an apt occasion to acknowledge publicly with all grateful mind that
 “ more than ordinary Favor and Respect which I found above any of my Equals
 “ at the hands of those courteous and learned Men, the Fellows of that College
 “ wherein I spent som years: who at my parting, after having taken two Degrees
 “ (as the manner is) signify’d many ways how much better it would content them
 “ that I should stay, as by many Letters full of Kindness and loving Respect, both
 “ before that time and long after, I was assur’d of their singular good Affection to-
 “ wards me. Which being likewise propense to all such as were for their studious
 “ and civil Life worthy of Esteem, I could not wrong their Judgments and upright
 “ Intentions so much as to think I had that regard from them for any other cause
 “ than that I might be still encourag’d to procede in the honest and laudable
 “ Course, of which they apprehended I had given good proof.—As for the com-
 “ mon Approbation or Dislike of that place, as now it is, that I should esteem or
 “ disesteem my self or any other the more for that, is too simple and too credulous
 “ in the Confuter, if he thinks to obtain with me or any right Discerner. Of
 “ small practice was that Physician who could not judg by what both she or her
 “ Sister have of a long time vomited, that the worse stuff she strongly keeps in
 “ her Stomach, but the better she is ever kecking at, and is queasy. She vomits
 “ now out of Sickness, but e’re it be well with her she must vomit by strong Phy-
 “ sic.—The Suburb wherein I dwell shall be in my account a more honorable
 “ place than his University, which, as in the time of her better Health, and my
 “ own younger Judgment, I never greatly admir’d, so now much less. This is
 not the only passage of the *Apology* wherein he testifies his Content of the Uni-
 versities, for in another place he says, “ that what with Truanting and Debauchery,
 “ what with false Grounds, and the weakness of natural Faculties in many of
 “ them

“ them (it being a Maxim with some Men to send the simplest of their Sons thither) perhaps there would be found among them as many unsolid and corrupted Judgments, both in Doctrine and Life, as in any other two Corporations of like bigness. This is undoubted, that if any Carpenter, Smith, or Weaver, were such a bungler in his Trade, as the greater number of them are in their Profession, he would starve for any Custom. And should he exercise his Manufacture as little as they do their Talents, he would forget his Art: or should he mistake his Tools, as they do theirs, he would mar all the work he took in hand. How few among them that know how to write or speak in a pure Style, much less to distinguish the Ideas and various kinds of Style! In Latin barbarous, and oft not without Solecisms, declaiming in rugged and miscellaneous Gear blown together by the four Winds; and in their choice preferring the gay rankness of *Apuleius*, *Arnobius*, or any modern *Fustianist*, before the native Latinisms of *Cicero*. In the Greek Tongue most of them unletter’d or unenter’d to any sound Proficiency in those Attic Masters of Wisdom and Eloquence. In the Hebrew Text, except it be some few of them, their Lips are utterly uncircumcis’d. No less are they out of the way in Philosophy, pestring their heads with the senseless Dorages of old *Paris* and *Salamanca*. His Antagonist insinuating a malicious Representation even of his early rising, he tells him, that his Morning haunts are, where they should be, at home; not sleeping, or concocting the Surfeits of an irregular Feast, but up and stirring, in Winter often before the Sound of any Bell awakens Men to Labor or Devotion; in Summer as oft as the Bird that first rouses, or not much tardier, to read good Authors, or cause them to be read, till the Attention be weary, or the Memory have its full fraught. Then with useful and generous Labors preserving the Bodys Health and Hardiness, to render a lightsome, clear, and not a lumpish Obedience to the Mind, for the cause of Religion and our Countries Liberty, when it shall require firm Hearts in sound Bodies to stand and cover their Stations, rather than see the Ruin of our Protestation, and the enforcement of a slavish Life. Passing over his serious and just Apology for frequenting Playhouses, I shall subjoin the Reason he gives why some Terms of the Stage might appear in his Writings without having learnt them in the Theater; “ which was not needful, says he, when in the Colleges so many of the young Divines, and those in next aptitude to Divinity, have bin seen so often on the Stage, writhing and unboning their Clergy Lims to all the antic and dishonest Gestures of Trinculos, Buffoons, and Bauds: prostituting the shame of that Ministry, which either they had or were nigh having, to the eyes of Courtiers and Court Ladys, with their Grooms and Mademoiselles. There while they acted, and overacted, among other young Scholars I was a Spectator; they thought themselves gallant Men, and I thought them Fools; they made sport, and I laugh’d; they mispronounc’d, and I mislik’d; and, to make up the Atticism, they were out, and I hist. He was to answer next to the heavy charge of Leudness with common Prostitutes; and because the account he gives of himself upon this occasion, and of that part of his Poetry which regards the affairs of Love, is not only essential to the History of his Life, but of good Instruction also to such as read such pleasant and alluring Books, I suppose none will be offended with me for laying it here before them. “ I had my time, says he, like others that have good Learning bestow’d upon them, to be sent to those places where the opinion was it might be soonest attain’d; and, as the manner is, was not unstudy’d in those Authors which are most commended. Of these some were grave Orators and Historians, whose matter methought I lov’d indeed, but as my Age then was, so I understood them; others were the smooth Elegiac Poets, wherof the Schools are not scarce, whom both for the pleasing Sound of their numerous Writings (which in imitation I found most easy, and most agreeable to Nature’s part in me) and for their matter, which what it is there be few who know not, I was so allur’d to read, that no Recreation came to me more welcom: for that it was then those years with me, which are excus’d tho they be least severe, I may be sav’d the labor to remember you. Whence having observ’d them to account it the chief Glory of their Wit that they were ablest to judg, to praise, and by that could esteem themselves worthiest to love those high Perfections, which under one or other name they took to celebrat; I thought with my self by every Instinct and Presage of Nature (which is not wont to be false) that what embolden’d them to this task, might with such diligence as they us’d embolden me: and that what Judgment, Wit, or Elegance, was my share, would herein best appear, “ and

“ and best value it self, by how much more wisely and with more love of Virtue
 “ I should chuse the Object of not unlike Praises. For tho these Thoughts to
 “ som will seem virtuous and commendable, to others only pardonable, to a
 “ third sort perhaps idle; yet the mentioning of them now will end in serious.
 “ Nor blame it, Readers, in those years to propose to themselves such a Reward
 “ as the noblest Dispositions above other things in this Life have sometimes pre-
 “ fer’d: wherof not to be sensible, when good and fair in one Person meet, ar-
 “ gues both a gross and shallow Judgment, and withal an ungentle and swinish
 “ Breast. For by the firm settling of these Persuasions I became (to my best me-
 “ mory) so much a Proficient, that if I found those Authors any where speaking
 “ unworthy things of themselves, or unchast of those Names which before they
 “ had extol’d, this effect it wrought with me, that from that time forward their
 “ Art I still applauded, but the Men I deplor’d; and above them all prefer’d the
 “ two famous Renowners of *Beatrice* and *Laura*, who never write but Honor of
 “ them to whom they devote their Verse, displaying sublime and pure Thoughts
 “ without transgression. And long it was not after, when I was confirm’d in
 “ the opinion that he, who would not be frustrated of his hope to write well here-
 “ after in laudable things, ought himself to be a tru Poem; that is, a composi-
 “ tion and pattern of the best and honorablest things: not presuming to sing the high
 “ Praises of heroic Men or famous Cities, unless he has in himself the Experience
 “ and the Practice of all that is praiseworthy. These Reasonings, together with
 “ a certain niceness of Nature, an honest Haughtiness and Self-esteem either of
 “ what I was or what I might be (which let Envy call Pride) and lastly, a be-
 “ coming Modesty, all uniting the Supply of their natural aid together, kept me
 “ still above those low Deicents of Mind, beneath which he must deject and
 “ plunge himself that can agree to salable and unlawful Prostitutions. Next I be-
 “ took me among those lofty Fables and Romances which recount in solemn Can-
 “ tos the Deeds of Knighthood founded by our victorious Kings, and from hence
 “ had in renown over all Christendom. There I read it in the Oath of every
 “ Knight, that he should defend to the expence of his best Blood, or of his Life,
 “ if it so besel him, the Honor and Chastity of Virgin or Matron: from whence
 “ even then I learnt what a noble Virtue Chastity sure must be, to the defence of
 “ which so many Worthies by such a dear Adventure of themselves had sworn;
 “ and if I found in the Story afterwards any of them by word or deed breaking
 “ that Oath, I judg’d it the same fault of the Poet, as that which is attributed to
 “ *Homer*, to have written undecent things of the Gods. Only this my mind gave
 “ me, that every free and gentle Spirit without that Oath ought to be born a
 “ Knight, nor needed to expect the gilt Spur, or the laying of a Sword upon his
 “ Shoulder, to stir him up both by his Counsil and his Arm, to secure and protect
 “ the weakness of any attempted Chastity. So that even those Books, which to
 “ many others have bin the fuel of Wantonness and loose Living (I cannot think
 “ how, unless by divine Indulgence) prov’d to me so many Enticements, as you
 “ have heard, to the love and stedfast observation of that Virtue which abhors the
 “ Society of *Bordellos*. Thus from the Laureat Fraternity of Poets, riper years,
 “ and the ceaseless round of Study and Reading, led me to the shady walks of Phi-
 “ losophy; but chiefly to the divine Volumes of *Plato*, and his equal *Xenophon*:
 “ where if I should tell you what I learnt of Chastity and Love (I mean that
 “ which is truly so, whose charming cup is only Virtue, which she bears in her
 “ hand to those who are worthy; the rest are cheated with a thick intoxicating
 “ Potion, which a certain Sorcerers, the Abuser of Love’s Names, carries about:
 “ and if I should tell you too how the first and chiefest Office of Love begins and
 “ ends in the Soul, producing those happy Twins of her divine Generation,
 “ Knowledge and Virtue) with such abstracted Sublimities as these, it might be
 “ worth your listening. Readers, as I may one day hope to have you in a still time,
 “ and when there shall be no chiding. Thus far our Author, who afterwards
 made this Character good in his inimitable Poem of *Paradise Lost*; and before this
 time in his *Comus* or Mask presented at *Ludlow* Castle, like which Piece in the pecu-
 liar disposition of the Story, the sweetness of the Numbers, the justness of the
 Expression, and the Moral it teaches, there is nothing extant in any Language.
 But to procede with the rest of the Apology, he’s in it very severe upon the Cler-
 gy, not only because in his Judgment he condemn’d severall of their Maxims, but
 also provok’d by the ill usage he receiv’d. Certainly nothing more barbarous and
 inhuman ever proceeded from the mouth of Pope or Multi, than this saying of his
 Antagonist, “ You that love Christ, and know this miscreant Wretch, stone him
 “ to

“ to death, lest you smart for his Impunity. No wonder that so many are scandaliz’d when they find the name of Christ most impudently alleg’d to countenance such devilish Practices, when there is nothing more evident than that he expressly enjoin’d his Followers to forgive their Enemies, and not to pursue ’em with the Spirit of Revenge, but rather to reclaim them from their Errors, and to do ’em all the good they could. Our Author, on the other hand, carries his Repentments, no doubt, too far, when the following words could drop from his Pen. “ There
 “ be such in the World, and I among those, who nothing admire the Idol of a
 “ Bishoprick, and hold that it wants so much to be a Blessing, as that I rather
 “ deem it the merest, the falsest, the most unfortunat Gift of Fortune: and were
 “ the Punishment and Misery of being a Bishop terminated only in the Person,
 “ and did not extend to the Affliction of the whole Diocese, if I would wish any
 “ thing in the bitterness of my Soul to an Enemy, I should wish him the biggest and farthest Bishoprick. If *Milton* had bin such a Saint as never mist of a favorable answer to his Prayers, I question not but at this rate more would covet to be his Enemies than his Friends. Another mark of his good Will to the Prelats is this unpardonable Simile. “ A Bishop’s Foot, says he, that has all its Toes
 “ (maugre the Gout) and a linnen sock over it, is the aptest Emblem of the Prelat himself; who, being a Pluralist, may under one Surplice hide four Benefices
 “ besides the great Metropolitan To which sends a foul stench to Heaven. And in another place he calls them, “ the Gulfs and Whirlpools of Benefices, but the
 “ dry Pits of all sound Doctrin. Agreeable to these Flowers is his Description of Chaplains somewhere in *Iconoclastes*. “ Bishops or Presbyters we know, says he,
 “ and Deacons we know; but what are Chaplains? In State perhaps they may be
 “ lifted among the upper Serving men of some great Household, and be admitted to
 “ some such place as may stile them the Sewers or Yeomen-Ushers of Devotion,
 “ where the Master is too resty or too rich to say his own Prayers, or to bless his
 “ own Table. How much he lov’d to divert himself in this manner, we may perceive by his Apostrophe to the Presbyterian Ministers, who were heavily branded by King *Charles* the First, tho after his Death they would fain be thought his very dutiful and good Friends. “ O ye Ministers, says *Milton*, read here what work
 “ he makes among your Gallypots, your Balms and your Cordials; and not only
 “ your sweet Sippets in Widows Houses, but the huge Gobbets wherewith he
 “ charges you to have devour’d Houses and all. Cry him up for a Saint in your
 “ Pulpits, while he crys you down for Atheists into Hell. Nor is he more merciful to the Liturgy than to the Readers of it, as appears by this Character. To
 “ contend that it is fantastical, if not senseless in some places, were a copious Argument, specially in the Responsories. For such Alternations as are there us’d
 “ must be by several Persons; but the Minister and the People cannot so sever
 “ their Interests as to sustain several Persons, he being the only mouth of the whole
 “ Body which he presents. And if the People pray, he being silent, or they
 “ ask one thing and he another, it either changes the Property, making the Priest
 “ the People, and the People the Priest by turns, or else makes two Persons and
 “ two Bodies Representative where there should be but one: which if there were
 “ nothing else, must be a strange Quaintness in ordinary Prayer. The like or
 “ worse may be said of the Litany, wherein neither Priest nor People speak any
 “ entire Sense of themselves throout the whole (I know not what to name it) only by the timely Contribution of their parted stakes, closing up as it were the
 “ Schism of a flid’d Prayer, they pray not in vain; for by this means they keep
 “ Life between them in a piece of gasping Sense, and keep down the Sawciness
 “ of a continual rebounding Nonsense. And hence it is that as it has bin far from
 “ the imitation of any warrant Prayer, so we all know it has bin obvious to be
 “ the pattern of many a Jig. And he who has but read in good Books of Devotion,
 “ on, and no more, cannot be so either of Ear or Judgment unpractis’d to distinguish what is grave, pathetical, devout, and what not; but he will presently
 “ perceive this Liturgy all over in conception lean and dry, of Affections empty
 “ and unmoving, of Passion, or any height wherto the Soul might soar upon the
 “ wings of Zeal, destitute and barren. Besides Errors, Tautologies, Impertinences, as those Thanks in the Woman’s Churching for her delivery from Sunburning and Moonblasting, as if she had bin travelling, not in her Bed, but in
 “ the Deserts of *Arabia*. So that while some men cease not to admire the incomparable Frame of our Liturgy, I cannot but admire as fast what they think is become of Judgment and Taste in other men, that they can hope to be heard without Laughter. And if this were all, perhaps it were a compliable matter. But
 “ when

“ when we remember this our Liturgy, where we found it, whence we had it,
 “ and yet where we left it, still serving to all the Abominations of the Antichristi-
 “ an Temple, it may be wonder’d how we can demur whether it should be abo-
 “ lish’d or no, and not rather fear we have highly offended in using it so long. It
 “ has indeed bin pretended to be more antient than the Mass, but so little prov’d,
 “ that whereas other corrupt Liturgies have had such a seeming Antiquity, that
 “ their Publishers have ventur’d to ascribe them either to Saint *Peter*, *St. James*,
 “ *St. Mark*, or at least to *Chrysostom* or *Basil*, ours has bin never able to find either
 “ Age or Author allowable on whom to father thote things which therein are least
 “ offensive, except the two Creeds. I shall conclude my account of his Books
 concerning religious Controversies with this remarkable account of his reading in
 the Councils and Fathers of the Church. “ Som years, says he, I had spent in
 “ the Stories of those *Greek* and *Roman* Exploits, wherein I found many things both
 “ nobly don and worthily spoken : when coming in the method of time to that
 “ age wherein the Church had obtain’d a *Christian* Emperor, I so prepar’d my self
 “ as being now to read Examples of Wisdom and Goodness among those who
 “ were foremost in the Church, not elsewhere to be parallel’d. But to the amaze-
 “ ment of what I expected, Readers, I found it all quite contrary; excepting in
 “ som very few, nothing but Ambition, Corruption, Contention, Combustion :
 “ infomuch that I could not but love the Historian *Socrates*, who in the Proem to
 “ his fifth Book professes, he was fain to intermix Affairs of State, for that it
 “ would be else an extreme annoyance to hear in a continu’d Discourse the endless
 “ Brabbles and Counterplottings of the Bishops. Finding therfore the most of
 “ their Actions in particular to be weak and yet turbulent, full of Strife and yet
 “ flat of Spirit, and the sum of their best Councils there collected to be most
 “ commonly in Questions either trivial and vain, or else of short and easy decisi-
 “ on, without that great bustle which they made : I concluded that if their single
 “ Ambition and Ignorance was such, then certainly united in a Council it would
 “ be much more ; and if the compendious recital of what they there did was so te-
 “ dious and unprofitable, then surely to fit out the whole extent of their tattle in
 “ a dozen Volumes, would be a loss of time irrecoverable. Besides that which
 “ I had read of *St. Martin*, who for his last sixteen years could never be persuaded
 “ to be at any Council of the Bishops; and *Gregory Nazianzen* betook him to the
 “ same resolution, affirming to *Procopius* that of any Council or Meeting of Bi-
 “ shops he never saw good end, nor any remedy therby of evil in the Church. but
 “ rather an increase : for, says he, their Contentions and Desire of Lording no
 “ Tongue is able to express.

In the year 1643, he chang’d his condition, and was marry’d to *Mary* the Daugh-
 ter of *Richard Powel* of *Forresthill* in *Oxfordshire*, a Justice of the Peace, and a man
 of good figure in that Country. But whether it was that this young Woman, ac-
 custom’d to a large and jovial Family, could not live in a Philotopical Retirement ;
 or that she was not perfectly satisfy’d with the Person of her Husband ; or lastly,
 that, because her Relations were all addic’t to the Royal Interest, his democratical
 Principles were disagreeable to her Humor (nor is it impossible that the Father re-
 pented of this match upon the prospect of som Success on the King’s side, who
 then had his Headquarters at *Oxford*) or whatever were the reason, ’tis certain that
 after he enjoy’d her Company at *London* about a month, she was invited by her
 Friends to spend the rest of the Summer in the Country, to which he consented, on
 condition of her return by *Michaelmas*. Yet he saw her not at the time appointed,
 and, after receiving severall of his Letters without sending him any answer, she did
 at length positively refuse to come, dismissing his Messenger with contempt. This
 usage incens’d him to that degree, that he thought it against his Honor and Repose
 to own her any longer for his Wife. He made that time however as easy to him-
 self as he might, sometimes by keeping a gaudy day with his Friends, and at other
 times in conversation with the Lady *Margaret Lee*, Daughter to the Earl of *Marl-
 borough*, whose sprightly Wit and good Sense drew frequent Visits from him and
 for whom he had a singular esteem, which he has left recorded by a Sonnet in her
 Praise among his other occasional Poems. He thought it now high time to justify
 by proper Arguments the firm Resolution he had taken of never receiving his
 Wife back again, and therfore in the year 1644, he publish’d his *Docrin and
 Disciplin of Divorce*, which he dedicated to the Parliament and to the Assembly
 of Divines, that as they were busy then about the general Reformation of the
 Kingdom, they might also take this particular case of domestic Liberty into their
 consideration : for he thought all the boasted Freedom of public judicatures signi-
 fy’d

fy'd little, if in the mean while one must be oblig'd to indure a kind of Servitude at home below the Dignity of a Man. " What thing, says he, is more instituted to the Solace and Delight of Man than Marriage? And yet the misinterpreting of som Scriptures, directed mainly against the Abusers of the Law for Divorce given by *Moses*, has chang'd the Blessing of Matrimony not seldom into a familiar and cohabiting Mischief; at least, into a drooping and disconsolat household Captivity, without Refuge or Redemption. So ungovern'd and so wild a race dos Superstition run us, from one Extreme of abus'd Liberty into the other of unmerciful Restraint! Tho God in the first ordaining of Marriage taught us to what end he did it (the words expresly implying the apt and chearful Conversation of Man with Woman, to comfort and refresh him of the evil of a solitary Life; not mentioning the purpose of Generation till afterwards, as being but a secondary end in Dignity tho not in Necessity) yet now if any two be but once handed in the Church, and have tasted in any sort the nuptial Bed, let them find themselves never so mistaken in their Dispositions thro any Error, Concealment, or Misadventure; that thro their different Tempers, Thoughts, and Constitutions, they can neither be to one another a remedy against Loneliness, nor live in any Union or Contentment all their days: yet they shall (to they be but found sutably weapon'd to the least possibility of sensual Enjoyment) be made in spire or Antipathy to sadg together, and combine, as they may, to their unspeakable Wearisomness, and despair of all sociable Delight, in the Ordinance which God establi'd to that very end. Then he largely shews all the unjust Sanctions concerning Marriage to be owing to the Superstition of som antient Fathers, and to the design of promoting the Gain or Authority of the Clergy, as they make a part of the Canon Law: For the *Greecs*, the *Romans*, and all civiliz'd Nations, did not only allow of Divorce upon mutual Aversion or Consent; but in many other cases, besides the violation of the nuptial Bed, there was a Separation made on the Petition of one Party, tho the other should not be willing. His purpose, in short, is to shew that there are other sufficient Reasons for Divorce besides Adultery; and that to prohibit any sort of Divorce, but such as are excepted by *Moses*, is unjust and against the Reason of the Law: in handling which Heads he has, besides his Arguments from Reason, had always a due care to explain those Passages of Scripture which are thought to contradict his Opinion. The grand Position he maintains is, That *Indisposition, Unfitness, or contrary Humors, proceeding from any unchangable cause in Nature, hindring and always likely to hinder the main ends and benefits of conjugal Society (that is to say, Peace and Delight) are greater Reasons of Divorce than ADULTERY or natural FRIGIDITY, provided there be a mutual Consent for Separation.* And indeed it seems to be a perfect Tyranny to oblige a Man or Woman beyond the design of their Covenant: nor should they, who never try'd this condition together, be hinder'd from discretely and orderly undoing it, when they find things otherwise than they promis'd themselves; no more than in any other bargain People are punish'd for unwillful Ignorance: since, whenever both Parties are willing, they may draw back their stakes, and leave matters as they were before, or compound for the Damages that may be don. It seems likewise to me very gross, that in Lawmaking (particularly in the Canon Law) a regard should be had to the fit Disposition of the marry'd Couples Bodies, and no consideration of the Agreeableness of their Minds, when the Charms of the latter are often the greatest inducements to the conjunction of the former. And since no Man or Woman can be secure of true Information from others, nor infallible in their own Observations upon one another's Humors and Conditions (specially since they are not admitted to a requisit Familiarity for such an inquiry before Marriage) it is the hardest thing in the world that no Clauses should be provided for cases of this nature. As for the common Objection, that Marriage is a Remedy against Fornication and Adultery, I grant it to be most true, if the Parties mutually love; but if it be a forc'd Compact, or afterwards dislik'd, it is so far from producing this good effect, that we clearly see by constant Experience (and Reason may convince us all of it) that such a fatal Knot exposes Men and Women to various Temptations, breaks the Peace of Families, exposes the Reputation of the Children, and disturbs or destroys all the Duties of Society. Nor dos it answer the first Institution which supposes it was not good for Man to be alone, since every body would rather chuse to be alone than be forc'd to keep bad Company. To conclude, Marriage certainly, like all other Contracts, was ordain'd for the benefit of Man, and not Man created for Marriage: wherefore it ought to be suted to his Convenience and Happiness, and not be made a Snare to

render him uneasy or miserable. No Pretences can be drawn from this Opinion to favor Libertinism, but on the contrary, the Conduct of the Opposers of it may be terribly hamper'd with infamous Consequences, on which we shall not insist in this place, referring the curious to *Milton's* own Book. As for the Popish and ridiculous practice in certain Spiritual Courts, of separating People from bed and board (which any Couple may agree to do themselves) and refusing 'em the liberty of marrying more for their convenience (if the civil Power dos not interpose for their Relief) I shall have a more proper opportunity to shew the Mischief and Unreasonableness of it.

On the first appearing of this Book, the Clergy did generally declaim against it, and fix'd upon the Author the usual Reproaches of Atheism, Heresy, Leudness, and what not? They daily instigated the Parliament, which little minded their Clamors, to pass their Censure on it; and at last one of them in a Sermon before that august Assembly, on a day of Humiliation, roundly told them that there was a wicked Book abroad which deserv'd to be burnt, and that among their other Sins they ought to repent it had not yet bin branded with a mark of their Displeasure. This man's main accusation being, that *Milton* taught other causes of Divorce than were mention'd by Christ and his Apostles, which was also urg'd against him at the same time by som others, he publish'd the *Tetrachordon*, dedicated to the Parliament, or his Exposition of the four chief Passages of Scripture that treat of Marriage, and the nullifying of the same, namely *Gen. 1. 27, &c. Gen. 2. 18, &c. Dent. 24. 1, &c. Mat. 5. 31, &c. and Mat. 29. 3, &c.* Other places out of the Epistles he also occasionally explains; he alleges the Authority of those great Men who favor'd his Opinion, sets down the determination of the Imperial Laws, with more proofs that are usual in such cases. On this Book our Author himself made the following lines.

I did but prompt the Age to quit their Clogs
By the known Rules of antient Liberty,
When straight a barbarous Noise environs me
Of Owls, and Cuckoos, Asses, Apes, and Dogs :
As when those Hinds that were transform'd to Frogs
Rail'd at *Latona's* twinborn Progeny,
Which after held the Sun and Moon in fee.
But this is got by casting Pearls to Hogs,
That baul for Freedom in their senseless mood,
And still revolt when Truth would set them free.
Licence they mean, when they cry Liberty ;
For who loves that, must first be wise and good :
But from that mark how far they roave we see,
For all this waste of Wealth and loss of Blood.

The next piece he publish'd on this Subject was the *Judgment of the famous Reformer Martin Bucer touching Divorce*, extracted out of the second Book of the Kingdom of Christ, dedicated to King *Edward* the Sixth. He exactly agrees with *Milton*, tho the latter had not seen this Book till after the publication of his own. He also shews very fairly, that *Paulus Fagius* the Associat of *Bucer*, that *Peter Martyr*, *Erasmus*, and *Grotius*, did teach the same Doctrin, that he might stop the mouths of such as were determin'd more by these Names than by all the light of Reason or Scripture; and that he might not appear to be call'd an Atheist or Libertin with more reason than these Persons, who notwithstanding they had affirm'd as much as he, were yet generally counted very sober and pious.

The fourth Book he wrote relating to Divorce was his *Colasterion*, being a Reply to one of his Answerers, who, to all the Dulness and Ignorance imaginable, added the highest Bitterness and Malice: so far from tolerably understanding any of the learned Languages (as in som secondhand Quotations he would be thought to do) that he could not rightly spell what he so meanly stole. Yet this rude Invective must be licens'd by Mr. *Carryl*, the same who in his voluminous and senseless Comments did more injury to the memory of *Job*, than the Devil and the *Sabeans* could inflict Torments on him in his life time. But, not content to prefix his *Impri-matur*, he pronounces his Judgment too against *Milton*, which was a most unworthy treatment of him from these men, of whom he deserv'd so well by his former Writings against their Enemies the Bishops; tho, to speak the truth, this was only a service to the Presbyterians by accident: for, as we shall see hereafter, he never

ver intended by humbling the Hierarchy, to set up the Consistorian Tribunal in the room of it. However, the following Reproach was extorted from him by their base Ingratitude. " Mr. Licenser, says he, you are reputed a man discrete enough, religious enough, honest enough, that is, to an ordinary competence in all these: But now your turn is to hear what your own hand has earn'd you, that when you suffer'd this nameless Hangman to cast into public such a spiteful Contumely upon a Name and Person deserving of the Church and State equally to your self, and one who has don more to the present advancement of your own Tribe, than you or many of them have don for themselves; you forgot to be either honest, religious, or discrete. Whatever the State might do concerning it, supposing it were a matter to expect evil from it, I should not doubt to meet among them with wise, and honorable, and knowing men. But as to this brute Libel, so much the more impudent and lawless for the abus'd Authority which it bears, I say again, that I abominat the Censure of Rascals and their Licensers. These are all the Pieces concerning Divorce written by Milton, whose Arguments ought not to be esteem'd the less cogent, because occasion'd by his domestic Uneasiness; when this reason would equally enervat the Apologies exhibited for Christianity under its Persecutors, and frustrat all the noble Treatises of Civil Government, for which we are beholding to the Lawlessness of Tyrants or Usurpers; witness the incomparable and golden Discourses of that Heroic Patron of Liberty, *Algernon Sidney*. And indeed the best Books we have on any Subject, are such as were oppos'd to the prevalency of the contrary opinion: for as he that was forc'd to pass som part of his time in the Regions of extreme Heat or Cold, can best value the Blessings of a temperat Country; so none can be so well furnish'd with Arguments for a good Cause, like such as were Sufferers under a bad one; the Writings of unconcern'd and retir'd Persons being either an Exercise of their Parts, and the Amusements of idle time, or, what is worse, pitiful Declamations without any Force, Experience, or Vivacity.

About this time he wrote a small piece of *Education to Samuel Hartlib*, looking upon the right Institution of Children to be the Nursery of all true Liberty or Virtue; and of whatsoever in Government is good and wise, or in privat practice amiable and worthy.

The next Book he wrote was his *Areopagitica*, or an Oration to the Parliament of England for the liberty of Unlicens'd Printing, in which he proves that the Republics of Greece and Italy never censur'd any but immoral, defamatory, or atheistical Pieces. Nor was it by Inferences and Insinuations they were to judg of Atheism; for they never suppress the Writings of the *Epicureans*, nor such other Books denying even the Doctrins of Providence, and the future State: but it must have bin a formal doubt or denial of the being of a Deity. Yet it is beyond contradiction, that those Nations maintain'd an excellent Government, distributing public and privat Justice, and abounding in all Knowledge and Virtue, infinitely above those who have bin ever since the most rigid Purgers, Corrupters, or Executioners of Books. The Roman Emperors were Tyrants, and none but such as would imitat them, should quote their Examples. The Primitive Christians observ'd no Uniformity of Conduct in this Affair. At first they were for reading all the Works of the *Gentils*, but none of those they reckon'd Heretical among themselves; after this they were only for confuting the Books of the Heretics, and suppressing those of the *Gentils*, even such as did not in the least concern Religion: for about the year 400, in a *Carthaginian* Council, the very Bishops were prohibited the reading of Heathen Authors. Had this infamous and barbarous Resolution bin throly execut'd (for it had but too much effect) to what a degree of Ignorance and meanness of Spirit it would have reduc'd the World, depriving it of so many inimitable Historians, Orators, Philosophers, and Poets, the Repositories of inestimable Treasure, consisting of warlike and heroic Deeds, the best and wisest Arts of Government, the most perfect Rules and Examples of Eloquence or Politeness, and such divine Lectures of Wisdom and Virtue, that the loss of *Cicero's* Works alone, or those of *Livy*, could not be repair'd by all the Fathers of the Church. In process of time, when the Clergy begun to be exalted even above the supreme Magistrat himself, they burnt and destroy'd every thing that did not favor their Power or Superstition, and laid a restraint on Reading as well as Writing, without excepting the very Bible; and thus they proceded till the Inquisition reduc'd this abominable practice to the perfection of an Art by expurgatory Indexes and Licensing. All the consequences of this Tyranny, as depriving men of their natural Liberty, stifling their Parts, introducing of Ignorance, ingrossing all Advan-

tages to one Party, and the like, were perpetually objected before the Civil Wars by the Presbyterians to the Bishops; but no sooner were they possess'd of the Bishops Pulpits and Power, than they exercis'd the same Authority with more intolerable Rigor and Severity. *Milton*, after shewing the Origin, Progress, and Mischief of this Custom, proves first that we must not read the Bible, the Fathers, nor almost any sort of Books, if we regard the Reasons usually alleg'd to forbid the publishing of others, such as the fear of wresting or mistaking their meaning. Secondly, that the ends propos'd cannot be attain'd after this manner. And, Thirdly, that no man is fit to be a Licenser, not in any one single Faculty, unless he is universally learn'd, or a better Scholar than all the Authors whose Labors he's to license: and that, granting these things possible (tho they are not so) he could neither find strength nor time enough for perusing all Books; and should he use Deputies, he's likeliest to have ignorant, lazy, and mercenary Fellows. Then displaying the Discouragement that must follow hence to all Literature and new Discoveries (with the danger of suppressing Truth, and propagating Error, as it happens in Popish Countries, and the not reprinting of antient Authors in any Language) he proves Licensing to be both unjust in it self, and dishonorable to a free Government. "To include the whole Nation, says he, and those that never yet thus offended, under such a diffident and suspectful Prohibition, what a disparagement it is may be plainly understood. So much the more, since Debtors and Delinquents may walk abroad without a Keeper, but inoffensive Books must not stir forth without a visible Jailor in their Title. Nor is it to the common People less than a Reproach; for if we be so jealous over them, as that we dare not trust them with an English Pamphlet, what do we but censure them for a giddy, vitious, and ungrounded People, in such a sick and weak state of Faith and Discretion, as to be able to take nothing but thro the Glisterpipe of a Licenser? That this is any care or love of them, we cannot pretend, since in those Popish Places, where the Laity are most hated and despis'd, the same strictnets is us'd over them. Wisdom we cannot call it, because it stops but one breach of License; nor that neither, seeing those Corruptions, which it seeks to prevent, break in faster at other doors which cannot be shut. And it reflects on the Reputation of our Ministers also, of whose Labors we should hope better, and of the Proficiency which their Flocks reap by them, than that after all this light of the Gospel which is, and is to be, and after all this continual Preaching, they should be still frequented with such an unprincip'd, unedify'd, and Laic Rabble, as that the whif of every new Pamphlet should stagger them out of their Catechism. This may have much reason to discourage the Ministers, when such a low conceit is had of all their Exhortations and the benefiting of their Hearers, that they are not thought fit to be turn'd loose to three Sheets of Paper without a Licenser. In another place he says, "A man may be a Heretic in the Truth; and if he believes only because his Pastor says so, or the Assembly so determines, without knowing any other Reason: tho his Belief be true, yet the very Truth he holds becomes his Heresy. There is not any burden that som would gladlier put off to another, than the charge and care of their Religion. Who knows not that there be som Protestants who live in as arrant an implicit Faith as any Lay-Papist of *Loretto*? A wealthy man, addicted to his Pleasures and his Profit, finds Religion to be a Traffic so intangl'd, and of so many piddling accounts, that of all Mysteries he cannot endure to keep a stock going upon that trade. What dos he therefore, but resolves to give over toiling, and to find out som Factor to whose care and credit he may commit the whole management of his religious Affairs; and that must be som Divine of Note and Estimation. To him he adheres, resigns the whole Warehouse of his Religion with all the Locks and Keys into his custody; and indeed makes the very Person of that Man his Religion, esteems his associating with him a sufficient evidence and commendation of his own Piety. So that a man may say his Religion is now no more within himself, but is becom a dividual movable, and gos and coms near him according as that good man frequents the House. He entertains him, gives him Gifts, feasts him, lodges him; his Religion coms home at night, prays, is liberally sup'd, and sumtuously laid to sleep; rises, is saluted, and (after the Malmsey or som well-spiced Brewage, and better breakfasted than he whose Morning-appetite would have gladly fed on green Figs between *Bethany* and *Jerusalem*) his Religion walks abroad at eight, and leaves his kind Entertainer in the Shop trading all day without his Religion. Another sort there be, who, when they hear that all things shall be order'd, all things re-

gulated,

“gulated and settled, nothing written but what passes thro the Customhouse of certain Publicans that have the tunning and poundaging of all freepoken Truth, will straight give themselves up into your hands make em and cut em out what Religion you please; there be Delights, there be Recreations, and jolly Pastimes that will fetch the day about from Sun to Sun, and rock the tedious year as in a delightful dream. What need they torture their heads with that which others have taken so strictly and so unalterably into their own purveying? These are the Fruits which a dull Ease and Cessation of our Knowledge will bring forth among the People. Nor much better will be the consequence among the Clergy themselves. It is no new thing never heard of before for a Parochial Minister, who has his Reward, and is at his *Hercules* Pillars in a warm Benefice, to be easily inclinable (if he has nothing else that may rouse up his Studies) to finish his Circuit in an English Concordance and a Topic Folio: the Gatherings and Sayings of a sober Graduation, a Harmony and a Catena, treading the constant round of certain common doctrinal Heads, attended with their Uses, Motives, Marks, and Means; out of which, as out of an Alphabet or sol fa mi, by forming and transforming, joining and disjoining variously a little Bookishness, and two hours Meditation, he might furnish himself unspeakably to the performance of more than a weekly charge of Sermoning: not to reckon up the infinit helps of Interlinearies, Breviaries, Synopses, and other loitring gear. But, as for the multitude of Sermons already printed on every Text that is not difficult, he need never fear penury of Pulpit Provision; yet if his Rear and Flanks be not impal’d, if his backdoor be not secur’d by the rigid Licenser, but that a bold Book may now and then issue forth and give the assault to some of his old Collections in their trenches, it will concern him to keep waking, to stand in watch, to set good Guards and Sentinels about his receiv’d Opinions, to walk the round and counter-round with his Fellow-Inspectors, fearing lest any of his Flock be seduc’d, who also then would be better instructed better exercis’d and disciplin’d. And God send that the fear of this Diligence, which must then be us’d, do not make us affect the laziness of a licensing Church. Such was the effect of our Author’s *Arcopagitica*, that the following year *Mabot*, a Licenser, offer’d Reasons against Licencing; and, at his own request, was discharg’d that Office. And certainly there’s nothing deserves more wonder, than that any wise People should suffer a small number of injudicious Fellows, always ready to suppress whatever is not relish’d by their own Sect or the Magistrat, to be the sole Masters and Judges of what should or should not be printed; that is, of what the Nation is to know, speak, or understand: and I need not hesitate to affirm that such a Power in the hands of any Prince (the Licensers being always his Creatures) is more dangerous even than a standing Army to Civil Liberty; nor in point of Religion is it inferior to the Inquisition.

But to return to his privat Affairs, lest he might seem by his several Treatises of Divorce not to act from an intire Conviction, but out of sudden Resentment, or to shew his Parts in maintaining a Paradox, he was seriously treating a Marriage with a young Lady of great Wit and Beauty, when one day as he was at a Relations house whom he often visited, he was extremely surpriz’d to find his Wife (whom he thought never to have seen more) acknowledging her fault at his feet, and begging Forgiveness with tears. At first he seem’d inexorable, but his own Generosity, and the intercession of Friends, soon procur’d a perfect Reconciliation, with an act of Oblivion for all that was past. The first fruit of her return was a Girl, born within a year after: And so far was he from remembring former Provocations, that the King’s Interest in every place visibly declining, he receiv’d his Wives Father and Mother, several of her Sisters and Brothers into his own House, where they had Protection and free Entertainment till their Affairs were in a better condition. And now both his own Father dying, and his Wives Relations returning to their several Habitations, he reviv’d his Academic Institution of some young Gentlemen, with a design, perhaps, of putting in practice the model of Education lately publish’d by himself. Yet this course was of no long continuance; for he was to be made Adjutant General to Sir *William Waller*, but that the new modelling of the Army soon following, and Sir *William* turning cat in pan, this design was frustrated.

A little after *Fairfax* and *Cromwel* had march’d thro the City with the whole Army to quell the Insurrection of *Brown* and *Massy*, now grown discontented likewise with the Parliament, our Author chang’d his great House for one more accommodated to his Circumstances, where in the midst of all the noise and confusion of Arms,

The Life of John Milton.

Arms, he led a quiet and privat Life, wholly delighted with the Muses, and prosecuting his indefatigable search after useful and solid Knowledge.

Having occasionally mention'd that Great man General *Fairfax*, I shall subjoin here, because it is not printed among his other Poems, a Sonnet our Author sent him.

Fairfax, whose Name in Arms thro *Europe* rings,
And fills all mouths with Envy or with Praise,
And all her jealous Monarchs with Amaze,
And Rumors loud which daunt remotest things :
Thy firm unshaken Valor ever brings
Victory home, while new Rebellions raise
Their *Hydra* Heads, and the false *North* displays
Her broken League to imp her Serpent Wings.
O yet a nobler task awaits thy hand,
For what can War but Acts of War still breed,
Till injur'd Truth from Violence be freed,
And public Faith be rescu'd from the brand
Of public Fraud ? In vain dost Valor bleed,
While Avarice and Rapine share the Land.

The following lines, never likewise publish'd among his Poems, he wrote on Sir *Henry Vane* the Younger.

Vane, young in years, but in sage Counsils old,
Than whom a better Senator ne'er held
The Helm of *Rome* (when Gowns not Arms repel'd
The fierce *Epirot*, and the *African* bold)
Whether to settle Peace, or to unfold
The drift of hollow States, hard to be spel'd.
Then, to advise how War may best b'upheld,
Man'd by her two main Nerves, Iron and Gold,
In all her Equipage : Besides to know
Both spiritual and civil, what each means,
What serves each thou hast learn'd, which few have don.
The bounds of either Sword to thee we ow ;
Therefore on thy right hand Religion leans,
And reckons thee in chief her eldest Son.

But after *Charles* the First (sometime before judg'd an Enemy by the Parliament) was made a Prisoner by their victorious Army, afterwards judicially try'd and condemn'd, and the form of the Government was chang'd into a Democracy or Free State, the Presbyterian Ministers, who from the beginning were the King's mortal Enemies, but now inrag'd that the Independents and other Sects should enjoy either Liberty or Life (not angry at the Fact but the Faction) did tragically declaim in their Pulpits, that the King's Usage was very hard, that his Person was sacred and inviolable, and that any Violence offer'd to him in the field (much less by the hands of an Executioner) was contrary to the Doctrine of the Reform'd Churches. This oblig'd *Milton* in the year 49, to write his *Tenure of Kings and Magistrats*, wherein he labors to prove that it is not only in it self a most equitable thing, but that it has also bin so esteem'd by the free and considering part of Mankind in all ages, that such as had the Power might call a Tyrant to account for his Maladministration, and after due Conviction to depose or put him to death, according to the nature of his Crimes : And further shews, that if the ordinary Magistrats of any Nation refuse to do 'em this Justice, that then the duty of Self preservation, and the good of the whole (which is the supreme Law) impowers the People to deliver themselves from Slavery by the safest and most effectual methods they can. As for the Presbyterians, who were then grown so tender of Majesty (and that only because they could not, absolutely and exclusively of others, govern all mens Persons and Consciences) he evidently shews that they were the most zealous to take arms against the King, to devest and disanoint him of his Dignity, nay to curse him in all their Sermons and Pamphlets over the Kingdom (whereof there remain numerous Monuments still to be produc'd) that, in a word, after they had join'd with others to a degree from which Men of Honor or Prudence could not retreat, they were louder than the Cavaliers themselves to cry Disloyalty and Treason.

Treason. After proving at large that they broke their Allegiance to him, obey'd another Authority, and had often given Commission to slay where they knew his Person could not be exempt from danger; and where, if chance or flight had not sav'd him like others, he must be infallibly kil'd, he shews how ridiculously it became them to pretend a tenderness for his Person or Character; whereas indeed it was neither Persuasion nor Remorse, but their aversion to civil and religious Liberty that hurry'd 'em to these extremes. But because I hope the bulk of those now call'd *Presbyterians* in *England*, some few leading Men excepted, are no such Enemies to a Toleration, and that they understand no more of the Consistorian, Classical, or Synodical Judicatories, than they allow of the Inquisition or a Hierarchy, I shall in this place to disabuse 'em, and to let 'em see how much better others foresaw their Fate than Passion would suffer themselves at that time, insert the following passage. "As for the Party call'd *Presbyterian*, says *Milton*, of whom I believe very many to be good and faithful Christians, tho' misled by some of turbulent Spirit, I wish them earnestly and calmly not to fall off from their first Principles, nor to affect Rigor and Superiority over Men not under them; nor to compel unforcible things in Religion especially, which if not voluntary, becomes a Sin; nor to assist the clamor and malicious drifts of those whom they themselves have judg'd to be the worst of Men, the obdurate Enemies of God and his Church: nor to dart against the Actions of their Brethren, for want of other Argument, those wrested Laws and Scriptures thrown by Prelats and Malignants against their own sides, which tho' they hurt not otherwise, yet taken up by them to the condemnation of their own doings, give scandal to all Men, and discover in themselves either extreme Passion or Apostacy. Let them not oppose their best Friends and Associates who molest 'em not at all, infringe not the least of their Liberties, unless they call it their Liberty to bind other Mens Consciences. but are still seeking to live at peace with them, and brotherly Accord. Let them beware an old and perfect Enemy, who tho' he hopes by sowing Discord to make them his Instruments, yet cannot forbear a minute the open threatening of his destin'd Revenge upon them, when they have serv'd his purposes. Let them fear therefore, if they be wise, rather what they have done already, than what remains to do; and be warn'd in time that they put no confidence in Princes whom they have provok'd, lest they be added to the Examples of those that miserably have tasted of the event.—I have something also to the Divines, tho' brief to what were needful, not to be Disturbers of the Civil Affairs, being in hands better able, and to whom it more belongs to manage them; but to study harder, and to attend the Office of good Pastors, not perform'd by mounting twice into the Chair with a formal Preachment huddled up at the odd hours of a whole lazy Week, but by incessant pains and watching—which if they well consider'd, how little leisure would they find to be the most pragmatical Sidesmen of every popular Tumult and Sedition? And all this while they are to learn what the true end and reason is of the Gospel which they teach, and what a world it differs from the censorious and supercilious lording over Conscience. It would be good also they liv'd so as might persuade the People they hated Covetousness, which, worse than Heresy, is Idolatry; hated Pluralities and all kind of Simony; lest rambling from Benefice to Benefice, like ravenous Wolves seeking where they may devour the biggest. Let them be sorry that, being call'd to assemble about reforming the Church, they fell to propping and soliciting the Parliament (tho' they had renounc'd the name of Priests) for a new settling of their Tithes and Oblations, and doublelin'd themselves with spiritual places of Commodity beyond the possible discharge of their Duty. Let them assemble in Consistory with their Elders and Deacons to the preserving of Church-Disciplin each in his several charge, and not a pack of Clergymen by themselves to bellycheer in their presumptuous *Sion*; or to promote designs to abuse and gull the simple Laity, to stir up Tumults, as the Prelats did before them, for the maintenance of their Pride and Avarice. On this occasion I must remark that by reason of the *Presbyterians* warmly joining with others the last Parliament to promote Penal Laws against the *Socinians*, I find few People will believe that those in *England* differ from their Brethren in *Scotland* about Persecution, nor that their own Sufferings of late have made 'em more tender to the Consciences of others. This naturally leads men to think that they have not repented of their Rigor in the Civil Wars; and that should the Dissenters once more get the Secular Sword into their hands, they would press Uniformity of Sentiments in Religion as far as any other Protestants or Papists ever yet have don: witness their inhuman

Treatment of *Daniel Williams* (a sober man and a judicious Divine) for no cause that I can discern, but that he made Christianity plainer than some of his Colleagues in the Ministry, and that, it may be, he takes a greater latitude than such as thro their ignorance cannot, or will not from design. But what renders them most suspected of affecting Dominion, is the Project of Comprehension now on foot, wherof some men of figure among 'em seem to be so fond, wherby the rest are easily deceiv'd, and like to be left in the lurch by certain Persons who for several years past made the Hierarchy and Liturgy such strange Bugbears: tho, if the Church will please to become a kind Mother to themselves, and shew a little complaisance for their old Friends, they are ready to pronounce her Orders, her Prayers, and her Ceremonies to be very innocent and harmless things; but mistaken formerly for the Pillars of Antichrist, the Symbols of Idolatry, the Dregs of Popery, the Rags of Superstition, and Protestant Paint to hide the Deformities of the old *Babylonish Whore*. And after all, whatever ours may be, Comprehension in all other places of the World has never bin any thing else but the Combination of a few Parties to fortify themselves, and to oppress all others by their united Force, or by an absolute Exclusion from Preferment, and other Advantages to which by Nature or personal Merit they had an equal claim with the rest of their Fellow-Citizens. Tho to be persecuted in their turn is the just Judgment of God upon Persecutors, yet Vengeance must be left to Heaven: and the Wishes of all good Men are that the National Church, being secur'd in her Worship and Emoluments, may not be allow'd to force others to her Communion; and that all Dissenters from it, being secur'd in their Liberty of Conscience, may not be permitted to meddle with the Riches or Power of the National Church.

After these things our Author thinking to have leisure enough for such an undertaking, apply'd himself intirely to the History of the *English Nation*, which he intended from the remotest traditional beginning to continue down to his own time, and had already finish'd four Books of the same, when neither courting nor expecting any such Preferment, he was taken into the Service of the New Commonwealth. Hitherto he gratuitously lent his Country the aid of his Pen, content with the esteem of good Men, and the internal Satisfaction of having perform'd his Duty; while others, that deserv'd it not so well, were variously rewarded, some with Riches, some with Honors, and all with Liberty. But the Publication of the *Tenure of Kings and Magistrats* reviving the fame of his other Books, and as well shewing the Excellency of his Style and Capacity, as his Affection to the good old Cause, he was made Secretary to the Council of State for all foren Affairs: for the Republic scorn'd to acknowledge that sort of Tribute to any Prince in the World, which is now paid to the *French King*, of managing their Matters only in his Language; and took up a noble Resolution, to which they firmly adher'd, that they would neither write to others, nor receive their Answers, except in the *Latin Tongue*, as being common to them all, and the properest in it self to contain great things, or the Subject of future Pens. But this Proceeding could not be acceptable to those whose Transactions were asham'd or afraid to see the light, and whose Names will not be transmitted to Posterity, unless for dextrously cheating their own People, and laying the Springs of their Tyranny or Neglect in the dark, tho the Effects are sufficiently felt by their deluded Subjects, and the Injustice visibly expos'd to all discerning eyes. None could be found more fitted for such a Post than *Milton*, who quickly gain'd no less Reputation to himself than Credit to the State that imploy'd so able a Person. Of this the Letters he wrote under that and the succeeding Administrations (for he serv'd *Oliver*, *Richard*, and the *Rump*) are abundant evidence, being for different Reasons admir'd by Critics and Statesmen, as they are certain and authentic Materials for such as may hereafter write the History of those times.

But it was not only in foren Dispatches that the Government made use of his Pen: for just after the King's Death appear'd a Book under his Name, intitl'd, *Eikon Basilike*, wherein he vindicats himself in so many distinct Chapters from the chief Heads of those Tyrannies charg'd upon him by the People, either as occasions of the Civil War, or as Inhumanities committed during the same. This piece, like *Cæsar's* last Will, doing more execution upon the Enemy than its Author when alive, *Milton* was commanded to prevent by an Answer those ill effects the *Eikon Basilike* might produce. Having undertaken this task, he observes that Kings indeed have gain'd glorious Titles from their Flatterers or Favorers for writing against privat men, as our *Henry the Eighth* was stil'd *Defender of the Faith* for ingaging *Luther*; yet that no man can expect much Honor by writing against a
King,

King, as not usually meeting with that force of Argument in such courtly Antagonists, which to confute might add to his fame. "Kings, says he, tho strong in Legions, are most commonly but weak at Arguments. As they who ever have accustom'd from the Cradle to use their Will only as their right hand, their Reason always as their left: whence unexpectedly constrain'd to that kind of Combat, they prove but weak and puny Adversaries. Nevertheless, continues he, for their sakes, who thro Custom, Simplicity, or want of better teaching, have not more seriously consider'd Kings than in the gaudy name of Majesty, and admire them and their doings, as if they breath'd not the same Breath with other mortal men, I shall make no scruple to take up this Gauntlet, tho a Kings, in the behalf of Liberty and the Commonwealth. Having thus accepted the Challenge, he fairly measures Weapons, and answers all the Allegations of that Book beyond the possibility of a Reply. But every Chapter of it ending with Devotion, model'd into the form of a privat Pfalter, he once for all gives his judgment of it in these words. "They, who so much admire the Archbishops late Breviary, and many other as good Manuals and Handmaids of Devotion, the Lipwork of every prelatical Liturgist, clapt this together, and quilted it out of Scripture Phrase, with as much ease, and as little need of Christian Diligence or Judgment, as belongs to the compiling of any ordinary and salable piece of English Divinity that the Shops value. But he who from such a kind of Psalmistry, or any other verbal Devotion, without the pledg and earnest of suitable Deeds, can be persuaded of a Zeal and true Righteousness in the Person, has much yet to learn; and knows not that the deepest Policy of a Tyrant has bin ever to counterfeit Religion: and Aristotle in his Politics has mention'd that special Craft among twelve other tyrannical Sophisms. Neither want we Examples. *Andronicus Comnenus* the *Byzantin* Emperor, tho a most cruel Tyrant, is reported by *Nicetas* to have bin a constant Reader of *St. Paul's* Epistles; and by continual Study had so incorporated the Phrase and Stile of that Apostle into all his familiar Letters, that the Imitation seem'd to vy with the Original. Then having instanced our *Richard* the Third, to whom he might have added *Turquin* who built the stately Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and the *Russian Basilowitz* that pray'd seven times a day, he discovers a piece of Royal Plagiarism, or (to be more charitable) of his Chaplains Priestcraft; for one of King *Charles's* Prayers, stil'd a Prayer in the time of Captivity, deliver'd by himself to *Dr. Juxon*, and twice printed among his Works in Folio, is plainly stolen and taken without any considerable Variation from the mouth of *Pamela*, an imaginary Lady, to a Heathen Deity in *Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia*. This has bin mention'd by others after *Milton*, and those Prayers laid parallel together on divers occasions. One of *Milton's* Sagacity could not but perceive by the Composition, Stile, and timing of this Book, that it was rather the production of som idle Clergyman, than the Work of a distressed Prince, either in perpetual hurry at the head of a flying Army, or remov'd from one Prison to another during his unfortunat Captivity till his Death. Besides the Theological Phrases frequently interspers'd, there are such fanciful Allusions and bold Comments in it upon the secret Judgments of God, as smell rankly of a System or the Pulpit. When he mentions the fate of the *Hothams*, by whom he was repuls'd at *Hull*, he says of the Father, *That his Head was divided from his Body, because his Heart was divided from the King; and that two Heads were cut off in one Family for affronting the Head of the Commonwealth; the eldest Son being infected with the Sin of the Father, against the Father of his Country.* These and such Arguments drawn only from the Book it self, without any further light, induc'd a great many at that time to suspect the Imposture; and that because *Cromwel* got such a Reputation among the People for his suppos'd Piety, the Royalists would represent the King to be a wiser Man and better Christian. But in the year 1686, *Mr. Millington* happening to sell the late Lord *Anglesey's* Library by Auction, put up an *Eikon Basilike*; and a few bidding very low for it, he had leisure to turn over the Leaves, when to his great Surprise he perceiv'd written with the same noble Lords own hand the following *Memorandum*.

King Charles the Second, and the Duke of York, did both (in the last Sessions of Parliament, 1675. when I shew'd them in the Lords House the written Copy of this Book, wherein are som Corrections and Alterations written with the late King Charles the First's own hand) assure me, that this was none of the said King's compiling, but made by Dr. Gauden Bishop of Exeter : which I here insert for the undeceiving of others in this point, by attesting so much under my own hand.

Anglesey.

This occasion'd the World to talk; and several knowing the Relation which the late Dr. *Anthony Walker* an *Essex-Divine* had to *Bishop Gauden*, they inquir'd of him what he knew concerning this Subject, which he then verbally communicated to them: but being afterwards highly provok'd by Dr. *Hollingsworth's* harsh and injurious Reflections, he was oblig'd in his own defence to print an account of that Book, wherein are sufficient Answers to all the Scruples or Objections that can be made, and wherof I here insert an exact Epitome. He tells us in the first place that Dr. *Gauden* was pleas'd to acquaint him with the whole design, and shew'd him the Heads of divers Chapters, with som others that were quite finish'd: and that Dr. *Gauden* asking his opinion of the thing, and he declaring his Dissatisfaction that the World should be so impos'd upon, *Gauden* bid him look on the Title, which was *the King's Portraiture*; for that no man is suppos'd to draw his own Picture. A very nice Evasion! He further acquaints us, that som time after this, being both in *London*, and having din'd together, Dr. *Gauden* took him along with him to Dr. *Duppa* the Bishop of *Salisbury* (whom he made also privy to his design) to fetch what Papers he had left before for his Perusal, or to shew him what he had since written: and that upon their return from that place, after *Gauden* and *Duppa* were a while in privat together, the former told him the Bishop of *Salisbury* wish'd he had thought upon two other Heads, the Ordinance against the Common-Prayer-Book, and the denying his Majesty the attendance of his Chaplains; but that *Duppa* desir'd him to finish the rest, and he would take upon him to write two Chapters on those Subjects, which accordingly he did. The reason, it seems, why Dr. *Gauden* himself would not perform this, was, first, that during the Troubles he had forborn the use of the Liturgy, which he did not extraordinarily admire; and, Secondly, that he had never bin the King's Chaplain, whereas Dr. *Duppa* was both his Chaplain, his Tutor, and a Bishop, which made him more concern'd about these Particulars. Thirdly, Dr. *Walker* informs us that Dr. *Gauden* told him he had sent a Copy of *Eikon Basilike* by the Marquis of *Hartford* to the King in the *Ile of Wight*; where it was, we may be sure, that he made those Corrections and Alterations with his own Pen, mention'd in my Lord *Anglesey's* Memorandum: and which gave occasion to som then about him that had accidentally seen, or to whom he had shewn the Book, to believe the whole was his own. Fourthly, Dr. *Gauden*, after the Restoration, told Dr. *Walker*, that the Duke of *York* knew of his being the real Author, and had own'd it to be a great service; in consideration of which, it may be, the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, tho he was afterwards put off with that of *Worcester*, was promis'd him. And, notwithstanding it was then a Secret, we now know that in expectation of this Translation, the great House on *Clapham-Common* was built indeed in the name of his Brother Sir *Denis*, but really to be a Mansionhouse for the Bishops of *Winchester*. Fifthly, Dr. *Walker* says, that Mr. *Gauden* the Doctor's Son, his Wife, himself, and Mr. *Gifford* who transcrib'd it, did believe it as firmly as any fact don in the place where they were; and that in that Family they always spoke of it among themselves (whether in Dr. *Gauden's* Presence or Absence) as undoubtedly written by him, which he never contradicted. We learn, Sixthly, that Dr. *Gauden*, after part of it was printed, gave to Dr. *Walker* with his own hand what was last sent to *London*; and after shewing him what it was, seal'd it, giving him cautionary Directions how to deliver it, which he did on Saturday the 23^d of *December*, 1648. for Mr. *Royston* the Printer, to Mr. *Peacock* Brother to Dr. *Gauden's* Steward, who, after the Impression was finish'd, gave him, for his trouble, six Books, wherof he always kept one by him. To these Particulars Dr. *Walker* adds that the Reason why the Covenant is more favorably mention'd in *Eikon Basilike*, than the King or any other of his Party would do, was because Dr. *Gauden* himself had taken it: That in the devotional part of this

Book there occur several Expressions which were habitual to Dr. *Gauden* in his Prayers, which always in privat and public were conceiv'd or extemporary: and that to his knowlege it was Dr. *Gauden*, being best acquainted with the Beauty of his own Sayings, who made that Collection of Sentences out of *Eikon Basilike*, entitul'd, *Apophthegmata Caroliniana*. These and som Observations about the same individual Persons variation of Stile on different Subjects, with the facility and frequency of personating others, may be further consider'd in Dr. *Walker*'s original account. In this condition stood the Reputation of this Book, till the last and finishing discovery of the Imposture was made after this manner. Mr. *Arthur North*, a Merchant now living on *Towerhill*, *London*, a man of good Credit, and a Member of the Church of *England*, marry'd the Sister of her that was Wife to the Doctor's Son *Charles Gauden*, who dying left som Papers with his Widow, among which Mr. *North*, being concern'd about his Sister in Law's Affairs, found a whole bundle relating to *Eikon Basilike*: These Papers old Mrs. *Gauden* left to her darling Son *John*, and he to his Brother *Charles*. There is first a Letter from Secretary *Nicholas* to Dr. *Gauden*: 2. The Copy of a Letter from Bishop *Gauden* to Chancellor *Hyde*, where, among his other Delets, he pleads that what was don like a King, should have a Kinglike Retribution, and that his design in it was to comfort and encourage the King's Friends, to expose his Enemies, and to convert, &c. There is, 3. The Copy of a Letter from the Bishop to the Duke of *York*, wherein he strongly urges his Services. 4. A Letter under Chancellor *Hyde*'s own hand, dated the 13th of *March*, 1661. wherein he expresses his uneasiness under the Bishop's importunity, and excuses his inability yet to serve him: but towards the Conclusion it contains these remarkable words; *The Particular you mention has indeed bin imparted to me as a Secret; I am sorry I ever knew it: and when it ceases to be a Secret, it will please none but Mr. Milton*. There are other Papers in this bundle, but particularly a long Narrative of Mrs. *Gauden*'s own Writing, intrefragably shewing her Husband to be Author of *Eikon Basilike*. It entirely confirms Dr. *Walker*'s account, and contains most of the facts we have hitherto related, with many other curious Circumstances too long to be here inserted, yet too extraordinary not to be known; wherefore I refer the Reader to the original Papers, or to the faithful extract made out of it before several learned and worthy Persons, and which is printed in a Paper intitul'd, *Truth brought to light*. Thus came all the World to be convinc'd of this notorious Imposture; but which as it was dexterously contriv'd, and most cunningly improv'd by a Party whose Interest oblig'd 'em to keep the Secret, so it happen'd to be discover'd by very nice and unforeseen Accidents. Had not *Gauden* bin disappointed of *Winchester*, he had never pleaded his Merit in this affair; nor would his Wife have written her Narrative, had King *Charles* the Second bestow'd one half years Rent upon her after her Husband's decease, which upon her Petition, and considering her numerous Family, none could imagin should be refus'd. It was a slighter accident that begot a Confession from two Kings, and *Charles*'s own Sons: and I doubt if any other than one of Mr. *Millington*'s great Curiosity, and no Bigotry, had the disposal of my Lord *Anglesey*'s Books, we should never have heard of the *Memorandum*. Had not *Hollingsworth*'s indiscrete Zeal provok'd the only Man then alive who had any personal knowlege of this business, Dr. *Walker* had never publish'd his Account; nor could the whole discovery be so complete, without the least intricacy or question, without Mr. *North*'s Papers. When I seriously consider how all this happen'd among our selves within the compass of forty years, in a time of great Learning and Politeness, when both Parties so narrowly watch'd over one another's Actions, and what a great Revolution in Civil and Religious Affairs was partly occasion'd by the Credit of that Book, I cease to wonder any longer how so many supposititious pieces under the name of Christ, his Apostles, and other great Persons, should be publish'd and approv'd in those primitive times, when it was of so much importance to have 'em believ'd; when the Cheats were too many on all sides for them to reprove one another, which yet they often did; when Commerce was not near so general, and the whole Earth intirely overspread with the darkness of Superstition. I doubt rather the Spuriousness of several more such Books is yet undiscover'd, thro the remoteness of those Ages, the death of the Persons concern'd, and the decay of other Monuments which might give us true Information; especially when we consider how dangerous it was always for the weaker side to lay open the tricks of their Adversaries, tho never so gross: and that the prevailing Party did strictly order all those Books which offended them to be burnt, or otherwise suppress, which was accordingly perform'd, as well in obedience to the Laws by som, as out of conscientious Obligations by others, which

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made the execution more effectual than usually happens in cases of an ordinary Nature. Of this we are furnish'd with numberless Examples by Church-Historians, who have preserv'd intire several of the Laws and Orders enacted to this purpose. From these general Remarks I must observe in particular, that it's likely when *Charles* the Second knew the forgery of this Book, he was fully confirm'd in the Popish Religion, which in his Childhood he learnt of his Mother, and in his Exile by his Foren Conversation. The Author of *Eikon Basilike* desires him to adhere to the Church of *England*, as necessary both for his Soul's peace, and that of the Kingdom. This and the like Exhortations of Respect for the Liturgy and Clergy, might shew, at least, the Judgment of his dying Father; but from Dr. *Gauden* it was mere Interest and Imposture. *Charles* therefore, who knew *Morley*, *Duppa*, and others, to approve of this Fraud to which they were privy, and for whose Advantage the belief of it was serviceable, must either suspect the Forgeries laid by Protestants to the charge of Popery, when he actually knew the Protestants to play the same Game: or not being able to deny the Popish Cheats, 'tis most probable the Opinion which his intimat Friends had of him was too true, that he was really of neither Church, but believed the Pretences of both to be a reduliry or Craft; and that the transactions of his last Minutes were only the effects of a weak Mind in a distemper'd Body.

Milton wrote also in the year 48. *Observations* upon the Representation of the Presbytery of *Belfast* in *Ireland*, concerning the King's Death, the breaking of the Covenant, and the Toleration of different Persuasions, to which these Priestlings, as he calls them, were mortal Enemies; while they call'd their own Presbyterian Government the Hedg and Bulwark of Religion, which is exactly the language of the Popish Inquisition. In the same *Observations* he examines the Duke of *Ormond*'s Letter to Colonel *Jones* Governor of *Dublin*, persuading him to revolt from the Parliament. *Milton* is very angry that *Ormond* made a contemptuous mention of General *Cromwel*, "who, according to him, had don in a few years more eminent and remarkable Deeds wheron to found Nobility in his House tho it were wanting, and perpetual Renown to Posterity, than *Ormond* and all his Ancestors put together could shew from any Record of their *Irish* Exploits, the widest Scene of their Glory. But his chiefest Remarks are upon the Articles of Peace which *Ormond* concluded in the King's Name, and by his Authority, with the Popish *Irish* Rebels, wherein they are pardon'd for the Massacre and Depredation of the *English* Protestants; acknowleg'd to be dutiful and loyal Subjects; are discharg'd from taking the Oath of Supremacy, principally fram'd on the account of Papists; and, in a word, such Freedoms and Privileges were granted to those inhuman Butchers, as were never enjoy'd by their *English* Conquerors. The Second Article empowers the *Irish* Parliament to repeal or suspend (as they think fit) *Poyning's* Act, the only security of their dependence on *England*. They are intrusted by him with the Militia; and so indulgent was he to these his choice Favorits, as ridiculously to promise them the repealing of those Acts which prohibited their plowing with Horses by the Tail, or burning of Oats in the Straw, marks of their sottish and indocil Barbarity.

And now we com to his Master-piece, his chief and favorit Work in Prose, for Argument the noblest, as being the Defence of a whole free Nation, the People of *England*; for stile and disposition the most eloquent and elaborat, equalling the old *Romans* in the purity of their own Language, and their highest Notions of Liberty; as universally spread over the learned World as any of their Compositions; and certain to endure while Oratory, Politics, or History, bear any esteem among Men. It cannot be deny'd, says that excellent Critic *Monsieur Baile*, that *Milton's* Latin stile is easy, brisk, and elegant; nor that he defended the Republican Cause with a world of Address and Wit: Agreeable to which Judgment is the unanimous Suffrage of Foreners, not excepting the most zealous Assertors of Monarchy. It was written upon this occasion. *Charles* eldest Son to the King of the same name living in Exile, and wanting som body to paint the Death of his Father in the blackest Colors, either to render the Authors of it odious, the better to bring about his own return; or, if that effect did not answer, to move the Compassion of Foren Potentats to procure his Restoration, was told of *Salmasius* a Professor of the University of *Leyden* in *Holland*, as the fittest person for his purpose. This Man had got such a mighty Name from his *Plinian Exercitations*, and his critical Notes on several *Latin* and *Greec* Authors, that none was thought so knowing to equal, or so hardy to incounter him. This Man therefore *Charles* the Second hir'd for a hundred *Jacobuses* to write that bulky Volume, which in

the year 49 appear'd under the Title of *Defensio Regia*, or a Defence of *Charles* the First to *Charles* the Second. *Salmasius* being better vers'd in the Writings of Grammarians, and Lexicographers (which sort of Men were his chief Admirers) than in those of Legislators and Politicians, gave a true Demonstration that mere Scholars, when they meddle with any thing that requires Reasoning or Thought, are but mere Asses: For being wholly occupy'd about frivolous Etymologies, or the bare sound of words, and living most of their time excluded from Conversation, bury'd in dust among Worms and mouldy Records, they have no exact knowledge of things, and are perfect strangers to all the useful business of the World. Accordingly the Royal Defence was destitute of Eloquence or Art, being nothing else but a huge heap of Rubbish, consisting of injudicious Quotations, very disorderly piec'd together, seldom making for his purpose; and, when they seem'd to favor him, quite spoil'd again by his own impertinent Comments. But what's worse than all the rest, he appear'd on this occasion such an absolute stranger and bungler in his own Province, as to open a large Field for *Milton* to divert himself with his barbarous Phrases and Solecisms. Nor had he more Wit likewise than to publish his *Defence* of Monarchy in *Holland*, at the same time that he had a Pension from that Free State, and was actually entertain'd in their Service; for tho' the *Dutch* were then no good Friends to the *English*, being jealous of their growing Power, yet they could not be pleas'd with any Writing oppos'd to the common Cause of Liberty, and accordingly they blam'd *Salmasius*, and order'd the *Defence* to be suppress'd. No sooner did this Book appear in *England*, but *Milton* being then present, was unanimously nam'd by every Member of the Council of State to answer it; so good an opinion they had of his Capacity, neither did he fail their Expectations: for within a very short time he publish'd his *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*, or the Defence of the People of *England*; wherein, to speak no more of his admirable Stile than we have don already, nor of his handsomly exposing the Ignorance or Fury of *Salmasius*, he defended the Proceedings of the People of *England* from the beginning of the Civil War to that time, with such Force of Arguments and Authority of Examples, that since there could be no dispute about the Victory he obtain'd over his Adversary, the only doubt remaining with his Readers was, which should be counted superior, his own great Reading, Politeness, or Judgment. The Subject is too nice for me to make any extract of it according to the method I observ'd in som of his other Books; and besides it deserves so much to be consider'd at length in the Original, or in the *English* Version by Mr. *Washington* of the *Temple*, that I will not deprive any body of that pleasure. It's true indeed, that som have blam'd *Milton* for his rough usage of *Salmasius*, nor herein will I pretend wholly to excuse him: But when I consider how basely the whole *English* Nation was abus'd by *Salmasius*, as so many Barbarians or Enthusiasts, fiercer than their own Mastifs and yet sillier than *Athenian* Owls, it gos a great way with me towards *Milton's* Justification; and if we add to this, that he speaks not in his own Person, but as the Mouth of a potent State traduc'd by a pitiful Professor, there be those in the World that will positively commend him. Two passages only I shall insert here out of his Book; wherof the first shall be an Epigram he made to ridicule his Adversary for meddling with Affairs to which he was a stranger, having all his intelligence from inrag'd and partial Exiles; but particularly for his mistaking of *English* Names, and his mentioning of the County Court, and Hundred.

*Quis expeditivit Salmasio suam Hundredam?
Picamque docuit verba nostra conari?
Magister artis venter, & Jacobæi
Centum, exulantis viscera Marsupii regis.
Quod si dolosi spes refulserit nummi,
Ipse, Antichristi modo qui primatum Papæ
Minatus uno est dissipare sufflatu,
Cantabit ultro Cardinalitium Melos.*

English'd.

Who taught *Salmasius*, that *French* chattring Py,
To aim at *English*, and *Hundred*a cry?
The starving Rascal, flusht with just a hundred
English Jacobusses, *Hundred*a blunder'd;

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An outlaw'd King's last Stock. A hundred more
Would make him pimp for th' Antichristian Whore;
And in *Rome's* praise imploy his poison'd Breath,
Who threaten'd once to stink the Pope to death.

In these Verses he reflects on *Salmasius* for declaring himself against any sort of Hierarchy in his Book *de Primatu Papæ*, and yet being a mighty stickler for Bishops in his Defence of the King. The other Passage shall be the Epilogue or Conclusion of *Milton's* Book. “ And now I think, says he, that by God's Assistance I
“ have finish'd the Work I undertook, namely, to defend the noble Actions of
“ my Countrymen at home and abroad, against the raging and envious madness of
“ this distracted Sophister; and to assert the common Rights of the People against
“ the unjust domination of Kings, not out of any hatred to Kings, but Tyrants:
“ nor have I purposely left unanswer'd any one Argument alleg'd by my Adversary,
“ nor any Example or Authority quoted by him, that seem'd to have any
“ force in it, or the least color of a proof; perhaps I have bin guilty rather of the
“ other extreme, of replying to som of his Fooleries and Trifles as if they were
“ solid Arguments, and thereby may seem to have attributed more to them than
“ they deserv'd. One thing yet remains to be don, which perhaps is of the
“ greatest concern of all, and that is, that you my Countrymen confute this Adversary
“ of yours your selves; which I do not see any other means of your effecting
“ than by a constant endeavor to outdo all Mens bad words by your own
“ good Deeds. When you labor'd under more sorts of Oppression than one, you
“ betook your selves to God for Refuge, and he was graciously pleas'd to hear
“ your most earnest Prayers and Desires. He gloriously deliver'd you, the first
“ of Nations, from the two greatest Mischiefs of this Life, and the most pernicious
“ to Virtue, Tyranny and Superstition; he indu'd you with that Greatness
“ of Soul to be the first of Mankind, who, after having conquer'd and captivated
“ their own King, have not scrupl'd to condemn him judicially, and, according
“ to that just Sentence, to put him to death. After performing so illustrious an
“ Action as this, you ought to do nothing that's mean and little, not even to think,
“ much less to do any thing but what is great and sublime. To attain which Praise
“ there is only this one way, that as you have subdu'd your Enemies in the field,
“ so to make it appear that unarm'd and in full Peace you of all Mankind are ablest
“ to conquer Ambition, Avarice, the love of Riches, and can best avoid those
“ Corruptions of Prosperity which are apt to get the better of other Nations; to
“ shew as great Justice, Temperance, and Moderation, in preserving your Liberty,
“ as you have don Courage in freeing your selves from Slavery. These are
“ the only Arguments and Authorities by which you will be able to evince that
“ you are not such persons as this Fellow represents you, Traitors, Robbers, Murderers,
“ Parricides, Madmen; that you did not put your King to death out of
“ any ambitious design or a desire of invading the Rights of others, not out of any
“ seditious Principles or sinister Ends, not agitated by Fury or Madness; but that
“ it was wholly out of love to your Liberty, Religion, Justice, Virtue, and inflam'd
“ with an Affection for your Country, that you punish'd a Tyrant. But
“ if it should happen otherwise (which I pray God mercifully to forbid) if as you
“ have bin valiant in War, you should grow debauch'd in Peace, you that have
“ had such visible Demonstrations of the Goodness of God to your selves, and
“ his Wrath against your Enemies, and that you should not learn by so eminent
“ and memorable an Example before your eyes, to fear God and work Righteousness
“ for my part, I shall easily grant and confess (for I cannot deny it) all the ill
“ that Liers and Slanders now think or speak of you to be true. And you will
“ find in a little time that God's Displeasure against you will be greater than it has
“ bin against your Adversaries, greater than his benign Favor and paternal Care
“ which you have experienc'd above all the Nations under Heaven. *Milton* was
“ rewarded with a thousand Pounds for this performance; and how differently his
“ Defence of the People, and that of *Salmasius* for the King were entertain'd by
“ the curious, we may learn from the mouth of him that next appear'd for the Royal
“ Cause. “ What the most accomplish'd *Salmasius*, says he, has discretely writ-
“ ten in defence of the Right and Honor of *Charles the British* Monarch, murder'd
“ by wicked Men, has born but one Impression, and saw the Light with
“ great difficulty; with so much hatred dos the World persecute Truth in these
“ latter times: but of what the most execrable *Milton* has spitefully elaborated to
“ ruin the Reputation of the deceas'd King, and to destroy the hereditary Suc-
“ cession

“cession of the Crown, there are so many Editions, that I am uncertain to which of them I should refer my Reader; so passionately fond are Men grown now of Lies and Calumnies! On this Book our Author did not think it worth his while to animadvert, but delegated that easy task to his younger Nephew *John Philips*, now alive, who soon wrote a sufficient Answer to Bishop *Bramhall*: for so this new Antagonist was suppos’d to be call’d.

Salmasius made a huge figure at this time in the *Swedish* Court, whither Queen *Christina* invited all the Men of Letters in *Europe*, so that her whole Train was compos’d in a manner of Grammarians, Rhetoricians, Philosophers, Astrologers, and Critics: nor was her Administration unanswerable to her Attendants; for besides a total neglect of good Laws for the public Benefit, and her imprudent preferring of Strangers before the Natives of the Country, she led a mere romantic Life, sometimes frolicsomely disguising her self in Mens Clothes, and then gravely disputing with her Doctors, till at last she was forc’d to a shameful Abdication of the Government; and the end of all her Learning was to turn Papist for a Pension from the Pope, or to have an old meager Frier to pardon her Sins, and a brawny Cardinal for her Stallion. Now no sooner had the Defence of the *English* Nation reach’d *Sweden*, and was read to the Queen at her own desire, but *Salmasius*, who till then had bin as it were her prime Minister, and who, when he first saw the Book, foolishly swore he would destroy *Milton* and the whole Parliament, decreas’d so much in her esteem, and dwindled to such a degree in the opinion of all others, that he thought it not for his Interest to continue longer there, and was dismiss’d with extraordinary Coldness and Contempt. And not expecting to be better receiv’d in *Holland*, or any where else, he left an imperfect posthumous Reply, and had recourse to Death, the last refuge of the Miserable, and the safest shelter to cover them from Infamy and Disgrace. *Milton*, on the other hand, was, on the first appearance of his Book, visited or invited by all the Ambassadors at *London*, not excepting those of Crown’d Heads, and particularly esteem’d by *Adrian Paau* the Ambassador of the flourishing Republic of *Holland*. His Book indeed was burnt at *Paris*, not by order of the Parliament, but, at the instigation of the Priests, by the Lieutenant Civil, and likewise at *Tholouse*, which serv’d only to procure it more Readers: for he was highly extol’d at the same time, or complemented by Letters from the most ingenious Persons in *Germany* or *France*; and, as if the old *Grecian* Republics had reviv’d to decree the accusom’d Honors to the Assertors of Liberty, *Leonardus Philaras*, an *Athenian* born, and Ambassador from the Duke of *Parma* to the *French* King, wrote a fine Commendation of his Defence, and sent him his Picture, together with a personal Elogium. From these undeniable Matters of Fact (without deciding the merit of the cause on either side) it is plain that in the judgment of all *Europe*, *Milton* got infinitely the better of *Salmasius*; for it could not be Partiality to a Free Government, but the resistless Light of Truth, that obtain’d such a Confession from the Ministers or Subjects of absolute Princes.

Now he had som leisure again to follow his other Studies of a more delightful and peaceable nature than these Controversies, and had also a Son born to him, who dy’d in his Infancy. In the year 52, he remov’d for his Health from his Lodgings at *Whitehal* to a House opening into *St. James’s Park*, which shall be the Scene of all his Actions till the Restoration of the Royal Family. In this place his first Wife dying in Childbed, he, after a convenient space, marry’d a second, *Catharine* the Daughter of Captain *Woodcock* of *Hackney*, who within a year dy’d also in the same condition, and was about a month after follow’d by her Child, which was a Girl. His Sight was quite gon before this Match; for by reason of his continual Studies, and the Headach, to which he was subject from his Youth, his Eys were decaying for a dozen years before: but we shall have an occasion by and by to give a further account of this matter.

The same year appear’d a bitter Invective from abroad against the Parliamentarians. The Title of it was, * *The Cry of the King’s Blood for Vengeance to Heaven* * Clamor Regii Sanguinis against the *English* Parricides. In this Book *Milton* is particularly traduc’d, and accus’d to have bin expel’d out of the University of *Cambridge* for som Misdemeanors, wherupon he retir’d into *Italy*: but the falsity of this Story is already prov’d. Several other frivolous things are laid to his charge, which he on the other hand denies; nor do his Adversaries insist upon them in their Answers: now there cannot be a clearer proof of his Innocence, than that being accus’d he publicly denies the fact, and his Enemies can’t contradict him. But Envy and Malice often carry such as have got the worse to affirm most absurd and ridiculous things: So *Salmasius* in his dying Reply foolishly reports that *Milton* wrote not the Defence himself, but lent
d his

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his Name to the Hand of a little *French Schoolmaster at London*. But, as it always happens in such cases, he got nothing by this silly figment, but gave *Milton* an opportunity of making his own Ability, and the Weakness of *Salmasius*, further known to the World. Thus some People think to gratify an offended Person with telling him a hundred illatur'd Stories of his Antagonist, to which his Passion makes him give credit without due Examination, and then becomes a Fool by asserting them. The true Author of the *Clamor Regii Sanguinis* was *Peter du Moulin* the younger, a Prebendary of *Canterbury*; but *Alexander Morus* a *French Minister* being the Publisher of it, and having prefix'd a Dedication in the Printer's Name to *Charles II.* he was generally thought to be the Writer of the whole. This *Morus* was the Son of a learned *Scot*, who was Principal of the Protestant College formerly at *Castres in Languedoc*. His insufferable Haughtiness, immoderate Inclination for Women, and Contempt of his Colleagues, made him odious and uneasy wherever he liv'd. He was hasty, ambitious, satyrical, and could never commend any thing but his own Works, or those of his Admirers. He was cry'd up for a Seraphic Preacher; but, as *Baile* judiciously says, his Talent must have consisted in the Gracefulness of his Pronunciation and Gesture, or in those Flourishes and Puns wherof his Sermons are full: for 'tis certain that they retain not those Charms now on Paper which they were said to have formerly in the Pulpit. Against him therefore *Milton* by public Command publishes a second Defence for the People of *England*, which, besides what the Title promises, contains a bloody Satyr upon *Morus*, nor does he deny himself to have bin the occasion of *Salmasius's* Death. I shall not rake into the Ashes of the Dead, but content my self with inserting here two pieces of *Milton's* Wit. The first is a Distich made upon *Morus* for getting *Pontia* the Maid of his Friend *Salmasius* with Child.

*Galli ex Concubitu gravidam te, Pontia, Mori,
Quis bene moratam, morigeramque neget?*

The other shall be an Epigram wherin *Milton* laughs at *Morus* for threatening him with a second Edition of *Salmasius's* Defence of the King, augmented with Animadversions on his Defence of the People.

*Gaudete Scombri, & quicquid est piscium Salo,
Qui frigida Hyeme incolitis argentes freta,
Vestrum misertus ille Salmasius Eques
Bonus amicare nuditatem cogitat;
Chartæque largus apparat papyrinos
Vobis cucullos præferentes Claudii
Insignia, nomenque, & Decus Salmasii:
Gestetis ut per omne cetarium forum
Equitis clientes, scriniis mungentium
Cubito virorum, & capsulis gratissimos.*

The Author of the *Clamor Regii Sanguinis* having barbarously objected to *Milton* his Blindness, and that he was meager and pale, he gives him an Answer in these words: "I was never counted deform'd, as I know, by any that ever saw me; but whether to be counted handsome or not is none of my concern. My Stature, I confess, is not extraordinary tall, yet I am rather a middlefiz'd than little Man. But what if little I were? Have not many Persons eminent in the Arts of War and Peace bin so before me? tho I see no reason why that should be call'd little which in Courage is sufficiently great. Neither am I so slender; for I was strong and capable enough in my Youth to handle my Weapons, and to exercise daily Fencing; so that wearing a Sword by my side, as became a Gentleman, I thought my self a match for those that were much stronger, and was not afraid of receiving an affront from any body. I have still the same Soul and Vigor, but not the same Eyes; yet to all outward appearance so sound, so clear, and free from the least spot, as theirs who see furthest: and herein only, in spite of my self, I am a Deceiver. My Countenance, than which he says there's nothing paler, is still of a Color so contrary to wan and bloodless, that tho I am above forty, any body would think me ten years younger, being neither contracted in Body or Skin. If in any of these Particulars I told a Ly, I should be deservedly ridiculous to many thousands of my own Countrymen, and to several Strangers that personally know me. As for his Blindness, he says that such a condition

dition is not miserable, but not to be able to bear it; and then quotes the Examples of valiant, learned, wise, and holy Men of all times that have bin blind. But the loss of his Eys being objected to him as an effect of divine Vengeance, after solemnly protesting that he's not conscious of any thing for which he should deserve that punishment more than other Men, he adds, "As for what I wrote at any time (since the Royalists think I now suffer on that account, and triumph over me) I call God to witness that I did not write any thing but what I then thought, and am still persuaded to be right, and true, and acceptable to God; not led by any sort of Ambition, Profit, or Vainglory; but have don all from a sense of Duty and Honor, out of piety to my Country, and for the Liberty of Church and State. On the contrary, when that Task of answering the King's Defence was injoin'd me by public Authority, being both in an ill state of Health, and the Sight of one Ey almost gon already, the Physicians openly predicting the loss of both if I undertook this Labor; yet nothing terrify'd by their Premonition, I did not long balance whether any Duty should be prefer'd to my Eys. And what he really thought of his Blindness, and how he bore it, may be further perceiv'd by this Sonnet to his Friend *Cyriac Skinner*, never printed with his other Poems.

Cyriac, this three years day, these Eys, tho clear
To outward view of blemish or of spot,
Bereft of sight, their seeing have forgot.
Nor to their idle Orbs dos Day appear,
Or Sun, or Moon, or Star, throout the year;
Or Man, or Woman. Yet I argue not
Against Heaven's hand, or will, nor bate one jot
Of Heart or Hope; but still bear up, and steer
Right onward. What supports me, dost thou ask?
The Conscience, Friend, t'have lost them overply'd
In Liberty's Defence, my noble Task,
Wherof all *Euroſe* rings from side to side.
This Thought might lead me thro this World's vain Mask,
Content, tho blind, had I no other Guide.

Morus publisht his *Fides publica* in answer to *Milton's* second Defence, to which the latter oppos'd a * *Defence of himself*; and by Original Letters, or the like Authentic Pieces, made good all his Assertions against his Adversary: wherupon *Morus* vanquisht and baffled, quitted the Field. Our Author was now *Latin* Secretary to 'the Protector *Oliver Cromwel*, who, he confidently hop'd, would imploy his Trust and Power to extinguish the numerous Factions of the State, and to settle such a perfect Form of a Free Government, wherin no single Person should injoy any Power above or beside the Laws: but he particularly expected his establishing an impartial Liberty of Conscience, to which he encourages him by these Lines, never printed among his Poems.

Cromwel, our chief of Men, that thro a croud
Not of War only, but Distractions rude,
(Guided by Faith and matchless Fortitude)
To Peace and Truth thy glorious Way hast plow'd,
And fought God's Battles, and his Work pursu'd,
While *Darwent* streams with Blood of *Scots* imbru'd,
And *Dunbar* Field resound thy Praises loud,
And *Worc'sters* Laureat-Wreath. Yet much remains
To conquer still; Peace has her Victories,
No less than those of War. New Foes arise
Threatning to bind our Souls in secular Chains:
Help us to save free Conscience from the Paw
Of Hireling Wolves, whose Gospel is their Maw.

He had leisure enough now from his Employment in the State (no Adversary daring to appear any more) to pursue his *History of Britain*, and his new *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*: but what took up most of his time was the Epic Poem he had so long design'd, and which is since printed under the Title of *Paradise Lost*, wherof in due order. But the next Book he publisht was a *Treatise*, dedicated to the Parliament,

lament, of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes, shewing that it is not lawful for any Power on Earth to compel in Matters of Religion, whether Speculative or Practical; or in any thing except Immorality, or what evidently subverts the Foundations of Civil Society: for which reason he justly excludes Popery from this Toleration, for being not so much a Religion, as a Politic Faction wherof the Members, whosoever they are, own the Pope for their Superior, to the prejudice of the Allegiance due to their Natural Sovereigns. Besides, that they never tolerat others where they have the mastery; and that their Doctrin of Dispensations, or keeping no Faith with such as they count Heretics, renders 'em worse than Atheists, and the declar'd Enemies of all Mankind besides those of their own Communion.

After this he addrest to the Parliament, *Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove Hirelings out of the Church*; not that he was against all sort of Maintenance for the public ministry of Religion, which he acknowledges due by the Light of Reason, as well as the Examples of all Ages; but he proves that Tithes were inconvenient, and not of Divine Right, which was then strongly asserted even by the Presbyterians and Independents. He observes, that two things do mainly corrupt Religion, and hinder the advancement of Truth, Force on the one side restraining the Professors, and Hire on the other side corrupting the Teachers of it. "The latter of these, says he, is by much the more dangerous: for under Force, tho no thanks to the Forcers, true Religion oftentimes best thrives and flourishes; but the corruption of Teachers, most commonly the effect of Hire, is the very bane of Truth in them who are so corrupted. There is much curious History in this Book concerning Church Revenues, to which I refer those who have not read Father Paul of Beneficiary Matters, nor Father Simon who wrote after him. Speaking of the Ministers, "They pretend, says he, that their Education, either at School or the University, has bin very chargeable, and therefore ought to be repair'd afterwards by a fruitful Maintenance: whereas it is well known that the better half of them (and oftentimes poor and pitiful Boys, of no merit or promising hopes that might intitle them to the public Provision, but their poverty and the unjust favor of Friends) have had the most of their breeding, both at School and University, by Scholarships, Exhibitions, and Fellowships, at the public Cost, which might ingage them the rather to give freely as they freely receiv'd. Or if they have mis'd of these Helps at the latter place, they have after two or three years left the course of their Studies there (if they ever well began them) and undertaken, tho furnish'd with little else but ignorance, boldness, and ambition, if with no worse Vices, a Chaplainship in some Gentleman's House, to the frequent imbasing of his Sons with illiterat and narrow Principles. Or if they have liv'd there upon their own, who knows not that seven years charge of living there, to them who fly not from the Government of their Parents to the License of a University, but com seriously to study, is no more than may be well defray'd and reimburs'd by one year's Revenue of an ordinary good Benefice? If they had then Means of breeding from their Parents, 'tis likely they have more now; and if they have, it must needs be mechanic and disingenuous in them to bring a Bill of Charges for the learning those liberal Arts and Sciences which they have learnt (if they have indeed learnt them, as they seldom have) to their own benefit and accomplishment. Towards the conclusion he has these words; "I have thus at large examin'd the usual Pretences of Hirelings, color'd over most commonly with the Cause of Learning and Universities; as if with Divines Learning stood and fell, wherein for the most part their Pittance is so small; and, to speak freely, it were much better there were not one Divine in the University, nor no School Divinity known, the idle Sophistry of Monks, the Canker of Religion; and that they who intended to be Ministers, were train'd up in the Church only by the Scripture, and in the Original Languages therof at School, without fetching the compass of other Arts and Sciences more than what they can well learn at secondary leisure, and at home. Neither speak I this in content of Learning, or the Ministry, but hating the common cheats of both; hating that they who have preacht out Bishops, Prelats, and Canonists, should, in what serves their own ends, retain their false Opinions, their pharisaical Leven, their Avarice, and closely their Ambition, their Pluralities, their Nonresidences, their odious Fees, and use their Legal and Popish Arguments for Tithes: That Independents should take that name, and seek to be Dependents on the Magistrat for their Maintenance; which two things, Independence and Statehire in Religion, can never consist long or certainly together. For Magistrats at one time or other,

"not

“ not like these at present our Patrons of Christian Liberty, will pay none but
 “ such whom by their Committees of Examination, they find conformable to
 “ their Interest and Opinions : And Hirelings will soon frame themselves to that
 “ Interest and those Opinions which they see best pleasing to their Paymasters ;
 “ and, to seem right themselves, will force others as to the Truth. After prov-
 ing the Christian Religion not to be more difficult than any other Art or Science,
 nay, and that the knowledge of it may be much sooner attain’d ; “ We may con-
 “ clude, says he, that if Men be not all their lifetime under a Teacher to learn Lo-
 “ gic, Natural Philosophy, Ethics, or Mathematics, which are more difficult ;
 “ that certainly it is not necessary to the attainment of Christian Knowledge, that
 “ Men should sit all their life long at the feet of a pulpited Divine, while he, a
 “ Lollard indeed over his elbow Cushion, in almost the seventh part of forty or
 “ fifty years, teaches them scarce half the Principles of Religion : And his Sheep
 “ oftentimes sit all the while to as little purpose of benefiting, as the Sheep in their
 “ pews at *Smithfield*, and for the most part are by some Simony or other bought and
 “ sold like them ; or, if this Comparison be too low, like those Women, men-
 “ tion’d by *St. Paul*, ever learning and never attaining ; yet not so much thro
 “ their own Fault, as thro the unskilful and immethodical Teaching of their Pas-
 “ tor, preaching here and there at random out of this or that Text, as his ease or
 “ fancy, and oftentimes as his health guides him.

Cromwel being dead, *Richard* depos’d, and the Army having restor’d the old fa-
 mous Parliament, but almost as soon dissolv’d it, *Milton* wrote a Letter to some
 Statesman, with whom he had a serious discourse about the lamentable Confusions
 of that time. It is in a very pathetic Style, and contains a true Representation of
 what the Soldiers had don ; to whom he tells, that it is scarce to be exempl’d,
 even among Barbarians, that an Army duly paid should, for no cause at all, sub-
 due the Supreme Power that set them up. “ This, says he, other Nations will
 “ judg to the sad dishonor of that Army, lately renown’d for the civilest and best
 “ order’d in the Universe, and by us here at home for the most conscientious.
 Now, if an Army deserving this Character was capable of enslaving their Coun-
 try, what may be expected from any other, as most are, of a worse disposition ?
 In this Letter he delivers the Model of a Commonwealth ; not such as he thought
 the best, but what might be readiest settled at that time to prevent the restitu-
 tion of Kingship and Domestic Disorders, till a more favorable Season, or bet-
 ter Dispositions for erecting a perfect Democracy. This and another small Piece
 to the same purpose, address I suppose to *Monk*, were communicated to me by a
 worthy Friend, who, a little after the Author’s Death, had them from his Ne-
 phew ; and I imparted them to the Publishers of the new Edition of his Works
 in Folio.

His last Piece before the Restoration of the Royal Family, except the *brief*
Notes he publisht on *Dr. Griffith’s* Sermon, was intitul’d, *The ready and easy Way to*
establish a Free Commonwealth, and the Excellence thereof compar’d with the Inconven-
iences and Dangers of readmitting Kingship in this Nation. This Book appear’d in
 Sixty, when he perceiv’d that noxious humor of returning to Bondage, as he
 calls it, to prevail, which was instil’d by some Deceivers, and nourish’d by the
 bad Principles or false Apprehensions of the People. “ If their absolute Deter-
 “ mination be to enthrall us, says he ; before so long a *Lent* of Servitude, they
 “ may permit us a little Shroving time first, wherein to speak freely and take our
 “ leaves of Liberty. He endeavors to set before the Eyes of the Nation the fol-
 ly and unreasonableness of all they had so valiantly don for several years, if they
 at last readmitted Kingship ; that they would be the shame of all free Countrys,
 and the Laughingstock of all Monarchies. “ Where is this goodly Tower of a
 “ Commonwealth, will Foreners say, which the *English* boasted they would build
 “ to overshadow Kings, and be another *Rome* in the West ? The Foundation in-
 “ deed they laid gallantly, but fell into a worse Confusion, not of Tongues but
 “ of Factions, than those at the Tower of *Babel* ; and have left no Memorial of
 “ their Work behind them remaining, but in the common laughter of *Europe*.
 “ Which must needs redound the more to our shame, if we but look on our
 “ Neighbors the *United Provinces*, to us inferior in all outward Advantages ; who
 “ notwithstanding, in the midst of greater Difficulties, courageously, wisely, con-
 “ stantly went thro with the same Work, and are settled in all the happy in-
 “ joyments of a potent and flourishing Republic to this day. Besides this, if we
 “ return to Kingship, and soon repent (as undoubtedly we shall when we find the
 “ old Incroachments coming by little and little upon our Consciences, which
 “ must

" must necessarily procede from King and Bishop united inseparably in one In-
 " terest) we may be forc'd perhaps to fight over again all that we have fought.
 " — A Free Commonwealth was not only held by wisest Men in all Ages, the
 " noblest, the manliest, the equallest, the justest Government, the most agreeable
 " to due Liberty, and proportion'd Equality, both Human, Civil, and Christian,
 " most cherishing to Virtue and true Religion, but also plainly commended, or ra-
 " ther injoin'd by our Savior himself to all Christians, not without a remarka-
 " ble disallowance, and the brand of Gentilism upon Kingship. God in much
 " displeasure gave a King to the *Israelits*, and imputed it a Sin to them that
 " they fought one: but Christ apparently forbids his Disciples to admit of
 " any such Heathenish Government. *The Kings of the Gentils*, says he, *ex-*
 " *ercise Lordship over them, and they that exercise Authority upon them are call'd*
 " *Benefactors: But you shall not do so, but he that is greatest among you, let him*
 " *be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that serves.* The occasion of
 " these words was the ambitious desire of *Zebedees* two Sons to be exalted
 " above their Brethren in the Kingdom, which they thought was to be er'e long
 " upon Earth. That he speaks of Civil Government is manifest by the former
 " part of the Comparison, which infers the other part to be always of the same
 " kind. And what Government comes nearer to this Precept of Christ, than a
 " Free Commonwealth? Wherin they who are greatest are perpetual Servants
 " and Drudges to the Public at their own cost and charges, neglecting their own
 " Affairs, yet are not elevated above their Brethren, live soberly in their Fami-
 " lies, walk the Streets as other Men, may be spoken to freely, familiarly, friend-
 " ly, without Adoration. Whereas a King must be ador'd like a Demigod, with
 " a dissolute and haughty Court about him, of vast Expence and Luxury, Masks
 " and Revels, to the debauching of our prime Gentry both Male and Female,
 " not in their Pastimes only, but in earnest by the loose Employments of Court-
 " Service, which will be then thought honorable. There will be a Queen of no
 " less charge; in most likelihood outlandish and a Papist, besides a Queenmother
 " such already, together with both their Courts and numerous Train. Then a
 " Royal Issue, and e're long severally their sumptuous Courts, to the multiplying
 " of a servil Crew, not of Servants only, but of Nobility and Gentry bred up
 " then, not to the hopes of Public, but of Court Offices; to be Stewards, Chamber-
 " lains, Ushers, Grooms, even of the Closettool: And the lower their Minds are
 " debas'd with Court opinions contrary to all Virtue and Reformation, the haught-
 " tier will be their Pride and Presumptions. As to the burden of Expence, we shall
 " soon know it to our cost; for any good to us, deserving to be term'd no better
 " than the vast and lavish price of our Subjection, and their Debauchery, which we
 " are now so greedily cheapening, and would so fain be paying most inconsiderately
 " to a single Person, who, for any thing wherein the Public really needs him, will
 " have little else to do but to bestow the eating and drinking of excessive Dainties,
 " to set a pompous face upon the superficial actings of State, to pageant himself
 " up and down in progress among the perpetual Bowings and Cringings of an ab-
 " ject People, on either side deifying and adoring him for nothing done that can
 " deserve it. In this Book he delivers the Model of a Commonwealth, well suited
 " perhaps to the Circumstances of that time, but inferior in all respects to *Harring-*
 " *ton's Oceana*, which for the Practicableness, Equality, and Completeness of it,
 " is the most perfect form of such a Government that was ever delineated by any an-
 " tient or modern Pen.

And now, the King being ready to land, our Author was discharg'd from his
 Office of Latin Secretary, and oblig'd for the Safety of his Person to leave his
 House near *St. James's Park*, where for eight years before he was visited by all
 Foreners of Note, by several Persons of Quality, and by the Ingenious of every
 Persuasion or Party. *Andrew Marvel*, who by his Parts and Probity made him-
 self so much known since that time in *England*, us'd to frequent him the ofteneft of
 any body; and whether it was he or *Milton* (for both are nam'd for it) that made
 the Verses sent with *Cromwel's* Picture to the Queen of *Sweden*, I am uncertain:
 but whoever was the Author, they deserve a room in this place.

Cromwel speaks:

Bellipotens virgo, septem Regina Trionum
Christina, Arctoi lucida stella poli;

*Cernis quas merui dura sub Casside rugas,
Utque senex armis impiger ora tero :
Invia fatorum dum per vestigia nitor,
Exequor & populi fortia jussa manu.
Ast tibi submittit frontem reverentior umbra,
Nec sunt hi vultus regibus usque truces.*

English'd.

Bright martial Maid, Queen of the frozen Zone,
The Northern Pole supports thy shining Throne ;
Behold what Furrows Age and Steel can plow,
The Helmet's weight oppress this wrinkled Brow.
Thro Fate's untrodden Paths I move, my Hands
Still act my freeborn Peoples bold Commands :
Yet this stern shade to you submits his Frowns,
Nor are these looks always severe to Crowns.

From the year 52, to that of 60, he corresponded much with learned Forerers, as appears by his Letters to *Millius*, *Oldenburg*, *Heimbachius*, *De Brasi*, *Leo ab Alizema*, and *Emeric Bigot*. His Admirer *Leonardus Philarus* coming upon some occasions to *London*, went to see *Milton*, who, tho he could not see him again, was extremely pleas'd with his Conversation. He afterwards acquainted *Milton* by a Letter, that there was a Physician who perform'd Wonders on blind People at *Paris*, and requests him to send in writing the state and progress of his Distemper, which to gratify his Friend our Author perform'd, yet without expressing any hopes of a cure. *Cyriac Skinner* was one of his constant Visitors, which Honor he not seldom receiv'd also from the pious and virtuous Lady *Ranelagh*, whose Son, the present Earl of *Ranelagh*, he instructed for some time, and sent him several Letters of Advice during his Travels abroad ; but in one directed to him at the University, he uses these words : " As for what you write to me, that you are so much pleas'd
" with *Oxford*, you cannot persuade me the more that you receiv'd any Improve-
" ment there, or art become a bit the wiser, unless you shew me some other Rea-
" sons for it. Those Victories of Princes which you extol, and such other things,
" wherein Force has the greatest share, I would not have you too much admire,
" especially now being a Hearer of Philosophers: where's the wonder if in the
" Country of Rams there grow strong Horns, which are able to batter Towns
" and Cities with such violence? But learn thou from thy Childhood to dis-
" cern and judg of great Examples, not from Violence and Force, but by Justice
" and Temperance.

But, as I said before, he was now oblig'd to abscond till the Act of Oblivion was publish'd, wherein he and *John Goodwin* (the great spreader of Arminianism, and who in writing also justify'd the Death of *Charles* the First) were only excepted from bearing any Office in the Nation. Our Author had many good Friends to intercede for him both in the Privy Council and in the House of Commons; nor was *Charles* the Second such an Enemy to the Muses as to require his Destruction, tho some are of opinion that he was more oblig'd to that Prince's Forgetfulness than to his Clemency.

As soon as his Pardon was past the Seals, he appear'd again, and marry'd his third Wife *Elizabeth*, the Daughter of Mr. *Minshal* of *Cheshire*, recommended to him by his Friend Dr. *Paget*. He had no Children by this last Wife, nor any living by his second ; but of his three Daughters by the first, he made two very serviceable to himself, and, in so doing, to the rest of the World. For tho many sent their Sons to read for him, and several grown Persons were ambitious of obliging him that way for their own Improvement ; yet he taught these young Women to read and pronounce with great exactness the *English*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, *French*, *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin* Languages. So that whatever Book he had occasion to use, one of 'em was forc'd to read it to him, tho neither of 'em understood a word of those Writings, except *English* their Mother Tongue. This Drudgery could not but render them in time very uneasy ; and accordingly when he understood their Murmurs, he dispens'd with their Duty in this case, and sent them out to learn other things more becoming their Sex and Condition.

What employ'd a good part of his Thoughts for many years before, and was at first only design'd to be a Tragedy, I mean his incomparable Epic Poem, intitul'd,

Paradise

The Life of John Milton.

Paradise Lost, he now had sufficient leisure to prosecute and finish. It is a great wonder that this piece should ever be brought to perfection, considering the many Interruptions that obstructed it. His Youth was spent in Study, Travelling, and religious Controversy; his Manhood was employ'd in Affairs of State, or those of his Family; and in his latter years, to speak nothing of a decaying Fancy, nor of his personal Troubles, he was by reason of his Blindness oblig'd to write by whatever hand came next, ten, or twenty, or thirty Verses at a time; and consequently must trust the judgment of others at least for the Pointing and Orthography. But another difficulty that stopt its passage to the World was very singular: for his Vein never happily flow'd but from the Autumnal to the Vernal Equinox, as his Nephew *Edward Philips* affirms, who says he was told this particular by *Milton* himself; and yet I fancy he might be mistaken as to the time, because our Author in his *Latin* Elegy on the approach of the Spring seems to say just the contrary, as if he could not make any Verses to his satisfaction till the Spring begun, according to these lines.

*Fallor? An & nobis redeunt in carmina vires,
Ingeniumque mihi munere veris adest?
Munere veris adest, iterumque vigescit ab illo,
(Quis putet) atque aliquod jam sibi poscit opus.*

A more judicious Friend of his informs me, that he could never compose well but in the Spring and Autumn: And let it be which way you will, it follows that this Piece was compos'd in half the time he was thought to be about it. As to the choice of his Subject, or the Particulars of his Story, I shall say nothing in defence of them against those People who brand 'em with Heresy and Impiety: for to incur the Displeasure of certain ignorant and supercilious Critics, argues free Thinking, accurat Writing, and a generous Profession of Truth. I'm sure if *Hesiod*, or such other fabulous Authors in the rude ages of the World, had given so intelligible, coherent, and delightful an account of the Creation of the Universe, and the Origin of Mankind their System had pass'd for Divine Inspiration; and the Unbelievers of it would appear to be so few, that any of 'em might well be shewn for a Monster rather than be thought worthy of Punishment or Confutation. As to the regularity of the Poem, I never knew it question'd by any but such as would build themselves a Reputation on the flaws and mistakes they discover in other Mens Labors. But the unparallel'd Sublimity and Force of the Expression, with the delicacy of his Thoughts, and the copiousness of his Invention, are unanimously own'd by all ranks of Writers. He has incontestably excelled the fecundity of *Homer*, whose two Poems he could almost repeat without book: nor did he come much short of the correctness of *Virgil*; which is affirm'd by one whole judgment in this Province will be acknowledg'd by every man that is not willing to expose the defect of his own. I mean the famous *John Dryden*, the best *English* Poet alive, the present Glory of our Stage, and the Model of the same to future Ages; for he (having absolutely master'd these three Originals by framing a Tragedy out of *Paradise Lost*, making the Charms of *Virgil* appear in the *English* Tongue, and studying *Homer* for the same purpose) pronounces his Judgment in favor of *Milton* by this incomparable and envy'd Epigram.

Three Poets in three distant Ages born,
Greece, Italy, and England did adorn:
The first in Loftiness of Thought surpass'd;
The next in Majesty; in both the last.
The Force of Nature could no further go:
To make a Third, she join'd the other Two.

The first Edition of *Paradise Lost* was publish'd in the year 1666, in ten Books; but afterwards, amended and enlarg'd by himself, it was dispos'd according to his Direction into twelve Books, as it is read at present. I must not forget that we had like to be eternally depriv'd of this Treasure by the Ignorance or Malice of the Licenser; who, among other frivolous Exceptions, would needs suppress the whole Poem for imaginary Treason in the following lines.

—As, when the Sun new risen
Looks thro the Horizontal misty Air

Shorn of his Beams, or from behind the Moon
In dim Eclipse disastrous Twilight sheds
On half the Nations, and with fear of change
Perplexes Monarchs.

Milton, taking an occasion from *Satan's* ascending out of infernal Darkneſs towards the Light of this World then newly created, perpetuats the Hiſtory of his own Blindneſs in this admirable Paſſage.

Hail, holy Light; Oſpring of Heaven Firſtborn,
Or of th' eternal coeternal Beam,
May I expreſs thee unblam'd? * Since God is Light,
And never but in unapproach'd Light
Dwelt from Eternity, dwelt then in thee
Bright Effluence of bright Eſſence increate.
Or hearſt thou rather pure ethereal Stream,
Whoſe Fountain who ſhall tell? Before the Sun,
Before the Heavens thou wert; and at the Voice
Of God, as with a Mantle, didſt inveſt
The riſing World of Waters dark and deep,
Won from the void and formleſs Infinite.
Thee I reviſit now with bolder Wing,
Eſcap'd the *Stygian* Pool, tho long detain'd
In that obſcure Sojourn; while in my flight
(Thro utter and thro middle Darkneſs born)
I ſung of *Chaos* and eternal Night,
Taught by the heavenly Muſe to venture down
The dark Deſcent, and up to re-aſcend
Tho hard and rare. Thee I reviſit ſafe,
And feel thy ſovrain vital Lamp; but thou
Reviſit'ſt not theſe Eys that roll in vain
To find thy piercing Ray, and find no dawn:
So thick a Drop ſerene has quench'd their Orbs
Or dim Suffuſion veil'd! Yet not the more
Ceafe I to wander where the Muſes haunt
Clear Spring, or ſhady Grove, or ſunny Hill,
Smit with the Love of ſacred Song; but chief,
Thee, *Sion*, and thy flowry Brooks beneath
That waſh thy hallowed Feet, and warbling flow,
Nightly I viſit. Nor ſometimes forget
Thoſe other two equal'd with me in Fate
(So were I equal'd with them in Renown)
Blind *Thamyris* and blind *Maonides*,
And *Tyrefias* and *Phineus*, Prophets old.
Then feed on Thoughts that voluntary move
Harmonious Numbers; as the wakeful Bird
Sings darkling, and, in ſhadyeſt Coverts hid,
Tunes her nocturnal Note. Thus with the Year
Seasons return, but not to me returns
Day, or the ſweet approach of Ev'n, or Morn,
Or ſight of vernal Bloom, or Summers Roſe,
Or Flocks, or Herds, or human Face divine:
But Cloud inſtead, and everduring Dark
Surrounds me, from the chearful ways of Men
Cut off; and, for the Book of Knowledge fair,
Preſented with an univerſal Blank
Of Nature's Works to me expung'd and raz'd,
And Wiſdom at one entrance quite ſhut out.
So much the rather, thou Celeſtial Light,
Shine inward, and the Mind thro all her Powers
Irradiat: there plant Eys, all Miſt from thence
Purge and diſperſe, that I may ſee and tell
Of things inviſible to mortal ſight.

The Life of John Milton.

An Epic Poem is not a bare History delightfully related in harmonious Numbers, and artfully dispos'd; but it always contains, besides a general representation of Passions and Affections, Virtues and Vices, some peculiar Allegory or Moral. *Homer* therefore, according to *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, expresses strength of Body in his *Iliad* by the Wars of the *Greeks* and *Trojans*, but particularly by the valiant Deeds of *Achilles*; and in his *Odyssey* he describes generosity of Mind by the Adventures and Wandrings of *Ulysses* in his return from *Troy*. Thus *Torquato Tasso* has prefixt an Explication to his *Gierusalemme Liberata*: Nor was *Milton* behind any body in the choice or dignity of his Instruction; for to display the different Effects of Liberty and Tyranny, is the chief design of his *Paradise Lost*. This in the conclusion of his second Book of *Reformation*, publish'd in 41, he tells us was his Intention at that time; and he afterwards made this promise good. His own words, being part of a Prayer to God, deserve serious consideration. "Then," says he, amidst the Hymns and Hallelujahs of Saints, some one may perhaps be heard offering at high strains in new and lofty measures, to sing and celebrate thy divine Mercies, and marvellous Judgments in this Land throout all Ages, whereby this great and warlike Nation (instructed and inur'd to the fervent and continual practice of Truth and Righteousness, and casting far from it the Rags of its old Vices) may press on hard to that high and happy Emulation to be found the soberest, wisest, and most Christian People at that day, when Thou, the eternal and shortly expected King, shalt open the Clouds to judge the several Kingdoms of the World; and, distributing national Honors and Rewards to religious and just *Commonwealths*, shalt put an end to all earthly *Tyrannies*, proclaiming thy universal and mild Monarchy thro Heaven and Earth. Where they undoubtedly, that by their Labors, Counsels, and Prayers, have bin earnest for the common Good of Religion and their Country, shall receive (above the inferior Orders of the Blessed) the regal addition of Principalities, Legions, and Thrones into their glorious Titles; and in supereminence of beatific Vision, progressing the dateless and irrevoluble Circle of Eternity, shall clap inseparable hands with joy and bliss in overmeasure for ever. But they on the contrary, that by the impairing and diminution of the true Faith, by the Distresses and Servitude of their Country, aspire to high Dignity, Rule, and Promotion here, after a shameful end in this life (which God grant them) shall be thrown down eternally into the darkest and deepest Gulf of Hell: where under the despitful controul, the trample, and spurn of all the other Damn'd, that in the anguish of their torture shall have no other ease than to exercise a raving and bestial Tyranny over them as their Slaves and Negros, they shall remain in that plight for ever, the basest, the lowermost, the most dejected, most underfoot, and downtrodden Vassals of Perdition. I shall end my account of this Divine Poem with a Copy of *Latin Verses* made upon it by *Samuel Barrow*, a Doctor of Physic.

*Qui Legis amissam Paradisum, grandia magni
Carmina Miltoni, quid nisi cuncta Legis?
Res cunctas, & cunctarum primordia rerum,
Et fata, & fines, continet iste Liber.
Intima panduntur magni penetralia mundi,
Scribitur & toto quicquid in orbe latet.
Terræque tractusque maris, cælumque profundum,
Sulphureumque Erebi flammivomumque specus.
Quæque colunt terras, pontumque, & tartara cæca,
Quæque colunt summi lucida regna poli.
Et quodcunque ullis conclusum est finibus usquam,
Et sine fine Chaos, & sine fine Deus:
Et sine fine magis (siquid magis est sine fine)
In Christo erga homines conciliatus amor.
Hæc qui speraret, quis crederet esse futurum?
Et tamen hæc hodie Terra Britannia Legit.
O quantus in bella duces! quæ protulit arma!
Quæ canit, & quanta prælia dira tuba!
Cælestes acies! atque in certamine cælum!
Et quæ cælestes pugna deceret agros!
Quantus in ætheriis tollit se Lucifer armis!
Atque ipso graditur vix Michaele minor!*

*Quantis ac quam funestis concurratur iris !
 Dum ferus hic stellas protegit, ille rapit !
 Dum vulsos montes, ceu tela reciproca, torquent ;
 Et non mortali desuper igne pluunt :
 Stat dubius cui se parti concedat Olympus,
 Et metuit pugna non superesse sua.
 At simul in cœlis Messia insignia fulgent,
 Et currus animæ, armaque digna Deo,
 Horrendumque rotæ strident, & sæva rotarum
 Erumpunt torvis fulgura luminibus,
 Et flammæ vibrant, & vera tonitrua rauco
 Admixtis flammis insonuere polo :
 Excidit attonitis mens omnis, & impetus omnis,
 Et cassis dextris irrita tela cadunt.
 Ad pœnas fugiunt, & ceu foret Orcus Asylum,
 Infernis certant condere se tenebris.
 Cedite Romani scriptores, Cedite Graii,
 Et quot recens fama, vel celebravit anus.
 Hæc quicumque leget tantum cecinisse putabit
 Mæonidem ranas, Virgilium Culices.*

In the year 1670 he publish'd his *Paradise Regain'd*, consisting of four Books ; but generally esteem'd much inferior to *Paradise Lost*, which he could not endure to hear, being quite of another mind: yet this occasion'd som body to say wittily enough that *Milton* might be seen in *Paradise Lost*, but not in *Paradise Regain'd*. With this last Book he publisht his *Samson Agonistes*, an admirable Tragedy, not a ridiculous mixture of Gravity and Farce according to most of the Modern, but after the Example of the yet unequal'd Antients, as they are justly call'd, *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Æmripides*.

In the year 70 also came abroad his *History of Britain*, wherof we had occasion to speak before. He deduc'd it only to the *Norman Conquest*, and yet we have it not as it came out of his hands ; for the Licensers, those sworn Officers to destroy Learning, Liberty, and good Sense, expung'd several passages of it wherein he expos'd the Superstition, Pride, and Cunning of the Popish Monks in the *Saxon Times*, but apply'd by the sagacious Licensers to *Charles the Second's Bishops*. This puts me in mind of a *Reply* to a certain Person by Sir *Robert Howard* lately deceased, a Gentleman of great Generosity, a Patron of Letters, and a hearty Friend to the Liberty of his Country. Being told that he was charg'd in a Book with whipping the Protestant Clergy on the back of the Heathen and Popish Priests, he presently ask'd what they had to do there ? He was a great admirer of *Milton* to his dying day ; and, being his particular Acquaintance, would tell many pleasant Stories of him, as that he himself having demanded of him once what made him side with the *Republicans* ? *Milton* answer'd, among other Reasons, because theirs was the most frugal Government ; for that the Trappings of a Monarchy might set up an ordinary Commonwealth. But not to digress too far, our Author bestow'd a Copy of the unlicens'd Papers of his *History* on the Earl of *Anglesey*, who, as well as several of the Nobility and Gentry, was his constant Visitor. Nor was he less frequented by Foreners to the last, than in the time of his flourishing condition before the Restoration. It is an irreparable loss to this most potent Nation, that *Milton* did not find leisure to bring down his *History* to his own times: For (as the noblest Ornament of all Politeness and Literature Sir *William Temple* justly complains) " tho the *English* are so renown'd by the Fame of their Arms and Exploits
 " abroad, so applauded and envy'd for their wise and happy Institutions at home,
 " so flourishing in Arts and Learning, and so adorn'd by excellent Writers in o-
 " ther Kinds, yet none of 'em has produc'd one good or approv'd general History
 " of *England*. But our Histories (continues he) have bin written by such mean
 " and vulgar Authors, so tedious in their Relations, or rather Collections ; so in-
 " judicious in the choice of what was fit to be told or to be let-alone ; with so little
 " order, and in so wretched a Stile ; that as it is a shame to be ignorant in the
 " Affairs of our own Country, so 'tis hardly worth the time or pains to be inform'd,
 " since for that end a Man must read over a Library, rather than a Book : and after
 " all, must be content to forget more than he remembers. This Charge is too
 true, and yet it is very strange it should be so, seeing no Country in the World has
 afforded

afforded a greater diversity or a better choice of Actions, nor is furnish'd with more ample or authentic Materials for framing a just and full body of History. Would Sir *William* be pleas'd to continue to useful a Work, according to the inimitable Specimen he has publish'd for encouraging som other to pursue this Attempt, *England* might boldly compare with *Rome*, and himself be reckon'd equal with *Livy*. But tho he gos no further than the *Norman Conquest*, which is the period of *Milton*, yet we expect a larger Account from *James Tyrrel*, the worthy Grandson of Archbishop *Usher*. This learned Gentleman, to supply the Defects wherof Sir *William Temple* complains, has undertaken to write a General History of *England*, from the remotest traditional Beginnings to this time. The first Volume of it is already abroad, which reaches likewise to *William the First*; the Second is now finish'd; and I hope he'll meet with sufficient encouragement to make a speedy publication of the rest. For tho his Work may not perfectly reach Sir *William's* Plan in the nicest exactness of Order, Stile, and Composition; yet it must be confest by all true Judges to be the most impartial and complete, the faithfullest, the most methodical, and in all respects the best Collection that was ever made in *England*. All our Manuscript historical Records, and the numerous company of our particular Historians, can serve for little more to posterity than to verify the Contents of this Book; nor will any body be at the trouble to preserve 'em for this purpose, that is not a stranger to Mr. *Tyrrel's* Diligence and Integrity.

Milton wrote som Miscellaneous Pieces much inferior to his other Works, as a *Grammar* for learning the *Latin Tongue*; a *Logic* after the method of *Petrus Ramus*; a brief History of *Muscovy*, and of other less known Countries lying eastward of it as far as *Cathay*, collected from the Relations of several Travelers: he translated out of *Latin* into *English* the Declaration of the *Poles* concerning the Election of their King *John the Third*, containing an Account of the Virtues and Merits of the said Prince; he publish'd Sir *Walter Raleigh's Prince*, or his *Maxims and Aphorisms of State*; and he also printed his *Cabinet Council*. More pieces of this rarely accomplish'd, tho unfortunat Gentleman, were made public by other persons; and I daily expect som more from *James Tyrrel*, who has the Manuscript Copies in his hands, and, I dare affirm, will not envy such a blessing to the Nation.

Our Author's Juvenil and Occasional Poems, both in *English* and *Latin*, were printed in one small Volume. I took notice of the best of 'em in many places of this Discourse; but the Monody wherin he bewails his Learned Friend Mr. *King* drown'd in the *Irish Seas*, is one of the finest he ever wrote.

The *Danish* Resident prevail'd with *Milton* to get the Letters of State (formerly mention'd) transcrib'd, and which were publish'd after his death; as were also his *Familiar Letters* in 74, wherin, to use the words of *Morkhof*, there are many Characters of Antient and Modern, of Domestic and Foren Authors, very fit to be read and understood. The last thing he wrote, and that was publish'd a little before his Death, is his *Treatise of true Religion, Heresy, Schism, Toleration, and the best means that may be us'd to prevent the growth of Popery*. He observ'd (as all discerning Men must have don at that time) the prodigious increase of the *Romish* Superstition, occasion'd partly by the Persecution against Dissenting Protestants, but more by the incouragement it receiv'd from the Royal Brothers *Charles* and the Duke of *York*. From the Principles which our Author lays in his Book (and which, I think, are those of the first Reformers) he infers that no true Protestant can persecute any persons for speculative Points of Conscience, much less not tolerat his fellow Protestant, tho in som things dissenting from his own Judgment. After shewing that false Religion consists in the corrupt Traditions of Men, and their arbitrary Additions to the divine Rule or Standard of all Truth, he was at no great labor to prove the Members of the *Roman Church* to be the greatest Heretics in the World. As for Schism, or the division of Congregations from their difference in Opinions, he shews it may happen in the true Church as well as in the false; but that in the first it need not break Communion or brotherly Love, no more than among the *Pharises* and *Sadduces*, who amicably met at their common Worship in *Jerusalem*. "It is human frailty to err, says he, and no Man is infallible here on Earth. But so long as the Lutherans, Calvinists, Anabaptists, Socinians, and Arminians, profess to set the Word of God only before them as the Rule of their Faith and Obedience; and use all diligence and sincerity of heart by reading, by learning, by study, by prayer for illumination of the Holy Spirit, to understand this Rule and obey it, they have don whatever Man can do. God will assuredly pardon them, as he did the Friends of *Job*, good and pious Men,

„ tho

“ tho much mistaken (as there it appears) in some points of Doctrine. But
 “ will say, with *Christians* it is otherwise, whom God has promised by his Spirit to
 “ teach all things. True, all things absolutely necessary to Salvation: But the
 “ hottest Disputes among *Protestants*, calmly and charitably examin’d, will be
 “ found less than such. The *Lutheran* holds Consubstantiation; an error indeed,
 “ but not mortal. The *Calvinist* is tax’d with Predestination, and to make God
 “ the Author of Sin; not with any dishonorable thoughts of God, but, it may
 “ be, overzealously asserting his absolute Power, not without plea from Scripture.
 “ The *Anabaptist* is accus’d of denying Infants their right to Baptism; they say
 “ again, that they deny nothing but what the Scripture denies them. The *Arian*
 “ and *Socinian* are charg’d to dispute against the Trinity; yet they affirm to believe
 “ the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, according to Scripture and the Apostolic
 “ Creed. As for the terms of Trinity, Trinunity, Coessentiality, Triperson-
 “ ality, and the like, they reject them as Scholastic Notions not to be found in
 “ Scripture, which, by a general *Protestant* Maxim, is plain and perspicuous a-
 “ bundantly to explain its own meaning in the properest words belonging to so
 “ high a matter, and so necessary to be known; a mystery indeed in their Sophi-
 “ stic Subtilties, but in Scripture a plain Doctrine. The *Aminian* lastly is con-
 “ demned for setting up Free Will against Free Grace; but that imputation he
 “ disclaims in all his Writings, and grounds himself largely upon Scripture only.
 “ It cannot be deny’d that the Authors or late Revivers of all these Sects or Op-
 “ nions were learned, worthy, zealous, and religious Men, as appears by their
 “ Lives written, and the Fame of their many eminent and learned Followers,
 “ perfect and powerful in the Scriptures, holy and unblamable in their Actions:
 “ And it cannot be imagin’d that God would deter such painful and zealous La-
 “ borers in his Church, and oftentimes great sufferers for their Conscience, to damna-
 “ ble Errors and a reprobate Sense, who had so often implor’d the assistance of
 “ his Spirit; but rather, having made no Man infallible, that he has pardon’d
 “ their Errors, and accepts their pious Endeavors, sincerely searching all things
 “ according to the Rule of Scripture, with such guidance and direction as they
 “ can obtain of God by Prayer. What *Protestant* then, who himself maintains
 “ the same Principles, and disavows all implicit Faith, would persecute, and not
 “ rather charitably tolerat such men as these, unless he means to abjure the Prin-
 “ ciples of his own Religion? If it be ask’d how far they should be tolerat?
 “ I answer, doubtless equally, as being all *Protestants*; that is, on all occasions to
 “ be permitted to give an account of their Faith, either by arguing, preaching
 “ in their several Assemblies, by public writing, and the freedom of printing.
 “ Nothing can be imagin’d more reasonable, honest, or pious, than this passage;
 “ and I don’t remember ever to have met with any person who spoke with such dis-
 “ interestedness and impartiality of our various Sects in Religion except *Thomas Fir-*
min, whose Charity was as much extended to men of different Opinions, as it was
 “ to the Poor of all sorts in good Works; but in this last respect he was never yet
 “ equal’d, nor likely to be easily exceded by any hereafter: tho his excellent Example
 “ is admir’d by several, and deserves to be imitated by all. In the last place, *Milton*
 “ shews that *Popery* (not as it is a Religion, but as a tyrannical Faction oppressing all
 “ others) is intolerable, and that the best method of keeping it from ever in-
 “ creasing in this Nation, is by the toleration of all kinds of *Protestants*, or any
 “ others whose Principles do not necessarily lead ’em to Sedition or Vice. But this
 “ Subject is since perfectly exhausted, and treated with greater clearness and brevity
 “ than ever before in a Letter concerning *Toleration* by *John Lock*, who in his Book of
Human Understanding must be confest to be the greatest Philosopher after *Cicero*
 “ in the World; for he’s perfectly acquainted with human Nature, well vers’d
 “ in the useful Affairs of the World, a great Master of Eloquence (Qualities in
 “ which the *Roman Consul* excel’d) and like him also a hearty lover of his Coun-
 “ try, as appears by his Treatises of *Government* and *Education*, not inferior in their
 “ kind to the divinest Pieces of *Tully*. *Milton’s Thesaurus Lingua Latina*, design’d as
 “ a Supplement to *Stephanus*, was never publish’d, and has bin of great use to *Dr. Lit-*
tleton in compiling his Dictionary. He wrote likewise a *System of Divinity*, but
 “ whether intended for public view, or collected merely for his own use, I cannot
 “ determin. It was in the hands of his Friend *Cyril Skinner*; and where at pre-
 “ sent is uncertain.

This is a full and true account of his genuin Works and Sentiments, not put-
 “ ting the Directions or Assistance, which he frequently gave other Writers, to his
 “ account. Towards the latter part of his time he contracted his Library, both be-
 “ cause

cause the Heirs he left could not make a right use of it, and that he thought he might sell it more to their advantage than they could be able to do themselves. His Enemies reported that Poverty constrain'd him thus to part with his Books: and were this true, it would be indeed a great disgrace, not to him (for Persons of the highest Merits have bin often reduc'd to that condition) but to any Country that should have no more regard to Probity or Learning: this Story however is so false, that he dy'd worth fifteen hundred Pounds, besides all his Goods. The House wherein he was born, and which Strangers us'd to visit before the Fire, was part of his Estate as long as it stood. He put two thousand Pounds into the Excise, which he lost when that Bank fail'd; not to mention another great Sum which was gon for want of management and good advice. He was never very healthy, nor too sickly; and the Distemper that troubled him most of any other was the Gout, of which he dy'd without much pain in the year from the birth of Christ 1674, and in the six and sixtieth of his own Age. All his learned and great Friends in *London*, not without a friendly concourse of the Vulgar, accompany'd his Body to the Church of *S. Giles* near *Cripplegate*, where he lies buried in the Chancel, and where the Piety of his Admirers will shortly erect a Monument becoming his worth, and the encouragement of Letters in King *William's* Reign.

Thus liv'd and dy'd *JOHN MILTON*, a Person of the best Accomplishments, the happiest Genius, and the vastest Learning which this Nation, so renown'd for producing excellent Writers, could ever yet shew: esteem'd indeed at home, but much more honor'd abroad, where almost in his very Childhood he made a considerable figure, and continues to be still reputed one of the brightest Luminaries of the Sciences. He was middlefiz'd and well proportion'd, his Deportment erect and manly, his Hair of a light brown, his Features exactly regular, his Complexion wonderfully fair when a Youth, and ruddy to the very last. He was affable in Conversation, of an equal and chearful Temper, and highly delighted with all sorts of Music, in which he was himself not meanly skil'd. He was extraordinary temperat in his Diet, which was any thing most in season or the easiest procur'd, and was no Friend to sharp or strong Liquors. His Recreations, before his Sight was gon, consisted much in feats of Activity, particularly in the exercise of his Arms, which he could handle with dexterity: but when Blindness and Age confin'd him, he play'd much upon an Organ he kept in the House; and had a Pully to swing and keep him in motion. But the love of Books exceded all his other Passions. In Summer he would be stirring at four in the Morning, and in Winter at five; but at Night he us'd to go to bed by nine, attributing the loss of his Eys to his late watching when he was a Student, and looking on this custom as very pernicious to Health at any time: but when he was not dispos'd to rise at his usual hours, he always had one to read to him by his bedside. As he look'd upon true and absolute Freedom to be the greatest Happiness of this Life, whether to Societies or single Persons, so he thought Constraint of any sort to be the utmost Misery: for which Reason he us'd frequently to tell those about him the intire Satisfaction of his Mind, that he had constantly imploy'd his Strength and Faculties in the defence of Liberty, and in a direct opposition to Slavery. He ever exprest the profoundest Reverence to the Deity as well in Deeds as Words; and would say to his Friends, that the divine Properties of Goodness, Justice, and Mercy, were the adequate Rule of human Actions, nor less the Object of Imitation for privat Advantages, than of Admiration or Respect for their own Excellence and Perfection. In his early days he was a Follower of those Protestants then opprobriously call'd by the name of *Puritans*: In his middle years he was best pleas'd with the *Independents* and *Anabaptists*, as allowing of more Liberty than others, and coming nearest in his opinion to the primitive practice: but in the latter part of his Life, he was not a profess Member of any particular Sect among Christians, he frequented none of their Assemblies, nor made use of their peculiar Rites in his Family. Whether this proceeded from a dislike of their uncharitable and endless Disputes, and that Love of Dominion, or Inclination to Persecution, which, he said, was a piece of Popery inseparable from all Churches; or whether he thought one might be a good Man, without subscribing to any Party; and that they had all in som things corrupted the Institutions of Jesus Christ, I will by no means adventure to determin: for Conjectures on such occasions are very uncertain, and I never met with any of his Acquaintance who could be positive in assigning the true Reasons of his Conduct.

I shall now conclude this Discourse with a Character given of him by a Man of unparallel'd Diligence and Industry, who has disoblig'd all sides merely for telling the Truth either intirely, or without disguise; and who, since most Men have the

the frailty of ingaging in Factions, cannot be suspected of Partiality in favor of *Milton*. He was a Person, says *Anthony Wood* in the first Volume of his *Athene Oxonienses*, of wonderful Parts, of a very sharp, biting, and satyrical Wit; he was a good Philosopher and Historian; an excellent Poet, Latinist, Grecian, and Hebrician; a good Mathematician and Musician; and so rarely endow'd by Nature, that had he bin but honestly principled, he might have bin highly useful to that Party, against which he all along appear'd with much Malice and Bitterness.

AND now, *Sir*, I end with you, with whom I begun, not doubting but this small Present, both from the dignity of the Subject and your Favor to the Writer, will be kindly accepted. It may indeed be the more plain and unpolish'd, but not the less useful or sincere for coming out of a Country Retirement. The most knowing Persons acknowledge that Divine Philosophy her self was begot in the Woods, where agreeably passing her Infancy, and growing up in the neighboring Fields, she became gentle in time, and so ventur'd to com into Towns and Cities; but being quickly weary'd there with the Tumult of Business or Faction, and longing for her former Tranquillity, she straight retir'd into Gardens or Groves, to her Fields and Woods again. 'Tis probable that you (as well as I or any other) may disapprove of *Milton's* Sentiments in several cases, but, I'm sure, you are far from being displeas'd to find 'em particulariz'd in the History of his Life; for we should have no true Account of things, if Authors related nothing but what they lik'd themselves: one Party would never suffer the Lives of *Tarquin*, or *Phalaris*, or *Sylla*, or *Cesar*, to appear; while another would be as ready to suppress those of *Cicero*, of *Cato*, of *Trajan*, or *Brutus*. But a Historian ought to conceal or disguise nothing, and the Reader is to be left Judg of the Virtues he should imitate, or the Vices he ought to detest and avoid, without ever loving his Book the less: for (as the Lord *Bacon* truly said) *a forbidden Writing is thought to be a certain Spark of Truth that flies up in the faces of them who seek to tread it out*. But your extraordinary Judgment and Candor, join'd to the best Learning, and an exact Knowledge of Men and Affairs, render my further inculcating of these Maxims very needless; and therefore I shall only put you in mind, *Sir*, that my desire of gratifying your Curiosity conquer'd my Aversion to write any thing during this pleasantest Season of the Year.

Sept. 3. 1698.

I. T.

F I N I S.

Al Signor Gio. Miltoni Nobile Inglese.

O D E.

ERgimi all' Etra o Clio
 Perche di stelle intrecciero corona
 Non piu del Biondo Dio
 La Fronde eterna in Pindo, e in Elicon,
 Dienfi a merto maggior, maggiori i fregi,
 A' celeste virtu celesti pregi.

Non puo del tempo edace
 Rimaner preda, eterno alto valore
 Non puo l' oblio rapace
 Furar dalle memorie eccelfo onore,
 Su l' arco di mia cetra un dardo forte
 Virtù m' addatti, e feriro la morte.

Del Ocean profondo
 Cinta dagli ampi gorgi Anglia refiede
 Separata dal mondo,
 Pero che il suo valor l' umano eccede :
 Questa seconda fa produrre Eroi,
 Ch' hanno a ragion del sovrumano tra noi.

Alla virtù sbandita
 Danno ne i petti lor fido ricetta,
 Quella gli e sol gradita,
 Perche in lei san trovar gioia, e diletto ;
 Ridillo tu, Giovanni, e mostra in tanto
 Con tua vera virtù, vero il mio Canto.

Lungi dal Patrio lido
 Spinse Zensì l' industre ardente brama ;
 Ch' udio d' Helena il grido
 Con aurea tromba rimbombar la fama,
 E per poterla effigiare al paro
 Dalle piu belle Idee trasse il piu raro.

Così l' Ape Ingegnosa
 Trac con industria il suo liquor pregiato
 Dal giglio e dalla rosa,
 E quanti vaghi fiori ornano il prato ;
 Formano un dolce suon diverse Chorde,
 Fan varie voci melodia concorde.

Di bella gloria amante
 Milton dal Ciel natio per varie parti
 Le peregrine piante
 Volgesti a ricercar scienze, ed arti ;
 Del Gallo regnator vedesti i Regni,
 E dell' Italia ancor gl' Eroi piu degni.

Fabro quasi divino
 Sol virtù rintracciando il tuo pensiero
 Vide in ogni confino
 Chi di nobil valor calca il sentiero ;
 L' ottimo dal miglior dopo scegliea
 Per fabbricar d' ogni virtù l' Idea.

Quanti nacquero in Flora
 O in lei del parlar Tosco appreser l' arte,
 La cui memoria onora
 Il mondo fatta eterna in dotte carte,
 Volesti ricercar per tuo tesoro,
 E parlasti con lor nell' opre loro.

Nell' altera Babelle
 Per te il parlar confuse Giove in vano,
 Che per varie favelle
 Di se stessa trofeo cadde su'l piano :
 Ch' Ode oltr' all' Anglia il suo piu degno Idioma
 Spagna, Francia, Toscana, e Grecia e Roma.

I piu profondi arcani
 Ch' occulta la natura e in cielo e in terra
 Ch' a Ingegni sovrumani
 Troppo avara tal' hor gli chinde, e serra,
 Chiaramente conosci, e giungi al fine
 Della moral virtude al gran confine.

Non batta il Tempo l' ale,
 Fermisi immotto, che in un fermin si gl' anni,
 Che di virtù immortale
 Scorrion di troppo ingiuriosi a i danni ;
 Che s' opre degne di Poema e storia
 Furon già, l' hai presenti alla memoria.

Dammi tua dolce Cetra
 Se vuoi ch' io dica del tuo dolce canto,
 Ch' inalzandoti all' Etra
 Di farti huomo celeste ottiene il vanto,
 Il Tamigi il dira che gl' e concesso
 Per te suo cigno pareggiar Permessò.

Io che in riva del Arno
 Tento spiegar tuo merto alto, e preclaro
 So che fatica indarno,
 E ad ammirar, non a lodarlo imparo ;
 Freno dunque la lingua, e ascolto il core
 Che ti prende a lodar con lo stupore.

Del sig. Antonio Francini gentilhuomo

Florentino.

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The Articles are added verbatim in this Edition.
15. *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano, or his Defence of the People of England against Salmasius's Defence of the King,* p. 30. The English Version, p. 557. The Original, p. 1. of the Latin Volume.
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25. *Paradise Lost, p. 40 of the Life; for the Book it self is not in this Edition, all his Poetry being printed in one Volume by Jacob Tonson.*
26. *Paradise Regain'd, and Sampson Agonistes, p. 43 of the Life.*
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35. *Epistolarum Familiarium Liber unus; accesserunt Prolusiones quædam Oratoriæ.* —p. 44. 321. Lat.

THE HISTORY

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Continu'd to the

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1716-1717

THE
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That Part especially now call'd *ENGLAND*;

Continu'd to the *Norman Conquest*.

BOOK I.

THE beginning of Nations, those excepted of whom sacred Books have spok'n, is to this day unknown. Nor only the beginning, but the Deeds also of many succeeding Ages, yea periods of Ages, either wholly unknown, or obscur'd and blemish'd with Fables. Whether it were that the use of Letters came in long after, or were it the violence of barbarous Inundations, or they themselves at certain Revolutions of Time, fatally decaying, and degenerating into Sloth and Ignorance; wherby the Monuments of more ancient Civility have bin som destroy'd, som lost. Perhaps Disesteem and Contempt of the public Affairs then present, as not worth recording, might partly be in cause. Certainly oft-times we see that wise Men, and of best Ability, have forbore to write the Acts of thir own days, while they beheld with a just Loathing and Disdain, not only how unworthy, how pervers, how corrupt, but often how ignoble, how petty, how below all History the Persons and thir Actions were; who either by Fortune, or som rude Election, had attain'd as a sore Judgment and Ignominy upon the Land, to have chief sway in managing the Commonwealth. But that any Law or Superstition of our old Philosophers the *Druids* forbad the *Britans* to write thir memorable Deeds, I know not why any out of *Cæsar* should allege: he indeed saith, that thir Doctrin they thought not lawful to commit to Letters; but in most Cæf. l. 6 Matters else, both privat and public, among which well may History be reck'nd, they us'd the Greek Tongue: and that the *British Druids* who taught those in *Gaul* would be ignorant of any Language known and us'd by thir Disciples, or so frequently writing other things, and so inquisitive into highest, would for want of recording be ever Children in the Knowledg of Times and Ages, is not likely. Whatever might be the reason, this we find, that of *British Affairs*, from the first peopling of the Iland to the coming of *Julius Cæsar*, nothing certain, either by Tradition, History, or ancient Fame hath hitherto bin left us. That which we have of oldest seeming, hath by the greater part of judicious Antiquaries bin long reject'd for a modern Fable.

Nevertheless there being others besides the first suppos'd Author, Men not unread, nor unlearn'd in Antiquity, who admit that for approved Story, which the former explode for Fiction; and seeing that oft-times Relations heertofore accounted fabulous have bin after found to contain in them many Footsteps and Reliques of somthing true, as what we read in Poets of the Flood, and Giants little beleev'd, till undoubted Witnesses taught us, that all

was not fain'd ; I have therefore determin'd to bestow the telling over ev'n of these reputed Tales ; be it for nothing else but in favour of our English Poets and Rhetoricians, who by thir Art will know how to use them judiciously.

I might also produce example, as *Diodorus* among the *Greeks*, *Livie* and others of the *Latins*, *Polydore* and *Virunnius* accounted among our own Writers. But I intend not with Controversies and Quotations to delay or interrupt the smooth course of History ; much less to argue and debate long who were the first Inhabitants, with what Probabilities, what Authorities each Opinion hath bin upheld, but shall endeavor that which hitherto hath bin need-ed most, with plain and lightsom Brevity, to relate well and orderly things worth the noting, so as may best instruct and benefit them that read. Which, imploring divine Assistance, that it may redound to his Glory, and the Good of the *British Nation*, I now begin.

That the whole Earth was inhabited before the Flood, and to the utmost point of habitable Ground, from those effectual Words of *God* in the Creation, may be more then conjectur'd. Hence that this Iland also had her Dwellers, her Affairs, and perhaps her Stories, ev'n in that old World those many hundred years, with much reason we may infer. After the Flood, and the dispersing of Nations, as they journey'd leasurely from the East, *Gomer* the eldest Son of *Japhet*, and his Off-spring, as by Authorities, Arguments, and Affinity of divers Names is generally beleev'd, were the first that peopl'd all these West and Northern Climes. But they of our own Writers, who thought they had don nothing, unless with all circumstance they tell us when, and who first set foot upon this Iland, presume to name out of fabulous and counterfet Authors a certain *Samothes* or *Dis*, a fourth or sixt Son of *Japhet*, whom they make about 200 years after the Flood, to have planted with Colonies, first the Continent of *Celtica*, or *Gaul*, and next this Iland ; thence to have nam'd it *Samothea*, to have reign'd heer, and after him lineally four Kings, *Magus*, *Saron*, *Druis*, and *Bardus*. But the forg'd *Berosus*, whom only they have to cite, no where mentions that either he, or any of those whom they bring, did ever pass into *Britain*, or send thir People hither. So that this outlandish Figment may easily excuse our not allowing it the room heer so much as of a *British Fable*.

That which follows, perhaps as wide from Truth, though seeming less impertinent, is, that these *Samotheans* under the Reign of *Bardus* were subdu'd by *Albion* a Giant, Son of *Neptune* ; who call'd the Iland after his own Name, and rul'd it 44 years. Till at length passing over into *Gaul*, in aid of his Brother *Leftrygon*, against whom *Hercules* was hasting out of *Spain* into *Italy*, he was there slain in fight, and *Bergion* also his Brother.

Sure enough we are that *Britain* hath bin anciently term'd *Albion*, both by the *Greeks* and *Romans*. And *Mela* the Geographer makes mention of a stony shoar in *Languedoc*, where by report such a Battel was fought. The rest, as his giving name to the Ile, or ever landing heer, depends altogether upon late Surmises. But too absurd, and too unconscionably gross is that fond Invention that waisted hither the fifty Daughters of a strange *Dioclesian King* of *Syria* ; brought in doubtless by som illiterat Pretender to something mistak'n in the common poetical Story of *Danaus King* of *Argos*, while his Vanity, not pleas'd with the obscure beginning which truest Antiquity affords the Nation, labour'd to contrive us a Pedigree, as he thought, more noble. These Daughters by appointment of *Danaus* on the Marriage-night having murder'd all thir Husbands, except *Linceus*, whom his Wifes Loyalty sav'd, were by him at the suit of his Wife thir Sister, not put to Death, but turn'd out to Sea in a Ship unmann'd ; of which whole Sex they had incurr'd the hate : and as the Tale goes, were driv'n on this Iland. Where the Inhabitants, none but Devils, as som write, or as others, a lawless crew left heer by *Albion* without Head or Governour, both entertain'd them, and had issue by them a second Breed of Giants, who tyranniz'd the Ile, till *Brutus* came.

The eldest of these Dames in thir Legend they call *Albina* ; and from thence, for which cause the whole Scene was fram'd, will have the name *Albion* deriv'd. Incredible it may seem so sluggish a Conceit should prove so ancient, as to be autoriz'd by the Elder *Nimnius*, reputed to have liv'd above a thousand years ago. This I find not in him ; but that *Histon* sprung of *Japhet*,

phet, had four Sons; *Francus*, *Romanus*, *Alemannus*, and *Britto*, of whom the *Britans*; as true, I believe, as that those other Nations whose names are resembl'd, came of the other three; if these Dreams give not just occasion to call in doubt the Book it self, which bears that title.

Hitherto the things themselves have giv'n us a warrantable dispatch to run them soon over. But now of *Brutus* and his Line; with the whole Progeny of Kings, to the entrance of *Julius Caesar*, we cannot so easily be discharg'd; Descents of Ancestry, long continu'd, Laws and Exploits not plainly seeming to be borrow'd, or devis'd, which on the common belief have wrought no small impression; defended by many, deny'd utterly by few. For what though *Brutus*, and the whole *Trojan* pretence were yeilded up, seeing they who first devis'd to bring us from som noble Ancestor, were content at first with *Brutus* the Consul; till better invention, although not willing to forgo the name, taught them to remove it higher into a more fabulous Age, and by the same remove lighting on the *Trojan* Tales in affectation to make the *Britan* of one Original with the *Roman*, pitch'd there, yet those old and inborn names of successive Kings, never any to have bin real Persons, or don in thir lives at least som part of what so long hath bin remember'd, cannot be thought without too strict an incredulity.

For these, and those causes above mention'd, that which hath receiv'd Approbation from so many, I have chos'n not to omit. Certain or uncertain, be that upon the Credit of those whom I must follow; so far as keeps aloof from impossible and absurd, attested by antient Writers from Books more antient, I refuse not, as the due and proper subject of Story. The principal Author is well known to be *Geoffrey of Monmouth*; what he was, and whence his Authority, who in his Age, or before him, have deliver'd the same matter, and such like general Discourses, will better stand in a Treatise by themselves. All of them agree in this, that *Brutus* was the Son of *Silvius*; he of *Ascanius*; whose Father was *Aeneas a Trojan Prince*, who at the burning of that City, with his Son *Ascanius*, and a collected number that escap'd, after long wandering on the Sea, arriv'd in *Italy*. Where at length by the assistance of *Latinus* King of *Latium*, who had giv'n him his Daughter *Lavinia*, he obtain'd to succeed in that Kingdom, and left it to *Ascanius*, whose Son *Silvius* (though *Roman* Histories deny *Silvius* to be Son of *Ascanius*) had married secretly a Neece of *Lavinia*.

Henry of Huntingdon, Matthew of Westminster.

She being with Child, the matter became known to *Ascanius*. Who commanding his *Magicians* to enquire by Art, what Sex the Maid had conceiv'd, had answer, that it was one who should be the death of both his Parents; and banish'd for the Fact, should after all in a far Country, attain to highest Honour. The Prediction fail'd not, for in Travel the Mother di'd. And *Brutus* (the Child was so call'd) at fifteen years of Age, attending his Father to the Chace, with an Arrow unfortunately kill'd him.

Banish'd therefore by his kindred, he retires into *Greece*. Where meeting with the race of *Helenus* King *Priams* Son, held there in servile Condition by *Pandrasus* then King, with them he abides. For *Pirrhus* in revenge of his Father slain at *Troy*, had brought thither with him *Helenus*, and many others into servitude. There *Brutus* among his own Stock so thrives in Vertue and in Arms, as renders him belov'd to Kings, and great Captains above all the Youth of that Land. Wherby the *Trojans* not only begin to hope, but secretly to move him, that he would lead them the way to liberty. They allege thir numbers, and the promis'd help of *Assaracus* a Noble Greekish Youth, by the Mothers side a *Trojan*; whom for that cause his Brother went about to dispossess of certain Castles bequeath'd him by his Father. *Brutus* considering both the Forces offer'd him, and the strength of those Holds, not unwillingly consents.

First therefore having fortifi'd those Castles, he with *Assaracus* and the whole Multitude betake them to the Woods and Hills, as the safest place from whence to expostulate; and in the name of all sends to *Pandrasus* this Message; That the *Trojans* holding it unworthy thir Ancestors to serv in a Foren Kingdom, had retreated to the Woods; choosing rather a savage life then a slavish: If that displeas'd him, that then with his leave they might depart to some other Soil.

As this may pass with good allowance, that the *Trojans* might be many in these parts, for *Helenus* was by *Pirrhus* made King of the *Chaonians*, and the Sons of *Pirrhus* by *Andromache* *Hectors* Wife, could not but be powerful through all *Epirus*, so much the more it may be doubted, how these *Trojans* could be thus in Bondage, where they had Friends and Country-men so potent. But to examin these things with diligence, were but to confute the Fables of *Britain*, with the Fables of *Greece* or *Italy*; for of this Age, what we have to say, as well concerning most other Countries, as this Iland, is equally under question. Be how it will, *Pandrasus* not expecting so bold a Message from the Sons of Captives, gathers an Army; and marching toward the Woods, *Brutus* who had notice of his approach nigh to a Town call'd *Sparatinum*, (I know not what Town, but certain of no Greek name) over night planting himself there with good part of his men, suddenly sets upon him, and with slaughter of the *Greeks* pursues him to the passage of a River, which mine Author names *Akalon*, meaning perhaps *Achelous*, or *Acheron*: where at the Ford he overlaies them afresh. This victory obtain'd, and a sufficient strength left in *Sparatinum*, *Brutus* with *Antigonus*, the Kings Brother, and his Friend *Anacletus*, whom he had tak'n in the Fight, returns to the residue of his Friends in the thick Woods; while *Pandrasus* with all speed recollecting, beseiges the Town. *Brutus* to relieve his men beseig'd, who earnestly call'd him, distrusting the sufficiency of his Force, bethinks himself of this Policy. Calls to him *Anacletus*, and threatening instant death else, both to him and his friend *Antigonus*, enjoyns him, that he should go at the second Hour of Night to the Greekish Leagre, and tell the Guards he had brought *Antigonus* by stealth out of Prison to a certain woody Vale, unable through the waight of his Fetters to move further; entreating them to come speedily and fetch him in. *Anacletus* to save both himself and his friend *Antigonus*, swears this, and at fit Hour sets on alone toward the Camp; is met, examin'd, and at last unquestionably known. To whom, great profession of Fidelity first made, he frames his Tale, as had bin taught him; and they now fully assur'd, with a credulous rashness leaving thir Stations, far'd accordingly by the Ambush that there awaited them. Forthwith *Brutus* dividing his men into three parts, leads on in silence to the Camp; commanding first each part at a several place to enter, and forbear Execution, till he with his Squadron possess'd of the King's Tent, gave Signal to them by Trumpet. The sound wherof no sooner heard, but huge Havock begins upon the sleeping, and unguarded Enemy; whom the beseiged also now falling forth, on the other side assail. *Brutus* the while had special care to seise and secure the Kings Person; whose Life still within his Custody, he knew was the surest pledg to obtain what he should demand. Day appearing, he enters the Town, there distributes the Kings Treasury, and leaving the place better fortifi'd, returns with the King his Prisoner to the Woods. Strait the antient and grave men he summons to Counsel, what they should now demand of the King.

After long debate *Mempricius*, one of the gravest, utterly dissuading them from thought of longer stay in *Greece*, unless they meant to be deluded with a suttle Peace, and the awaited revenge of those whose Friends they had slain, advises them to demand first the Kings Eldest Daughter *Innogen* in marriage to thir Leader *Brutus* with a rich Dowry, next Shipping, Money, and fit Provision for them all to depart the Land.

This resolution pleasing best, the King now brought in, and plac'd in a high Seat, is briefly told, that on these Conditions granted, he might be free; not granted, he must prepare to die.

Prest with fear of death, the King readily yeelds; especially to bestow his Daughter on whom he confess'd so Noble and so Valiant: offers them also the third part of his Kingdom, if they like to stay; if not, to be thir Hostage himself, till he had made good his word.

The Mariage therefore solemniz'd, and shipping from all parts got together, the *Trojans* in a Fleet, no less writt'n then three hunderd four and twenty Sail, betake them to the wide Sea: where with a prosperous Course two days and a Night bring them on a certain Iland long before dispeopl'd and left wast by Sea-Rovers, the name wherof was then *Leogecia*, now unknown. They who were sent out to discover, came at length to a ruin'd City, where was a

Temple

Temple and Image of *Diana* that gave Oracles: but not meeting first or last save wild Beasts, they return with this notice to thir Ships: Wishing thir General would enquire of that Oracle what Voiage to pursue.

Consultation had, *Brutus* taking with him *Gerion* his Diviner, and twelv of the ancientest, with wonted Ceremonies before the inward shrine of the Goddess, in Verse, as it seems the manner was, utters his request, *Divia potens nemorum, &c.*

*Goddeſs of Shades, and Huntreſs, who at will
Walk'ſt on the rowling Sphear, and through the deep;
On thy third Reign the Earth look now, and tell
What Land, what Seat of reſt thou bidſt me ſeek,
What certain Seat, where I may worſhip thee
For aye, with Temples vow'd, and Virgin quires.*

To whom ſleeping before the Altar, *Diana* in a Viſion that night thus answer'd, *Brute ſub occaſum Solis, &c.*

*Brutus far to the Weſt, in th' Ocean wide
Beyond the Realm of Gaul, a Land there lies,
Sea-girt it lies, where Giants dwelt of old,
Now void, it fits thy People; thetber bend
Thy courſe, there ſhalt thou find a laſting ſeat,
There to thy Sons another Troy ſhall riſe,
And Kings be born of thee, whoſe dreeded might
Shall aw the World, and conquer Nations bold.*

Theſe Verſes originally Greek, were put in Latin, ſaith *Virunnius*, by *Gildas* a Britiſh Poet, and him to have liv'd under *Claudius*. Which granted true, adds much to the Antiquity of this Fable; and indeed the Latin Verſes are much better, then for the Age of *Geoffrey ap-Arthur*, unleſs perhaps *Joſeph of Exeter*, the only ſmooth Poet of thoſe times, befriended him: in this *Diana* overſhot her Oracle thus ending, *Iſis totius terræ ſubditus orbis erit*, That to the Race of *Brute* Kings of this Iland, the whole Earth ſhall be ſubject.

But *Brutus* guided now, as he thought, by divine Conduct, ſpeeds him towards the Weſt; and after ſom encounters on the *Afric* ſide, arrives at a place on the *Tyrrhen* Sea; where he happ'ns to find the Race of thoſe *Trojans*, who with *Antenor* came into *Italy*; and *Corineus* a man much fam'd, was thir Chief: though by ſurer Authors it be reported, that thoſe *Trojans* with *Antenor*, were ſeated on the other ſide of *Italy*, on the *Adriatic*, not the *Tyrrhen* Shoar. But theſe joining Company, and paſt the *Herculean Pillars*, at the mouth of *Ligeris* in *Aquitania* caſt Anchor: Where after ſom diſcovery made of the Place, *Corineus* hunting nigh the ſhoar with his Men, is by Meſſengers of the King *Goffarius Piſtus* met, and queſtion'd about his Errand there. Who not answering to thir mind, *Imbertus*, one of them, lets fly an Arrow at *Corineus*, which he avoiding, ſlaies him: and the *Piſtavian* himſelf heerupon levying his whole Force, is overthrown by *Brutus*, and *Corineus*; who with the Battel Ax which he was wont to manage againſt the *Tyrrhen Giants*, is ſaid to have done marvels. But *Goffarius* having drawn to his aid the whole Country of *Gaul*, at that time govern'd by twelv Kings, puts his Fortune to a ſecond Trial; wherein the *Trojans* over-born by Multitude, are driv'n back, and beſieg'd in thir own Camp, which by good foreſight was ſtrongly ſituate. Whence *Brutus* unexpectedly iſſuing out, and *Corineus* in the mean while, whoſe device it was, aſſaulting them behind from a Wood, where he had convey'd his men the Night before: The *Trojans* are again Victors, but with the loſs of *Turon* a Valiant Neſew of *Brutus*; whoſe Aſhes left in that place, gave name to the City of *Tours* built there by the *Trojans*. *Brutus* finding now his Powers much leſſn'd, and this yet not the place foretold him, leavs *Aquitain*, and with an eaſy Courſe, arriving at *Totneſs* in *Dev'nſhire*, quickly perceivs heer to be the promis'd end of his Labours.

The Iland not yet *Britain* but *Albion*, was in a manner deſert and inhospitable; kept only by a remnant of *Giants*, whoſe exceſſive Force and Tyranic had

had consum'd the rest. Them *Brutus* destroys, and to his People divides the Land, which with some reference to his own Name he thenceforth calls *Britain*. To *Corineus*, *Cornwal*, as now we call it, fell by Lot; the rather by him lik't, for that the hugest Giants, in Rocks and Caves were said to lurk still there; which kind of Monsters to deal with was his old Exercise.

And heer with leave be spok'n to recite a grand Fable, though dignifi'd by our best Poets, while *Brutus* on a certain Festival Day solemnly kept on that shoar, where he first landed, was with the People in great jollity and mirth, a crew of these Savages breaking in upon them, began on the sudden another sort of Game then at such a meeting was expected. But at length by many hands overcom, *Goemagog* the hugest, in high twelv Cubits, is reserv'd alive, that with him *Corineus*, who desir'd nothing more, might try his strength; whom in a Wreastle the Giant catching aloft, with a terrible hugg broke three of his Ribs: nevertheless *Corineus* enrag'd, heaving him up by main force, and on his Shoulders bearing him to the next high Rock, threw him headlong all shatter'd into the Sea, and left his Name on the Cliff, call'd ever since *Langoemagog*, which is to say, the Giant's Leap.

After this, *Brutus* in a chosen place builds *Troia nova*, chang'd in time to *Trinovantum*, now *London*: and began to enact Laws; *Heli* being then high Priest in *Judea*: and having govern'd the whole Ile 24 Years, dy'd, and was buried in his new *Troy*. His three Sons *Locrine*, *Albanact*, and *Camber* divide the Land by consent. *Locrine* had the middle part *Loegria*; *Camber* possess'd *Cambria* or *Wales*; *Albanact* *Albania*, now *Scotland*. But he in the end by *Humber* King of the *Hunns*, who with a Fleet invaded that Land, was slain in fight, and his People driv'n back into *Loegria*. *Locrine* and his Brother go out against *Humber*; who now marching onward, was by them defeated and in a River drown'd, which to this day retains its name. Among the spoils of his Camp and Navy, were found certain young Maids, and *Estrildis*, above the rest, passing fair, the Daughter of a King in *Germany*; from whence *Humber*, as he went wasting the Sea-Coast, had led her Captive: whom *Locrine*, though before contracted to the Daughter of *Corineus*, resolves to marry. But being forc'd and threatn'd by *Corineus*, whose Authority, and Power he fear'd, *Guendolen* the Daughter he yeelds to marry, but in secret loves the other: and oft-times retiring as to som privat Sacrifice, through Vaults and Passages made under ground, and seven Years thus enjoying her, had by her a Daughter equally fair, whose Name was *Sabra*. But when once his fear was off by the Death of *Corineus*, not content with secret Enjoyment, divorcing *Guendolen*, he makes *Estrildis* now his Queen. *Guendolen* all in rage departs into *Cornwall*, where *Madan*, the Son she had by *Locrine*, was hitherto brought up by *Corineus* his Grandfather. And gathering an Army of her Father's Friends and Subjects, gives Battel to her Husband by the River *Sture*; wherein *Locrine* shot with an Arrow ends his Life. But not so ends the fury of *Guendolen*; for *Estrildis* and her Daughter *Sabra*, she throws into a River: and to leave a Monument of Revenge, proclaims, that the stream be thenceforth call'd after the Damself's Name; which by length of time is chang'd now to *Sabrina*, or *Severn*.

Fifteen Years she governs in behalf of her Son; then resigning to him at Age, retires to her Father's Dominion. This saith my Author, was in the days of *Samuel*. *Madan* hath the praise to have well and peacefully rul'd the space of 40 Years; leaving behind him two Sons, *Mempricius*, and *Malim*. *Mempricius* had first to do with the ambition of his Brother, aspiring to share with him in the Kingdom; whom therfore at a meeting to compose matters, with a treachery which his cause needed not, he slew.

Nor was he better in the sole possession, wherof so ill he could endure a Partner, killing his Nobles, and those especially next to succeed him; till lastly giv'n over to unnatural Lust, in the twentieth of his Reign, hunting in a Forest, he was devour'd by Wolves.

His Son *Ebranc*, a Man of mighty Strength and Stature, reign'd 40 Years. He first after *Brutus* wasted *Gaul*; and returning rich and prosperous, builded *Caerebranc*, now *York*; in *Albania*, *Alclud*, *Mount Agned*, or the *Castle of Maydens*, now *Edinburgh*. He had 20 Sons and 30 Daughters by 20 Wives. His Daughters he sent to *Silvius Alba* into *Italy*, who bestow'd them on his Peers of the

Trojan

Trojan Line. His Sons under the leading of *Affaracus* thir Brother, won them Lands and Signories in *Germany*; thence call'd, from these Brethren *Germania*: a Derivation too hastily suppos'd, perhaps before the word *Germanus* or the Latin Tongue was in use. Som who have describ'd *Henault*, as *Jacobus Bergomas*, and *Leffabeus*, are cited to affirm that *Ebranc* in his War there, was by *Brunchildis* Lord of *Henault* put to the worse.

Brutus therfore surnam'd *Greenshield* succeeding, to repair his Father's Losses, as the same *Leffabeus* reports, fought a second Battail in *Henault* with *Brunchild* at the mouth of *Scaldis*, and encamp'd on the River *Hania*. Of which our *Spencer* also thus sings.

*Let Scaldis tell, and let tell Hania,
And let the Marsh of Esthambruges tell
What colour were thir Waters that same day,
And all the Moar twixt Elversham and Dell,
With Blood of Henalois which therein fell;
How oft that day did sad Brunchildis see
The Greenshield dy'd in dolorous Vermeil, &c.*

But *Henault*, and *Brunchild*, and *Greenshield*, seem newer Names then for a Story pretended thus antient.

Him succeeded *Leil*, a maintainer of Peace and Equity; but slackn'd in his latter end, whence arose som civil Discord. He built in the North *Cairleil*; and in the days of *Solomon*.

Rudbuddibras, or *Hudibras*, appeasing the Commotions which his Father could not, founded *Caerkeynt* or *Canturbury*, *Caerguent*, or *Winchester*, and *Mount Paladur*, now *Septonia* or *Shaftsbury*: but this by others is contradicted.

Bladud his Son built *Caerbadas* or *Bathe*, and those medcinable Waters he dedicated to *Minerva*, in whose Temple there he kept Fire continually burning. He was a Man of great Invention, and taught Necromancy: till having made him Wings to fly, he fell down upon the Temple of *Apollo* in *Trinovant*, and so dy'd after twenty Years reign.

Hitherto from Father to Son the direct Line hath run on: but *Leir* who next reign'd, had only three Daughters, and no Male Issue: govern'd laudably, and built *Caer-Leir*, now *Leicestre*, on the bank of *Sora*. But at last, failing through Age, he determins to bestow his Daughters, and so among them to divide his Kingdom. Yet first to try which of them lov'd him best (a Trial that might have made him, had he known as wisely how to try, as he seem'd to know how much the trying behoov'd him) he resolves a simple Resolution, to ask them solemnly in order; and which of them should profess largest, her to believ. *Gonorill* th' eldest, apprehending too well her Father's weakness, makes answer invoking Heav'n, *That she lov'd him above her Soul*. Therefore, quoth the old Man overjoy'd, *since thou so honourst my declin'd Age, to thee and the Husband whom thou shalt choose, I give the third part of my Realm*. So fair a speeding for a few words soon utter'd, was to *Regan* the second, ample instruction what to say. She on the same demand ipares no protesting, and the Gods must witness, that otherwise to express her thoughts she knew not, but that *she lov'd him above all Creatures*; and so receavs an equal reward with her Sister. But *Cordeilla* the youngest, though hitherto best belov'd, and now before her Eyes the rich and present hire of a little easie soothing, the danger also, and the loss likely to betide plain dealing, yet moves not from the solid purpose of a sincere and vertuous Answer. *Father*, saith she, *my love towards you, is as my Duty bids; what should a Father seek, what can a Child promise more? they who pretend beyond this, flatter*. When the old Man, sorry to hear this, and wishing her to recal those words, persisted asking, with a loial sadness at her Father's infirmity, but something on the sudden, harsh, and glancing rather at her Sisters, then speaking her own mind, *Two waies only*, saith she, *I have to answer what you require me; the former, your command is, I should recant; accept then this other which is left me; look how much you have, so much is your value, and so much I love you*. Then hear thou, quoth *Leir* now all in passion, *what thy Ingratitude hath gain'd thee; because thou hast not reverenc'd thy aged Father equal to thy Sisters, part in my Kingdom, or what*

else is mine reck'n to have none. And without delay gives in Marriage his other Daughters, *Gonorill* to *Maglaunus* Duke of *Albania*, *Regan* to *Henminus* Duke of *Cornwall*; with them in present half his Kingdom; the rest to follow at his Death. In the mean while Fame was not sparing to divulge the Wisdom and other Graces of *Cordeilla*, insomuch that *Aganippus* a great King in *Gaul* (however he came by his Greek Name not found in any Register of French Kings) seeks her to Wife, and nothing alter'd at the loss of her Dowry, receavs her gladly in such manner as she was sent him. After this King *Leir* more and more drooping with Years, became an easy Prey to his Daughters and thir Husbands; who now by daily encroachment had seis'd the whole Kingdom into thir hands: and the old King is put to sojourn with his eldest Daughter, attended only by threescore Knights. But they in a short while grudg'd at, as too numerous and disorderly for continual Guests, are reduc'd to thirty. Not brooking that Affront, the old King betakes him to his second Daughter: but there also Discord soon arising between the Servants of differing Masters in one Family, five only are suffer'd to attend him. Then back again he returns to the other; hoping that she his eldest could not but have more pity on his gray Hairs: but she now refuses to admit him, unless he be content with one only of his Followers. At last the remembrance of his youngest *Cordeilla* comes to his thoughts; and now acknowledging how true her words had bin, though with little hope from whom he had so injur'd, be it but to pay her the last recompence she can have from him, his confession of her wise forewarning, that so perhaps his Misery, the proof and experiment of her Wisdom, might somthing soft'n her, he takes his Journey into *France*. Now might be seen a difference between the silent, or down-right spok'n Affection of som Children to thir Parents, and the talkative Obsequiousness of others; while the hope of Inheritance over-acts them, and on the Tongues end enlarges thir Duty. *Cordeilla* out of meer love, without the suspicion of expected Reward, at the message only of her Father in distress, pours forth true filial Tears. And not enduring either that her own, or any other Eye should see him in such forlorn condition as his Messenger declar'd, discreetly appoints one of her trusted Servants, first to convay him privatly towards som good Sea Town, there to array him, bathie him, cherish him, furnish him with such Attendance and State, as be-seem'd his Dignity, that then, as from his first landing, he might send word of his Arrival to her Husband *Aganippus*. Which don with all mature, and requisit contrivance, *Cordeilla* with the King her Husband, and all the Barony of his Realm, who then first had news of his palling the Sea, go out to meet him; and after all honourable and joyful Entertainment, *Aganippus*, as to his Wives Father, and his Royal Guest, surrenders him, during his abode there, the power, and disposal of his whole Dominion: permitting his Wife *Cordeilla* to go with an Army, and set her Father upon his Throne. Wherin her Piety so prosper'd, as that she vanquish'd her impious Sisters with those Dukes; and *Leir* again, as faith the Story, three Years obtain'd the Crown. To whom dying, *Cordeilla* with all regal Solemnities gave Burial in the Town of *Leicestre*. And then as right Heir succeeding, and her Husband dead, rul'd the Land five Years in Peace. Until *Marganus* and *Cunedagius* her two Sisters Sons, not bearing that a Kingdom should be govern'd by a Woman, in the unseasonablest time to raise that quarrel against a Woman so worthy, make War against her, depose her, and imprison her; of which impatient, and now long unexercis'd to suffer, she there, as is related, kill'd her self. The Victors between them part the Land: but *Marganus* the eldest Sister's Son, who held by agreement from the North-side of *Humber* to *Cathness*, incited by those about him to invade all as his own right, wars on *Cunedagius*, who soon met him, overcame, and overtook him in a Town of *Wales*, where he left his Life, and ever since his Name to the place.

Cunedagius was now sole King, and govern'd with much praise many Years, about the time when *Rome* was built.

Him succeeded *Rivallo* his Son, wise also and fortunat; save what they tell us of three days raining Blood, and swarms of stinging Flies, wherof Men di'd. In order then *Gurgustius*, *Jago* or *Lago*, his Nefew; *Sisilius*, *Kinmarcus*. Then *Gorboguda*, whom others name *Gorbodego*, and *Gorbodion*, who had

two Sons, *Ferrex* and *Porrex*. They in the old Age of thir Father falling to contend who should succeed, *Porrex* attempting by Treachery his Brother's Life, drives him into *France*; and in his return, though aided with the Force of that Country, defeats and slays him. But by his Mother *Videna* who less lov'd him, is himself, with the assistance of her Women, soon after slain in his Bed: With whom ended, as is thought, the Line of *Brutus*. Whereupon, the whole Land with civil Broils was rent into five Kingdoms, long time waging War each on other; and som say 50 Years. At length *Dunwallo Molmutius* the Son of *Cloten* King of *Cornwal*, one of the foresaid five, excelling in Valour, and goodliness of Person, after his Father's decease, found means to reduce again the whole Iland into a Monarchy; subduing the rest at opportunities. First, *Tmner* King of *Loegria* whom he slew; then *Rudaucus* of *Cambria*, *Statcrius* of *Albania*, confederat together. In which fight *Dunwallo* is reported, while the Victory hung doubtful, to have us'd this Art. He takes with him 600 stout Men, bids them put on the Armour of thir slain Enemies; and so unexpectedly approaching the Squadron, where those two Kings had plac'd themselves in fight, from that part which they thought securest, assaults and dispatches them. Then displaying his own Ensigns which before he had conceal'd, and sending notice to the other part of his Army what was don, adds to them new Courage, and gains a final Victory. This *Dunwallo* was the first in Britain that wore a Crown of Gold; and therefore by some reputed the first King. He established the *Molmutine* Laws, famous among the English to this day; writt'n long after in Latin by *Gildas*, and in Saxon by King *Alfred*: So saith *Geofry*, but *Gildas* denies to have known aught of the Britans before *Cæsar*; much less knew *Alfred*. These Laws, whoever made them, bestow'd on Temples the Privilege of Sanctuary; to Cities also, and the ways thither leading, yea to Plows granted a kind of like refuge; and made such riddance of Thieves and Robbers, that all Passages were safe. Forty Years he govern'd alone, and was buried nigh to the Temple of Concord; which he, to the memory of Peace restor'd, had built in *Trinovant*.

His two Sons, *Belinus* and *Brennus*, contending about the Crown, by decision of Friends, came at length to an Accord; *Brennus* to have the North of *Humber*, *Belinus* the Sov'rainty of all. But the younger not long so contented, that he, as they whisper'd to him, whose Valour had so oft repell'd the Invasions of *Ceulphus* the *Morine* Duke, should now be subject to his Brother, upon new Design sails into *Norway*; enters League and Affinity with *Elfing* that King: which *Belinus* perceaving, in his absence dispossesses him of all the North. *Brennus* with a Fleet of *Norwegians*, makes toward *Britain*; but encounter'd by *Guithlac* the Danish King, who laying claim to his Bride, pursu'd him on the Sea; his haste was retarded, and he bereft of his Spouse: who from the Fight by a sudden Tempest, was with the Danish King driv'n on *Northumberland*, and brought to *Belinus*. *Brennus* nevertheless finding means to recollect his Navy, lands in *Albania*, and gives Battel to his Brother in the Wood *Calaterium*; but losing the day, escapes with one single Ship into *Gaul*. Mean while the *Dane*, upon his own offer to become tributary, sent home with his new Prize, *Belinus* returns his thoughts to the administring of Justice, and the perfecting of his Father's Law. And to explain what High-ways might enjoy the foresaid Privileges, he caus'd to be drawn out and pav'd four main Roads to the utmost length and bredth of the Iland, and two others athwart; which are since attributed to the *Romans*. *Brennus* on the other side soliciting to his Aid the Kings of *Gaul*, happ'ns at last on *Seginus* Duke of the *Allobroges*; where his worth, and comeliness of Person, wan him the Duke's Daughter and Heir. In whose Right he shortly succeeding, and by obtain'd leave passing with a great Host through the length of *Gaul*, gets footing once again in *Britain*. Now was *Belinus* unprepar'd: And now the Battel ready to join, *Conuvenna* the Mother of them both, all in a fright, throws her self between; and calling earnestly to *Brennus* her Son, whose absence had so long depriv'd her of his sight, after imbracements and tears, assails him with such a motherly Power, and the mention of things so dear and reverend, as irresistibly wrung from him all his Enmity against *Belinus*.

Then are hands join'd, Reconciliation made firm, and Counsel held to turn thir united Preparations on Foren parts. Thence that by these two all *Gallia*

was over-run, the Story tells; and what they did in *Italy*; and at *Rome*, if these be they, and not *Gauls*, who took that City, the Roman Authors can best relate. So far from home I undertake not for the *Monmouth Chronicle*; which here against the stream of History carries up and down these Brethren, now into *Germany*, then again to *Rome*, pursuing *Gabius* and *Porfena*, two unheard of Consuls. Thus much is more generally believ'd, that both this *Brennus*, and another famous Captain, *Britomarus*, whom the Epitomist *Florus* and others mention, were not *Gauls* but *Britains*; the name of the first in that Tongue signifying a King, and of the other a Great Britain. However *Belinus* after a while returning home, the rest of his days rul'd in Peace, Wealth, and Honour, above all his Predecessors; building som Cities, of which one was *Caerose* upon *Osca*, since *Caerlegion*; beautifying others, as *Trinovant*, with a Gate, a Hav'n, and a Towr, on the *Thames*, retaining yet his Name; on the top wherof his Ashes are said to have bin laid up in a Golden Urn.

After him *Gurguntius Barbirus* was King, mild and just, but yet inheriting his Father's Courage; he subdu'd the *Dacian*, or *Dane*, who refus'd to pay the Tribute cov'anted to *Belinus* for his Enlargement. In his return finding about the *Orkneies* 30 Ships of *Spain*, or *Biscay*, fraught with Men and Women for a Plantation, whose Captain also *Bartholinus* wrongfully banish't, as he pleaded, besought him that som part of his Territory might be assign'd them to dwell in, he sent with them certain of his own Men to *Ireland*, which then lay unpeopl'd; and gave them that lland to hold of him as in Homage. He was buried in *Caerlegion*, a City which he had wall'd about.

Guitheline his Son is also remember'd as a just and good Prince, and his Wife *Martia* to have excell'd so much in Wisdom, as to venture upon a new Institution of Laws. Which King *Alfred* translating, call'd *Marchen Leage*; but more truly therby is meant, the Mercian Law; not translated by *Alfred*, but digested or incorporated with the West-Saxon. In the minority of her Son she had the Rule; and then, as may be suppos'd, brought forth these Laws, not her self, for Laws are Masculine Births, but by the Advice of her sagest Counsellors; and therin she might do vertuously, since it besel her to supply the Nonage of her Son: else nothing more awry from the Law of God and Nature, then that a Woman should give Laws to Men.

Her Son *Sisilius* coming to Years, receiv'd the Rule; then in order *Kimarus*, then *Danius* or *Elaninus* his Brother. Then *Morindus*, his Son by *Tanguestela* a Concubin, who is recorded a Man of excessive Strength, Valiant, Liberal, and fair of Aspect, but immanely Cruel; not sparing in his Anger Enemy or Friend, if any Weapon were in his hand. A certain King of the *Morines*, or *Picards*, invaded *Northumberland*; whose Army this King, though not wanting sufficient Numbers, chiefly by his own Prowess overcame: But dishonour'd his Victory by the cruel usage of his Prisoners, whom his own hands, or others in his presence put all to several Deaths: well fitted to such a bestial Cruelty was his end; for hearing of a huge Monster that from the Irish Sea infested the Coast, and in the pride of his Strength foolishly attempting to set manly Valour against a brute Vastness, when his Weapons were all in vain, by that horrible Mouth he was catch't up and devour'd.

Gorbonian the eldest of his five Sons, then whom a juster Man liv'd not in his Age, was a great builder of Temples, and gave to all what was thir due; to his Gods devout Worship, to Men of desert Honor and Preferment, to the Commons encouragement in thir Labours and Trades, defence and protection from Injuries and Oppressions; so that the Land flourish'd above her Neighbours, Violence and Wrong seldom was heard of. His Death was a general Loss: he was buried in *Trinovant*.

Archigallo the second Brother follow'd not his Example; but depress'd the ancient Nobility; and by peeling the wealthier sort, stuff'd his Treasury; and took the right way to be depos'd.

Elidure the next Brother, surnam'd the Pious, was set up in his place; a Mind so noble, and so moderat, as almost is incredible to have bin ever found. For having held the Scepter five Years, hunting one day in the Forest of *Calater*, he chanc'd to meet his deposed Brother, wandring in mean condition; who had bin long in vain beyond the Seas, importuning Foren Aids to his Restoration; and was now in a poor Habit, with only ten Followers, privately

return'd

return'd to find Subsistence among his secret Friends. At the unexpected sight of him, *Elidure* himself also then but thinly accompanied, runs to him with open Arms; and after many dear and sincere Welcomings, conveys him to the City *Alclud*; there hides him in his own Bed-chamber. Afterwards faining himself sick, summons all his Peers as about greatest Affairs; where admitting them one by one, as if his Weakness endur'd not the disturbance of more at once, causes them, willing or unwilling, once more to swear Allegiance to *Archigallo*. Whom after Reconciliation made on all sides, he leads to *Tork*; and from his own head, places the Crown on the head of his Brother. Who thenceforth, Vice it self dissolving in him, and forgetting her firmest hold with the admiration of a Deed so Heroic, became a true converted Man; rul'd worthily ten Years, dy'd, and was buried in *Caerleir*. Thus was a Brother sav'd by a Brother, to whom love of a Crown, the thing that so often dazles, and vitiates mortal Men, for which thousands of nearest Blood have destroy'd each other, was in respect of Brotherly dearneſs, a contemptible thing.

Elidure now in his own behalf reſumes the Government, and did as was worthy ſuch a Man to do. When Providence, that ſo great Vertue might want no ſort of trial to make it more illuſtrious, riſes up *Vigenius*, and *Peredure* his youngſt Brethren, againſt him who had deſerv'd ſo nobly of that Relation, at leaſt of all by a Brother to be injur'd. Yet him they defeat, him they imprifon in the Towr of *Trinovant*, and divide his Kingdom; the North to *Peredure*, the South to *Vigenius*. After whoſe Death *Peredure* obtaining all, ſo much the better uſ'd his Power, by how much the worſe he got it: So that *Elidure* now is hardly miſt. But yet in all right owing to his Elder the due place wherof he had depriv'd him, Fate would that he ſhould die firſt: And *Elidure* after many years Imprifonment, is now the third time ſeated on the Throne; which at laſt he enjoy'd long in Peace, finiſhing the interrupted courſe of his mild and juſt Reign, as full of vertuous Deeds, as Days to his end.

After theſe five Sons of *Morindus*, ſucceded alſo thir Sons in order. * *Re-* * *Match-*
gin of *Gorbonian*, *Marganus* of *Archigallo*, both good Kings. But *Enniaunus* *Westm.*
his Brother taking other courſes, was after ſix Years depos'd. Then *Idwallo* taught by a near Example, govern'd ſoberly. Then *Runno*, then *Geruntius*, He of *Peredure*, this laſt the Son of *Elidure*. From whoſe Loyns (for that likely is the durable, and ſurviving Race that ſprings of juſt Progenitors) iſſu'd a long deſcent of Kings, whoſe Names only for many Succeſſions; without other memory, ſtand thus regiſter'd; *Catellus*, *Coillus*, *Porrex*, *Che-rin*, and his three Sons, *Fulgenius*, *Eldadus*, and *Andradius*, his Son *Urianus*; *Eliud*, *Eledaucus*, *Clotenus*, *Gurguntius*, *Merianus*, *Bleduno*, *Capis*, *Oe-nus*, *Sifillius*, twenty Kings in a continu'd row, that either did nothing, or liv'd in Ages that wrote nothing, at leaſt a foul pretermiſſion in the Author of this, whether Story or Fable; himſelf weary, as ſeems, of his own tedious Tale.

But to make amends for this Silence, *Blegabredus* next ſucceeding, is recorded to have excell'd all before him in the Art of Muſic; opportunely, had he but left us one Song of his 20 Predeceſſors doings.

Yet after him nine more ſucceeded in Name; His Brother *Archimailus*, *Edol*, *Redion*, *Rederchiuſ*, *Samulius*, *Peniſſel*, *Pir*, *Capoirus*; but *Cliquellius*, with the addition of Modest, Wife, and Juſt.

His Son *Heli* reign'd 40 Years, and had three Sons, *Lud*, *Caffibelan*, and *Nennius*. This *Heli* ſeems to be the ſame whom *Ninnius* in his Fragment calls *Minocan*; for him he writes to be the Father of *Caffibelan*. *Lud* was he who enlarg'd; and wall'd about *Trinovant*; there kept his Court, made it the prime City, and call'd it from his own Name *Caer-Lud*, or *Lud's Town*, now *London*. Which, as is all'dg'd out of *Gildas*, became matter of great diſſention betwixt him, and his Brother *Nennius*; who took it hainouſly that the Name of *Troy* thir ancient Country ſhould be abolish'd for any new one. *Lud* was hardy, and bold in War, in Peace a jolly Feaſter. He conquer'd many Ilands of the Sea, ſaith *Huntingdon*, and was buried by the Gate *Huntingdon* which from thence we call *Ludgate*. His two Sons, *Androgeus* and *Tennantius*, *Westm.*

were left to the Tuition of *Cassibelan*; whose Bounty and high Demeanor, so wraught with the common People, as got him easily the Kingdom transfer'd upon himself. He nevertheless continuing to favour and support his Nefews, confers* freely upon *Androgeus*, *London* with *Kent*; upon *Tenuantius*, *Cornwal*; reserving a Superiority both over them, and all the other Princes to himself, till the *Romans* for a while circumscrib'd his Power. Thus far, though leaning only on the Credit of *Geffrey Monmouth*, and his Assertors, I yet for the specified Causes have thought it not beneath my purpose, to relate what I found. Wherto I neither oblige the belief of other Person, nor over-hastily subscribe mine own. Nor have I stood with others computing or collating Years and Chronologies, lest I should be vainly curious about the Time and Circumstance of things wherof the Substance is so much in doubt. By this time, like one who had set out on his way by Night, and travail'd through a Region of smooth or idle Dreams, our History now arrives on the Confines, where Daylight and Truth meet us with a clear Dawn, representing to our view, though at a far distance, true Colours and Shapes. For albeit *Cesar*, whose Authority we are now first to follow, wanted not who tax'd him of mis-reporting in his Commentaries, yea in his Civil Wars against *Pompey*, much more, may we think, in the *British Affairs*, of whose little skill in writing he did not easily hope to be contradicted; yet now in such variety of good Authors, we hardly can miss, from one hand or other, to be sufficiently inform'd as of things past so long ago. But this will better be referr'd to a second Discourse.

The End of the first Book.

T H E

THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

The Second Book.

I Am now to write of what befel the *Britains* from *fifty and three years before the Birth of our Saviour*, when first the *Romans* came in, till the decay and ceasing of that Empire; a Story of much Truth, and for the first hundred years and somewhat more, collected without much Labour. So many and so prudent were the Writers, which those two, the civilest and the wisest of *European Nations*, both *Italy* and *Greece*, afforded to the Actions of that puissant City. For worthy Deeds are not often destitute of worthy Relations: as by a certain Fate great Acts and great Eloquence have most commonly gon hand in hand, equalling and honoring each other in the same Ages. 'Tis true that in obscurest times, by shallow and unskilful Writers, the indistinct noise of many Battels, and Devastations of many Kingdoms over-run and lost, hath come to our ears. For what wonder, if in all Ages Ambition and the love of Rapine hath stirr'd up greedy and violent Men to bold Attempts in wasting and ruining Wars, which to Posterity have left the Work of wild Beasts and Destroyers, rather than the Deeds and Monuments of Men and Conquerors? But he whose just and true Valour uses the necessity of War and Dominion, not to destroy but to prevent Destruction, to bring in Liberty against Tyrants, Law and Civility among barbarous Nations, knowing that when he conquers all things else, he cannot conquer *Time* or *Detraction*, wisely conscious of this his want as well as of his Worth not to be forgott'n or conceal'd, honours and hath recourse to the aid of Eloquence, his freindliest and best Supply; by whose immortal Record his noble Deeds, which else were transitory, becoming fixt and durable against the Force of Years and Generations, he fails not to continue through all Posterity, over *Envy*, *Death*, and *Time*, also victorious. Therefore when the Esteem of Science and liberal Study waxes low in the Commonwealth, we may presume that also there all civil Vertue, and worthy Action is grown as low to a decline: and then Eloquence, as it were comforted in the same Destiny, with the decrease and fall of Vertue corrupts also and fades; at least resigns her Office of relating to illiterate and frivolous Historians, such as the Persons themselves both deserv, and are best pleas'd with; whilst they want either the understanding to choose better, or the Innocence to dare invite the examining, and searching Stile of an intelligent and faithful Writer to the Survey of thir unsound Exploits, better befriended by Obscurity than Fame. As for these, the only Authors we have of *British* Matters, while the Power of *Rome* reach'd hither, (for *Gildas* affirms that of the *Roman* times no *British* Writer was in his days extant, or if any ever were, either burnt by Enemies, or transported with such as fled the *Pictish* and *Saxon* Invasions) these therefore only *Roman* Authors ther be who in the English Tongue have laid together as much, and perhaps more than was requisite to a History of *Britain*. So that were it not for leaving an unsightly gap so neer to the beginning, I should have

have judg'd this Labour, wherein so little seems to be requir'd above Transcription, almost superfluous. Notwithstanding since I must through it, if ought by Diligence may be added or omitted, or by other disposing may be more explain'd, or more express'd, I shall assay.

Sueton. vit.
Cæs.

Year before
Christ 53.

Suetonius.
Cæs. Com. l. 1.

Cæs. Com. l. 4.

Cic. Att. l. 4.
Ep. 17.

Julius Cæsar (of whom, and of the *Roman* Free State, more then what appertains; is not here to be discours'd) having subdu'd most part of *Gallia*, which by a potent Faction he had obtain'd of the Senat as his Province for many years, stirr'd up with a desire of adding still more Glory to his Name, and the whole *Roman* Empire to his Ambition, som say, with a far meaner and ignobler, the desire of *British* Pearls, whose bigness he delighted to ballance in his hand, determines, and that upon no unjust pretended occasion, to try his Force in the Conquest also of *Britain*. For he understood that the *Britains* in most of his *Gallian* Wars had sent Supplies against him, had receiv'd Fugitives of the *Bellovaci* his Enemies, and were call'd over to aid the Cities of *Armorica*, which had the year before conspir'd all in a new Rebellion. Therefore *Cæsar*, though now the Summer well nigh ending, and the Season ungreeable to transport a War, yet judg'd it would be great Advantage, only to get entrance into the *Ile*, Knowledge of the Men, the Places, the Ports, the Accesses; which then, it seems, were ev'n to the *Gauls* thir Neighbours almost unknown. For except Merchants and Traders, it is not oft, faith he, that any use to travel thether; and to those that do, besides the Sea Coast, and the Ports next to *Gallia*, nothing else is known. But heer I must require, as *Pollio* did, the Diligence, at least the Memory of *Cæsar*: for if it were true, as they of *Rhemes* told him, that *Divitiachus*, not long before a puissant King of the *Soissons*, had *Britain* also under his Command, besides the *Belgian* Colonies which he affirms to have nam'd, and peopl'd many Provinces there; if also the *Britans* had so frequently giv'n them aid in all thir Wars; if lastly the *Druid* Learning honour'd so much among them, were at first taught them out of *Britain*, and they who soonest would attain that Disciplin, sent hether to learn; it appears not how *Britain* at that time should be so utterly unknown in *Gallia*, or only known to Merchants, yea to them so little, that being call'd together from all parts, none could be found to inform *Cæsar* of what bigness the *Ile*, what Nations, how great, what use of War they had, what Laws, or so much as what commodious Havens for bigger Vessels. Of all which things as it were then first to make discovery, he sends *Caius Volusenus*, in a long Galley, with Command to return as soon as this could be effected. He in the mean time with his whole Power draws nigh to the *Morine* Coast, whence the shortest Passage was into *Britain*. Hether his Navy which he us'd against the *Armoricans*, and what else of Shipping can be provided, he draws together. This known in *Britain*, Embassadors are sent from many of the States there, who promise Hostages and Obedience to the *Roman* Empire. Them, after Audience giv'n, *Cæsar* as largely promising and exhorting to continue in that mind, sends home, and with them *Comius* of *Arras*, whom he had made King of that Country, and now secretly employ'd to gain a *Roman* Party among the *Britans*, in as many Cities as he found inclinable, and to tell them, that he himself was speeding thether. *Volusenus* with what Discovery of the *Iland* he could make from aboard his Ship, not daring to venture on the shoar, within five days returns to *Cæsar*. Who soon after, with two Legions, ordinarily amounting, of *Romans* and thir Allies, to about 25000 Foot, and 4500 Horse, the Foot in 80 Ships of Burden, the Horse in 18, besides what Gallies were appointed for his chief Commanders, sets off about the third watch of Night with a good Gale to Sea; leaving behind him *Sulpitius Rufus* to make good the Port with a sufficient Strength. But the Horse whose appointed Shipping lay Wind-bound 8 Mile upward in another Hav'n, had much trouble to imbarke. *Cæsar* now within sight of *Britain* beholds on every Hill multitudes of armed Men, ready to forbid his Landing; and *Cicero* writes to his Friend *Atticus*, that the Accesses of the *Iland* were wondrously fortify'd with strong Works or Moles. Heer from the fourth to the ninth hour of day he awaits at Anchor the coming up of his whole Fleet. Mean while with his Legats and Tribuns consulting and giving order to fit all things for what might happ'n in such a various and floating Water-fight as was to be expected. This place, which was a narrow Bay, close environ'd with Hills, appearing no way com-

commodious, he removes to a plain and open shoar 8 Mile distant ; commonly suppos'd about *Deal in Kent*. Which when the *Britans* perceav'd, thir Horse and Chariots, as then they us'd in fight, scowring before, thir main Power speeding after, som thick upon the shoar, others not tarrying to be assail'd, ride in among the Waves to encounter, and assault the *Romans* ev'n under thir Ships, with such a bold and free Hardihood, that *Cæsar* himself between confessing and excusing that his Souldiers were to com down from thir Ships, to stand in Water heavy arm'd, and to fight at once, denies not but that the Terror of such new and resolute Opposition made them forget thir wonted Valour. To succour which he commands his Gallies, a sight unusual to the *Britans*, and more apt for Motion, drawn from the bigger Vessels, to row against the op'n side of the Enemy, and thence with Slings, Engines, and Darts, to beat them back. But neither yet, though amaz'd at the strangeness of those new Sea-Castles, bearing up so neer, and so swiftly as almost to over-whelm them, the hurtling of Oars, the battring of seirce Engines against thir Bodies barely expos'd, did the *Britans* give much ground; or the *Romans* gain; till he who bore the Eagle of the tenth Legion, yet in the Gallies, first beseeching his Gods, said, thus alow'd, *Leap down Souldiers, unless ye mean to betray your Ensign; I for my part will perform what I ow to the Commonwealth and my General*. This utter'd, over-board he leaps, and with his Eagle seircly advanc'd runs upon the Enemy; the rest hartning one another not to admit the Dishonour of so nigh losing thir cheif Standard, follow him resolutely. Now was fought eagerly on both sides. Ours who well knew thir own Advantages, and expertly us'd them, now in the Shallows, now on the Sand, still as the *Romans* went trooping to thir Ensigns, receav'd them, dispatch'd them, and with the help of thir Horse, put them every where to great Disorder. But *Cæsar* causing all his Boats and Shallops to be fill'd with Souldiers, commanded to ply up and down continually with Relief where they saw need; wherby at length all the Foot now dis-imbark'd, and got together in som order on firm ground, with a more stedy charge put the *Britans* to flight: but wanting all thir Horse, whom the Winds yet with-held from sailing, they were not able to make pursuit. In this confused Fight *Scæva* a Roman Souldier having press'd too far among the *Britans*, and beset round, after incredible Valour shewn, single against a multitude, swom back safe to his General; and in the place that rung with his Praises, earnestly besought Pardon for his rash Adventure against Disciplin: which modest confessing after no bad Event, for such a Deed wherin Valour and Ingenuity so much out-weigh'd Transgression, easily made amends and preferr'd him to be a Centurion. *Cæsar* also is brought in by *Julian*, attributing to himself the Honour (if it were at all an Honour to that Person which he sustain'd) of being the first that left his Ship, and took Land: but this were to make *Cæsar* less understand what became him than *Scæva*. The *Britans* finding themselves master'd in fight, forthwith send Embassadors to treat of Peace, promising to give Hostages, and to be at Command. With them *Comius* of *Arras* also return'd; whom hitherto since his first coming from *Cæsar*, they had detain'd in Prison as a Spy: the blame wherof they lay on the common People; for whose Violence, and thir own Imprudence they crave Pardon. *Cæsar* complaining they had first sought Peace, and then without cause had begun War, yet content to pardon them, commands Hostages: wherof part they bring in strait, others far up in the Country to be sent for, they promise in a few days. Mean while the People disbanded and sent home, many Princes and cheif Men from all parts of the Ile submit themselves and thir Cities to the Dispose of *Cæsar*, who lay then encamp'd, as is thought, on *Baram-down*. Thus had the *Britans* made thir Peace; when suddenly an Accident unlook'd for put new Counsels into thir Minds. Four days after the coming of *Cæsar*, those 18 Ships of burden, which from the upper Hav'n had tak'n in all the *Roman Horse*, born with a soft Wind to the very Coast, in sight of the *Roman Camp*, were by a sudden Tempest scatter'd and driv'n back, som to the Port from whence they loos'd, others down into the West Country; who finding there no Safety either to land or to cast Anchor, chose rather to commit themselves again to the troubl'd Sea; and as *Orosius* reports, were most of them cast away. The same Night, it being full Moon, the Gallies left upon dry Land, were, un-

Camden.

Valer. Max.
Plutarch.

In Cæsar. ib.

ware to the Romans, cover'd with a Spring-tide, and the greater Ships that lay off at Anchor torn and beat'n with Waves, to the great perplexity of *Cæsar*, and his whole Army; who now had neither Shipping left to convey them back, nor any provision made to stay heer, intending to have winter'd in *Gallia*. All this the *Britans* well perceiving, and by the Compaſs of his Camp, which without Baggage appear'd the smaller, gueſſing at his Numbers, conſult together, and one by one ſlily withdrawing from the Camp, where they were waiting the concluſion of a Peace, reſolve to ſtop all Proviſions, and to draw out the buſineſs till Winter. *Cæſar*, though ignorant of what they intended, yet from the condition wherein he was, and thir other Hoſtages not ſent, ſuſpecting what was likely, begins to provide apace, all that might be, againſt what might happ'n; lays in Corn, and with Materials fetch'd from the Continent, and what was left of thoſe Ships which were paſt help, he repairs the reſt. So that now by the inceſſant Labour of his Souldiers, all but twelv were again made ſerviceable. While theſe things are doing, one of the Legions being ſent out to forage, as was accuſtom'd, and no ſuſpicion of War, while ſom of the *Britans* were remaining in the Country about, others alſo going and coming freely to the *Roman Quarters*, they who were in ſtation at the Camp Gates ſent ſpeedy Word to *Cæſar*, that from that part of the Country, to which the Legion went, a greater Duſt than uſual was ſeen to riſe. *Cæſar* gueſſing the matter, commands the Cohorts of Guard to follow him thether, two others to ſucceed in thir ſtead, the reſt all to arm and follow. They had not march'd long, when *Cæſar* diſcerns his Legion ſore over-charg'd: for the *Britans* not doubting but that thir Enemies on the morrow would be in that place which only they had left unreap'd of all thir Harveſt, had plac'd an Ambuſh; and while they were diſperſt and buſieſt at thir Labour, ſet upon them, kill'd ſom, and routed the reſt. The manner of thir fight was from a kind of Chariots; wherein riding about, and throwing Darts, with the clutter of thir Horſe, and of thir Wheels, they oft-times broke the rank of thir Enemies; then retreating among the Horſe, and quitting thir Chariots, they fought on foot. The Charioters in the mean while ſomewhat aſide from the Battel, ſet themſelves in ſuch order, that thir Maſters at any time oppreſs'd with odds, might retire ſafely thether, having perform'd with one Perſon both the nimble Service of a Horſe-man, and the ſtedfaſt Duty of a Foot-Souldier. So much they could with thir Chariots by uſe and exerciſe, as riding on the ſpeed down a ſteep Hill, to ſtop ſuddenly, and with a ſhort rein turn ſwiftly, now running on the Beam, now on the Yoke, then in the Seat. With this ſort of new ſkirmiſhing the *Romans* now over-match'd and terrify'd, *Cæſar* with opportune Aid appears; for then the *Britans* make a ſtand: but he conſidering that now was not fit time to offer Battel, while his Men were ſcarce recover'd of ſo late a fear, only keeps his ground, and ſoon after leads back his Legions to the Camp. Furder Action for many days following was hinder'd on both ſides by foul Weather; in which time the *Britans* diſpatching Meſſengers round about, to how few the *Romans* were reduc'd, what hope of Priſe and Booty, and now if ever of freeing themſelves from the fear of like Invaſions heerafter, by making theſe an example, if they could but now uncamp thir Enemies, at this intimation multitudes of Horſe and Foot coming down from all parts make towards the *Romans*. *Cæſar* foreſeeing that the *Britans*, tho beat'n and put to flight, would eaſily evade his Foot, yet with no more then 30 Horſe, which *Comius* had brought over, draws out his Men to Battel, puts again the *Britans* to flight, purſues with Slaughter, and returning burns and lays waſte all about. Whereupon Embaſſadors the ſame day being ſent from the *Britans* to deſire Peace, *Cæſar*, as his Affairs at preſent ſtood, for ſo great a breach of Faith, only impoſes on them double the former Hoſtages, to be ſent after him into *Gillidat*. And becauſe *September* was nigh half ſpent, a ſeaſon not fit to tempt the Sea with his weather-beat'n Fleet, the ſame Night with a fair Wind he departs towards *Belgia*; whether two only of the *Britain* Cities ſent Hoſtages, as they promis'd, the reſt neglected. But at *Rome* when the News came of *Cæſar*'s Acts here, whether it were eſteem'd a Conqueſt or a fair Escape, Supplication of twenty days is decreed by the Senat; as either for an Exploit done, or a Diſcovery made, wherein both *Cæſar* and the *Romans* gloried not a little;

tle, though it brought no benefit either to him, or to the Commonwealth.

The Winter following, *Cæsar*, as his Custom was, going into *Italy*, when *Dion.* as he saw that most of the *Britans* regarded not to send thir Hostages, appoints *Cæsar* Com. 5. his Legats whom he left in *Belgia*, to provide what possible Shipping they could either build, or repair. Low built they were to be, as therby eaiser both to fraught, and to hale ashoar; nor needed to be higher, because the Tide so often changing, was observ'd to make the Billows less in our Sea then those in the Mediterranean: broader likewise they were made, for the better transporting of Horses, and all other fraughtage, being intended chiefly to that end. These all about 600 in a readiness, with 28 Ships of burden, and what with Adventurers, and other Hulks above 200, *Cotta* one of the Legates wrote them, as *Atheneus* affirms, in all 1000; *Cæsar* from Port *Iccius*, a Passage of som 30 mile over, leaving behind him *Labienus* to guard the Hav'n, and for other supply at need, with five Legions, though but 2000 Horse, about Sun set hoysing Sail with a slack South-West, at midnight was becalm'd. And finding when it was Light, that the whole Navy lying on the Current, had fal'n off from the Ile, which now they could descry on thir left hand, by the unwearied labour of his Souldiers, who refus'd not to tug the Oar, and kept course with Ships under sayl, he bore up as neer as might be, to the same place where he had landed the yeer before; where about Noon arriving, no Enemy *Before the Birth* could be seen. For the *Britans*, which in great number, as was after known, *J. Christ, 52.* had bin there, at sight of so huge a Fleet durst not abide. *Cæsar* forthwith landing his Army, and encamping to his best advantage, som notice being giv'n him by those he took, where to find the Enemy, with his whole Power, save only ten Cohorts, and 300 Horse, left to *Quintus Atrius* for the guard of his Ships, about the third watch of the same Night marches up twelv Mile into the Country. And at length by a River, commonly thought the *Stowre* in *Kent*, espies embattail'd the *British Forces*. They with thir Horses and Chariots advancing to the higher Banks, oppose the *Romans* in thir March, and begin the Fight; but repuls't by the *Roman Cavalry* give back into the Woods to a place notably made strong both by Art and Nature; which, it seems, had bin a Fort, or Hold of strength rais'd heertofore in time of Wars among themselves. For entrance, and access on all sides, by the felling of huge Trees overthwart one another, was quite barr'd up; and within these the *Britans* did thir utmost to keep out the Enemy. But the Souldiers of the seventh Legion locking all thir Shields together like a Roof close over head, and others raising a Mount, without much loss of Blood took the Place, and drove them all to forsake the Woods. Pursuit they made not long, as being through ways unknown; and now Ev'ning came on, which they more wisely spent, in choosing out where to pitch and fortify thir Camp that Night. The next Morning *Cæsar* had but newly sent out his men in three Bodies to pursue, and the last no farder gon then yet in sight, when Horsemen all in Post from *Quintus Atrius* bring word to *Cæsar*, that almost all his Ships in a Tempest that Night had suffer'd wrack, and lay brok'n upon the shoar. *Cæsar* at this news recalls his Legions, himself in all hast riding back to the Sea-side, beheld with his own Eyes the ruinous prospect. About forty Vessels were sunk and lost, the residue so torn and shak'n, as not to be new rigg'd without much labour. Strait he assembles what number of Ship-wrights either in his own Legions or from beyond Sea, could be summon'd; appoints *Labienus* on the *Belgian* side to build more; and with a dreadful industry of ten days, not respiting his Souldiers day or night, drew up all his Ships, and entrench'd them round within the circuit of his Camp. This don, and leaving to thir defence the same Strength as before, he returns with his whole Forces to the same Wood, where he had defeated the *Britans*; who preventing him with greater Powers then before, had now repossess'd themselves of that place, under *Cassibelan* thir chief Leader. Whose Territory from the States bordering on the Sea was divided by the *River Thames* about 80 mile inward. With him formerly other Cities had continual War; but now in the common danger had all made choise of him to be thir General. Heer the *British* Horse and Charioters meeting with the *Roman Cavalry*, fought stoutly; and at first, somthing overmatch'd they retreat to the neer advantage of thir Woods and Hills, but still follow'd by the *Romans*, make head again, cut off the forwardest among them, and after some pause, while *Cæsar*,

who thought the days work had bin don, was busied about the entrenching of his Camp, march out again, give seirce assault to the very Stations of his Guards and Senteries; and while the main Cohorts of two Legions that were sent to the Alarm, stood within a small distance of each other terrifi'd at the newness and the boldness of thir fight, charg'd back again through the midst, without loss of a man. Of the Romans that day was slain *Quintus Laberius Durus* a Tribune; the *Britans* having fought thir fill at the very entrance of *Cæsar's* Camp, and sustain'd the resistance of his whole Army entrench'd, gave over the Assault. *Cæsar* heer acknowledges that the *Roman* way both of arming, and of fighting, was not so well fitted against this kind of Enemy; for that the Foot in heavy Armour could not follow thir cunning flight, and durst not by antient Disciplin stir from thir Ensign; and the Horse alone, disjoin'd from the Legions, against a Fo that turn'd suddenly upon them with a mixt encounter both of Horse and Foot, were in equal danger both following and retiring. Besides thir fashion was, not in great Bodies, and close Order, but in small Divisions, and open Distances to make thir onset; appointing others at certain spaces, now to releev and bring off the weary, now to succeed and renew the Conflict; which argu'd no small experience, and use of Arms. Next day the *Britans* afar off upon the Hills begin to shew themselves heer and there, and though less boldly then before, to skirmish with the *Roman* Horse. But at Noon *Cæsar* having sent out 3 Legions, and all his Horse with *Trebonius* the Legat, to seek Fodder, suddenly on all sides they set upon the Foragers, and charge up after them to the very Legions, and thir Standards. The *Romans* with great Courage beat them back, and in the Chace, being well seconded by the Legions, not giving them time either to rally, to stand, or to descend from thir Chariots as they were wont, slew many. From this overthrow, the *Britans*, that dwelt farder off, betook them home; and came no more after that time with so great a Power against *Cæsar*. Wherof advertis'd he marches onward to the Frontiers of *Cassibelan*, which on this side were bounded by the *Thames*, not passable except in one place and that difficult, about *Coway stakes* neer *Oatlands*, as is conjectur'd. Hither coming he descries on the other side great Forces of the Enemy, plac'd in good Array; the Bank set all with sharp Stakes, others in the bottom, cover'd with Water; wherof the marks in *Beda's* time, were to be seen, as he relates. This having learnt by such as were tak'n, or had run to him, he first commands his Horse to pass over; then his Foot, who wading up to the Neck went on so resolutely, and so fast, that they on the further side not enduring the Violence, retreated and fled. *Cassibelan* no more now in hope to contend for Victory, dismissing all but 4000 of those Charioters, through Woods, and intricate waies attends thir Motion; where the *Romans* are to pass, drives all before him; and with continual Sallies upon the Horse, where they least expected, cutting off some and terrifying others, compels them so close together, as gave them no leave to fetch in prey or booty without ill success. Wherupon *Cæsar* strictly commanding all not to part from the Legions, had nothing left him in his way but empty Fields and Houses, which he spoil'd and burnt. Mean while the *Trinobantes*, a State, or Kingdom, and perhaps the greatest then among the *Britans*, less favouring *Cassibelan*, send Embassadors, and yeild to *Cæsar* upon this reason. *Inmanuentius* had bin thir King: him *Cassibelan* had slain, and purpos'd the like to *Mandubratius* his Son, whom *Orosius* calls *Androgorius*, *Beda* *Androgius*; but the youth escaping by flight into *Gallia*, put himself under the protection of *Cæsar*. These entreat that *Mandubratius* may be still defended, and sent home to succeed in his Fathers right. *Cæsar* sends him, demands 40 Hostages and Provision for his Army, which they immediately bring in, and have thir Confines protected from the Souldier. By thir example the *Cenimagni*, *Segontiaci*, *Ancalites*, *Bibroci*, *Cassi* (so I write them, for the Modern names are but guess'd) on like terms make thir Peace. By them he learns that the Town of *Cassibelan*, suppos'd to be *Verulam*, was not far distant; fenc't about with Woods and Marshes, well stuff't with men and much Cattel. For Towns then in *Britain* were only Woody places Ditch't round, and with a Mud Wall encompass'd against the inrodes of Enemies. Thether goes *Cæsar* with his Legions, and though a place of great Strength both by Art and Nature, assaults it in two places.

Camden.

places. The *Britans* after some defence fled out all at another end of the Town; in the flight many were taken, many slain, and great store of Cattel found there. *Cassibelan* for all these Losses yet deserts not himself; nor was yet his Authority so much impair'd, but that in *Kent*, though in a manner possess'd by the Enemy, his Messengers and Commands find obedience enough to raise all the People. By his direction, *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus* and *Segonax*, four Kings reigning in those Countries which ly upon the Sea, lead them on to assault that Camp wherein the *Romans* had entrench'd thir Shipping: but they whom *Cæsar* left there, issuing out, slew many, and took Prisoners *Cingetorix* a noted Leader, without loss of thir own. *Cassibelan* after so many defeats, mov'd especially by revolt of the Cities from him, thir inconstancie and falshood one to another, uses mediation by *Comius of Arras* to send Embassadors about Treatie of yielding. *Cæsar* who had determin'd to winter in the Continent, by reason that *Gallia* was unsettl'd, and not much of the Summer now behind, commands him only Hostages, and what yearly Tribute the Iland should pay to *Rome*, forbids him to molest the *Trinobants*, or *Mandubratius*; and with his Hostages, and great number of Captives he puts to Sea, having at twise embark't his whole Armie. At his return to *Rome*, *Pliny* as from a glorious enterprise, he offers to *Venus* the Patroness of his Family, a Corset of British Pearles.

Howbeit other antient Writers have spok'n more doubtfully of *Cæsars* Victories heer; and that in plain terms he fled from hence; for which the common Verse in *Lucan*, with divers passages heer and there in *Tacitus*, is alleg'd. *Paulus Orosius*, who took what he wrote from a Historie of *Suetonius* now lost, writes that *Cæsar* in his first journey entertain'd with a sharp Fight, lost no small number of his Foot, and by Tempest nigh all his Horse. *Dion* affirms that once in the second Expedition all his Foot werè routed; *Orosius* that another time all Horse. The British Author, whom I use only then when others are all silent, hath many trivial discourses of *Cæsars* being heer, which are best omitted. Nor have we more of *Cassibelan*, then what the same Story tells, how he warr'd soon after with *Androgeus*, about his Nefew slain by *Evelinus* Nefew to the other; which business at length compos'd, *Cassibelan* dies, and was buried in *York*, if the *Monmouth Book* fable not. But at *Cæsars* coming hither, such likeliest were the *Britans*, as the Writers of those times, and thir own actions represent them; in courage and warlike readines to take advantage by Ambush or sudden Onset, not inferiour to the *Romans*, nor *Cassibelan* to *Cæsar*; in Weapons, Arms, and the skill of Encamping, Embattailing, Fortifying, overmatch't; thir Weapons were a short Spear and light Target, a Sword also by thir side, thir fight sometimes in Chariots phangd at the Axle with Iron Sithes, thir Bodies most part naked, only painted with woad in sundry figures to seem terrible as they thought, but pursu'd by Enemies, not nice of thir painting to run into Bogs, worse then wild *Irish* up to the Neck, and there to stay many daies holding a certain Morsel in thir Mouths no bigger then a Bean, to suffice hunger; but that receipt, and the Temperance it taught, is long since unknown among us: thir Towns and strong holds were spaces of ground fenc't about with a Ditch and great Trees fell'd overthwart each other, thir Buildings within were thatch't Houses for themselves and thir Cattel: in peace the Upland Inhabitants besides Hunting, tended thir Flocks and Herds, but with little skill of Countrie Affairs; the making of Cheese they commonly knew not, Wool or Flax they spun not, Gardning and Planting many of them knew not; Clothing they had none, but what the skins of Beasts afforded them, and that not alwaies; yet gallantrie they had, painting thir own skins with several Portraitures of Beast, Bird, or Flower, a Vanitie which hath not yet left us, remov'd only from the skin to the skirt behung now with as many colour'd Ribands and Gew-gawes: towards the Sea side they till'd the Ground, and liv'd much after the manner of *Gauls* thir Neighbours, or first Planters: thir Money was brazen pieces or Iron Rings, thir best Merchandise Tin, the rest Trifles of Glasse, Ivory, and such like; yet Gems and Pearls they had, faith *Mela*, in some Rivers: thir Ships of light timber wicker'd with Oysier between, and cover'd over with Leather, serv'd not therefore to transport them far, and thir Commodities were fetch't away by foren Merchants:

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thir dealing, faith *Diodorus*, plain and simple without fraud; thir Civil Government under many Princes and States, not confederate or consulting in common, but mistrustful, and oft-times warring one with the other, which gave them up one by one an easie Conquest to the *Romans*: thir Religion was govern'd by a sort of Priests or Magicians, call'd *Druides* from the Greek name of an *Oke*, which Tree they had in great reverence, and the *Mistleto* especially growing thereon. *Pliny* writes them skill'd in Magic no less then those of *Persia*: by thir abstaining from a Hen, a Hare, and a Goose, from Fish also, faith *Dion*, and thir opinion of the Soul's passing after Death into other Bodies, they may be thought to have studied *Pythagoras*; yet Philosophers I cannot call them, reported Men factious and ambitious, contending sometimes about the Archpriesthood not without Civil War and Slaughter; nor restrain'd they the People under them from a lewd adulterous and incestuous Life, ten or twelve Men absurdly against Nature, possessing one Woman as thir common Wife, though of nearest kin, Mother, Daughter or Sister; Progenitors not to be glori'd in. But the Gospel, not long after preach'd heer, abolish'd such Impurities, and of the *Romans* we have cause not to say much worse, then that they beat us into some Civility; likely else to have continu'd longer in a barbarous and savage manner of Life. After *Julius* (for *Julius* before his Death tyrannously had made himself Emperor of the *Roman* Commonwealth, and was slain in the Senat for so doing) he who next obtain'd the Empire, *Octavianus Caesar Augustus*, either contemning the *Iland*; as *Strabo* would have us think, whose neither Benefit was worth the having, nor Enmity worth the fearing; or out of a wholsom State Maxim, as som say, to moderate and bound the Empire from growing vast and unweildy, made no attempt against the *Britans*. But the truer cause was partly civil War among the *Romans*, partly other Affairs more urging. For about 20 Years after, all which time the *Britans* had liv'd at thir own dispose, *Augustus* in imitation of his Uncle *Julius*, either intending or seeming to intend an Expedition hither, was come into *Gallia*, when the news of a Revolt in *Pannonia* diverted him: about seven Years after in the same Resolution, what with the unsetl'dness of *Gallia*, and what with Embassadors from *Britain* which met him there, he proceeded not. The next year, difference arising about Cov'nants, he was again prevented by other new Commotions in *Spain*. Nevertheless som of the *British* Potentates omitted not to seek his friendship by gifts offer'd in the Capitol, and other obsequious Addressses. Insomuch that the whole *Iland* became ev'n in those days well known to the *Romans*; too well perhaps for them, who from the knowledg of us were so like to prove Enemies. But as for Tribute, the *Britains* paid none to *Augustus*, except what easie Customs were levied on the slight Commodities wherewith they traded into *Gallia*.

After *Cassibelan*, *Tenantius* the younger Son of *Lud*, according to the *Monmouth* Story, was made King. For *Androgeus* the elder, conceaving himself generally hated for siding with the *Romans*, forsook his Claim here, and follow'd *Cæsar's* Fortune. This King is recorded just and Warlike.

His Son *Kymbeline* or *Cunobeline* succeeding, was brought up, as is said, in the Court of *Augustus*, and with him held friendly Correspondences to the end; was a warlike Prince, his chief Seat *Camalodunum*, or *Maldon*, as by certain of his Coins, yet to be seen, appears. *Tiberius* the next Emperor, adhering always to the Advice of *Augustus*, and of himself less caring to extend the Bounds of his Empire, sought not the *Britans*; and they as little to incite him, sent home courteously the Souldiers of *Germanicus*, that by Shipwrack had bin cast on the *Britan* shoar. But *Caligula* his Successor, a wild and dissolute Tyrant, having past the *Alps* with intent to rob and spoil those Provinces, and stir'd up by *Adminius* the Son of *Cunobeline*; who by his Father banish'd, with a small number fled thither to him, made semblance of marching toward *Britain*; but being come to the Ocean, and there behaving himself madly, and ridiculously, went back the same way: yet sent before him boasting Letters to the Senate, as if all *Britain* had bin yeilded him. *Cunobeline* now dead, *Adminius* the eldest by his Father banish'd from his Country, and by his own practice against it from the Crown, though by an old Coin seeming to have also reign'd; *Togodumnus*, and *Caractacus* the two younger, uncertain whether equal or subordinat in Power, were advanc'd into his place.

* But

But through civil discord, *Vericus* (what he was furdur, is not known) with others of his party flying to *Rome*, perswaded *Claudius* the Emperor to an Invasion. *Claudius* now Consul the third time, and desirous to do something, whence he might gain the honour of a Triumph, at the persuation of these Fugitives, whom the *Britans* demanding, he had deny'd to render, and they for that cause had deny'd furdur Amity with *Rome*, makes choise of this *Iland* for his Province: and sends before him *Aulus Plautius* the *Prætor*, with this Command, if the business grew difficult to give him notice. *Plautius* with much ado perswaded the Legions to move out of *Gallia*, murmuring that now they must be put to make War beyond the World's end, for so they counted *Britain*; and what welcom *Julius* the Dictator found there, doubtless they had heard. At last prevail'd with, and hoisting sail from three several Ports, lest thir landing should in any one place be resisted, meeting cross Winds, they were cast back and disheartn'd: till in the night a meteor shooting flames from the East, and, as they fanci'd, directing thir course, they took heart again to try the Sea, and without opposition landed. For the *Britans* having heard of thir unwillingness to com, had bin negligent to provide against them; and retiring to the Woods and Mores, intended to frustrate, and wear them out with delays, as they had serv'd *Cæsar* before. *Plautius* after much trouble to find them out, encountering first with *Caractacus*, then with *Togodumnus*, overthrew them; and receaving into conditions part of the *Boduni*, who then were subject to the *Catuellani*, and leaving there a Garison, went on toward a River; where the *Britans* not imagining that *Plautius* without a Bridg could pass, lay on the furdur side careless and secure. But he sending first the *Germans*, whose Custom was, arm'd as they were, to swim with ease the strongest Current, commands them to strike especially at the Horses, wherby the Chariots, wherin consisted thir chief art of fight, became unserviceable. To second them he sent *Vespasian*, who in his latter days obtain'd the Empire; and *Sabinus* his Brother; who unexpectedly assailing those who were least aware, did much execution. Yet not for this were the *Britans* dismay'd; but reuniting the next day, fought with such a Courage, as made it hard to decide which way hung the Victory: till *Caius Sidius Geta*, at point to have bin tak'n, recover'd himself so valiantly, as brought the day on his side; for which at *Rome* he receav'd high honours. After this the *Britans* drew back toward the mouth of *Thames*, and acquainted with those places, cross'd over; where the *Romans* following them through Bogs and dangerous Flats, hazarded the loss of all. Yet the *Germans* getting over, and others by a Bridg at some place above, fell on them again with sundry Alarms and great Slaughter; but in the heat of pursuit running themselves again into Bogs and Mires, lost as many of thir own. Upon which ill success, and seeing the *Britans* more enrag'd at the Death of *Togodumnus*, who in one of these Battels had bin slain, *Plautius* fearing the worst, and glad that he could hold what he held, as was enjoyn'd him, sends to *Claudius*. He who waited ready with a huge Preparation, as if not safe enough amidst the flowr of all his *Romans*, like a great Eastern King, with armed Elephants marches through *Gallia*. So full of peril was this Enterprize esteem'd, as not without all this Equipage, and stranger Terrors then *Roman* Armies to meet the native and the naked *British* Valour defending thir Country. Join'd with *Plautius*, who encamping on the Bank of *Thames* attended him, he passes the River. The *Britans*, who had the Courage, but not the wise Conduct of old *Cassibelan*, laying all Stratagem aside, in downright Manhood scrupl'd not to affront in op'n field almost the whole Power of the *Roman Empire*. But overcome and vanquish'd, part by Force, others by Treaty com in and yeild. *Claudius* therefore who took *Camalodunum*, the Royal Seat of *Cunobeline*, was oft'n by his Army saluted *Imperator*; a Military Title which usually they gave thir General after any notable Exploit; but to others not above once in the same War; as if *Claudius* by these Acts had deserv'd more then the Laws of *Rome* had provided honour to reward. Having therefore disarm'd the *Britans*, but remitted the Confiscation of thir Goods, for which they worship'd him with Sacrifice and Temple as a God, leaving *Plautius* to subdue what remain'd; he returns to *Rome*, from whence he had bin absent only six Months, and in *Britain* but sixteen days; sending the News before him of his Victories, though in a small part of the *Iland*. By which

Dion.

43.

Sueton.

Dion. l. 62.

Tacit. an. 14.

44.

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is manifestly refuted that which *Entropius* and *Orosius* write of his conquering at that time also the *Orcades* Islands lying to the North of *Scotland*; and not conquer'd by the *Romans* (for aught found in any good Author) till above forty Years after, as shall appear. To *Claudius* the Senat, as for Atchievements of highest merit, decreed excessive Honours; *Arches*, *Triumphs*, annual Solemnities, and the Sirname of *Britannicus* both to him and his Son.

Suetonius writes that *Claudius* found here no Resistance, and that all was don without stroke: but this seems not probable. The *Monmouth Writer* names these two Sons of *Cunobeline*, *Guiderius*, and *Arviragus*; that *Guiderius* being slain in fight, *Arviragus* to conceal it, put on his Brother's Habillements, and in his Person held up the Battel to a Victory; the rest, as of *Hamo* the Roman Captain, *Genuissa* the Emperors Daughter, and such like stuff, is too palpably untrue to be worth reherfing in the midlt of Truth. *Plautius* after this, employing his fresh Forces to conquer on, and quiet the rebelling Countries, found work enough to deserve at his return a kind of Triumphant riding into the *Capital* side by side with the Emperour. *Vespasian* also under *Plautius* had thirty conflicts with the Enemie; in one of which encompass'd, and in great danger, he was valiantly and piously rescu'd by his Son *Titus*: two powerful Nations he subdu'd heer, above 20 Towns and the *Ile of Wight*; for which he receav'd at *Rome* Triumphal Ornaments, and other great Dignities. For that Citie in reward of *Vertue* was ever magnificent; and long after when true merit was ceas't among them, lest any thing resembling *Vertue* should want honour, the same rewards were yet allow'd to the very shadow and ostentation of *Merit*. *Ostorius* in the room of *Plautius* Vice-prætor, met with turbulent Affairs; the *Britans* not ceasing to vex with inrodes all those Countries that were yielded to the *Romans*; and now the more eagerly, supposing that the new General unacquainted with his Armie, and on the edg of Winter, would not hastily oppose them. But he waighing that first events were most available to breed fear or contempt, with such Cohorts as were next at hand sets out against them: whom having routed, so close he follows, as one who meant not to be every day molested with the Cavils of a slight Peace, or an embolden'd Enemy. Lest they should make head again, he disarms whom he suspects; and to surround them, places many Garisons upon the Rivers of *Antona* and *Sabrina*. But the *Icenians*, a stout People untouch'd yet by these Wars, as having before sought Alliance with the *Romans*, were the first that brook'd not this. By thir Example others rise; and in a chosen place, fenc't with high Banks of Earth, and narrow Lanes to prevent the Horse, warily encamp. *Ostorius*, though yet not strengthn'd with his Legions, causes the Auxiliär Bands, his Troops also alighting, to assault the rampant. They within, though pester'd with thir own number, stood to it like Men resolv'd, and in a narrow compass did remarkable Deeds. But overpower'd at last, and others by thir success quieted, who till then waver'd, *Ostorius* next bends his Force upon the *Cangians*, wasting all ev'n to the Sea of *Ireland*, without Fo in his way, or them, who durst, ill handl'd; when the *Brigantes* attempting new matters, drew him back to settle first what was unsecure behind him. They, of whom the chief were punish'd, the rest forgiv'n, soon gave over, but the *Silures* no way tractable were not to be repress'd without a set War. To furder this, *Camalodunum* was planted with a Colony of *Veteran* Souldiers; to be a firm and ready Aid against Revolts, and a means to teach the Natives *Roman* Law and Civility. *Cogidunus* also a *British* King, thir fast Friend, had to the same intent certain Cities giv'n him: a haughtie Craft, which the *Romans* us'd, to make Kings also the servile Agents of enslaving others. But the *Silures* hardy of themselves, rely'd more on the Valour of *Caractacus*; whom many doubtful, many prosperous Successes had made eminent above all that rul'd in *Britain*. He adding to his Courage Policy, and knowing himself to be of Strength inferior, in other Advantages the better, makes the Seat of his War among the *Ordovices*; a Country wherin all the odds were to his own Party, all the difficulties to his Enemy. The Hills and every Access he fortifi'd with heaps of Stones, and Guards of Men; to com at whom a River of unsafe Passage must be first waded. The place, as *Camden* conjectures, had thence the name of *Caer-Caradoc* on the

Sueton.
Claud. 5. 24.

Sueton. Vesp.
Dio. l. 60.
47.

50.
Tacit. an. 12.

Entropius.

Tacit. vit.
Agric.

West edg of Shropshire. He himself continually went up and down, animating his Officers and Leaders, that *this was the Day, this the Field, either to defend thir Libertie, or to die free*; calling to mind the Names of his glorious Ancestors, who drove *Cæsar* the Dictator out of *Britain*, whose Valour hitherto had preserv'd them from Bondage, thir Wives and Children from Dishonour. Inflam'd with these words, they all vow thir utmost, with such undaunted resolution as amaz'd the *Roman General*; but the Souldier less weighing, because less knowing, clamour'd to be led on against any Danger. *Ostorius* after wary Circumspection bids them pass the River: The *Britains* no sooner had them within reach of thir Arrows, Darts, and Stones, but slew and wounded largely of the *Romans*. They on the other side closing thir Ranks, and over head closing thir Targets, threw down the loose Rampires of the *Britains*, and pursue them up the Hills, both light armed and Legions; till what with gauling Darts and heavy Strokes, the *Britains* who wore neither Helmet nor Guiras to defend them, were at last overcome. This the *Romans* thought a famous Victory; wherein the Wife and Daughter of *Caractacus* were tak'n, his Brothers also reduc'd to obedience; himself escaping to *Cartismandua* Queen of the *Brigantes*, against Faith giv'n was to the Victors deliver'd bound; having held out against the *Romans* nine Years, saith *Tacitus*, but by truer computation, Seven. Wherby his Name was up through all the adjoining Provinces, ev'n to *Italy* and *Rome*; many desiring to see who he was, that could withstand so many Years the *Roman* Puissance: and *Cæsar*, to extol his own Victory, extoll'd the Man whom he had vanquish'd. Being brought to *Rome*, the People as to a solemn Spectacle were call'd together, the Emperor's Guard stood in Arms. In Order came first the King's Servants, bearing his Trophies won in other Wars, next his Brothers, Wife, and Daughter, last himself. The Behaviour of others, through fear, was low and degenerate; he only neither in Countenance, Word, or Action, submissive standing at the Tribunal of *Claudius*, briefly spake to this purpose. *If my mind, Cæsar, had bin as moderate in the height of Fortune, as my Birth and Dignity was eminent, I might have come a Friend rather than a Captive into this City. Nor couldst thou have dislik'd him for a confederate, so noble of descent, and ruling so many Nations. My present Estate to me disgraceful, to thee is glorious: I had Riches, Horses, Arms, and Men; no wonder then if I contended, not to lose them. But if by Fate, yours only must be Empire, then of necessity ours among the rest must be subjection. If I sooner had bin brought to yield, my Misfortune had bin less notorious, your Conquest had been less renown'd; and in your severest determining of me, both will be soon forgott'n. But if you grant that I shall live, by me will live to you for ever that praise which is so near Divine, the clemency of a Conquerour.* *Cæsar* mov'd at such a Spectacle of Fortune, but especially at the nobleness of his bearing it, gave him pardon, and to all the rest. They all unbound, submitly thank him, and did like reverence to *Agrippina* the Emperor's Wife, who sat by in State; a new and disdain'd sight to the manly Eyes of *Romans*, a Woman sitting public in her female Pride among Ensigns and armed Cohorts. To *Ostorius* Triumph is decreed; and his Acts esteem'd equal to thirs, that brought in Bonds to *Rome* famous Kings. But the same Prosperity attended not his later Actions here; for the *Silures*, whether to revenge thir loss of *Caractacus*, or that they saw *Ostorius*, as if now all were done, less earnest to restrain them, beset the Prefect of his Camp, left there with Legionary Bands to appoint Garisons: And had not speedy Aid com in from the neighbouring Holds and Castles, had cut them all off; notwithstanding which, the Prefect with eight Centurions, and many thir stoutest Men, were slain: and upon the neck of this, meeting first with *Roman* Foragers, then with other Troops hasting to thir relief, utterly foil'd and broke them also. *Ostorius* sending more after, could hardly stay thir flight; till the weighty Legions coming on, at first pois'd the Battel, at length turn'd the Scale: to the *Britains* without much loss, for by that time it grew Night. Then was the War shiver'd, as it were, into small Frays and Bickerings; not unlike somtimes to so many Robberies, in Woods, at Waters, as Chance or Valour, Advice or Rashness, led them on, commanded or without command. That which most exasperated the *Silures*, was a Report of certain words cast out by the Emperor, *That he would root them out to the very Name.* Therefore two Cohorts more of Auxili-

ars, by the avarice of thir Leaders too securely pillaging, they quite intercepted; and bestowing liberally the Spoils and Captives, wherof they took plenty, drew other Countries to join with them. These Losses falling so thick upon the *Romans*, *Ostorius* with the thought and anguish therof ended his days; the *Britans* rejoicing, although no Battel, that yet adverse War had worn out so great a Souldier. *Cæsar* in his place ordains *Aulus Didius*: but ere his coming, though much hastn'd, that the Province might not want a Governour, the *Silures* had giv'n an overthrow to *Manlius Valens* with his Legion, rumor'd on both sides greater then was true, by the *Silures* to amate the new General; by him in a double respect, of the more praise if he quel'd them, or the more excuse if he fail'd. Mean time the *Silures* forget not to infest the *Roman* Pale with wide Excursions; till *Didius* marching out, kept them somewhat more within Bounds. Nor were they long to seek, who after *Caractacus* should lead them; for next to him in worth and skill of War, *Venutius* a Prince of the *Brigantes* merited to be thir Chief. He at first faithful to the *Romans*, and by them protected, was the Husband of *Cartismandua* Queen of the *Brigantes*, himself perhaps reigning elsewhere. She who had betray'd *Caractacus* and her Country to adorn the Triumph of *Claudius*, thereby grown powerful and gracious with the *Romans*, presuming on the hire of her Treason, deserted her Husband; and marrying *Vellocatus* one of his Squires, confers on him the Kingdom also. This Deed so odious and full of Infamy, disturb'd the whole State; *Venutius* with other Forces, and the help of her own Subjects, who detested the Example of so foul a Fact, and withal the uncomliness of thir Subjection to the Monarchy of a Woman, a piece of Manhood not every day to be found among *Britans*, though she had got by suttle train his Brother with many of his Kindred into her hands, brought her soon below the confidence of being able to resist longer. When imploring the *Roman* Aid, with much ado, and after many a hard Encounter, she escap'd the Punishment which was ready to have seiz'd her. *Venutius* thus debar'd the Authority of ruling his own Household, justly turns his Anger against the *Romans* themselves; whose Magnanimity not wont to undertake dishonourable Causes, had arrogantly intermedl'd in his Domestic Affairs, to uphold the Rebellion of an Adultress against her Husband. And the Kingdom he retain'd against thir utmost opposition; and of War gave them thir fill: first in a sharp Conflict of uncertain Event, then against the Legion of *Cassius Nasica*. Insomuch that *Didius* growing old, and managing the War by Deputies, had work enough to stand on his Defence, with the gaining now and then of a small Castle. And *Nero* (for in that part of the *Ile* things continu'd in the same plight to the reign of *Vespasian*) was minded but for shame to have withdrawn the *Roman* Forces out of *Britain*: In other parts wherof, about the same time, other things befel. *Verannius*, whom *Nero* sent hither to succeed *Didius*, dying in his first Year, save a few inrodes upon the *Silures*, left only a great Boast behind him, That in two Years, had he liv'd, he would have conquer'd all. But *Suetonius Paulinus*, who next was sent hither, esteem'd a Souldier equal to the best in that Age, for two Years together went on prosperously, both confirming what was got, and subduing onward. At last overconfident of his present Actions, and æmulating others, of whose Deeds he heard from abroad, marches up as far as *Mona*, the *Ile* of *Anglesey*, a populous place. For they it seems had both entertain'd Fugitives, and giv'n good Assistance to the rest that withstood him. He makes him Boats with flat bottoms, fitted to the Shallows which he expected in that narrow Frith; his Foot so pass'd over, his Horse waded or swom. Thick upon the Shoar stood several gross Bands of Men well weapn'd, many Women like Furies running to and fro in dismal Habit, with Hair loose about thir Shoulders, held Torches in thir hands. The *Druids*, those were thir Priests, of whom more in another place, with hands lift up to Heav'n uttering direful Prayers, astonish'd the *Romans*; who at so strange a sight stood in amaze, though wounded: At length awak'd and encourag'd by thir General, not to fear a barbarous and lunatic Rout, fall on, and beat them down scorch't and rouling in thir own Fire. Then were they yok'd with Garisons, and the Places consecrate to thir bloody Superstitions destroy'd. For whom they took in War, they held it lawful to sacrifice; and by the Entrails of Men us'd Divination.

While

Tacit. vit.
Agric.Tacit. Hist. 3.
Sueton.

While thus *Paulinus* had his thought still fix'd before to go on winning, his back lay broad op'n to occasion of losing more behind: For the *Britans*, urg'd and oppress'd with many unsufferable Injuries, had all banded themselves to a general Revolt. The particular Causes are not all writt'n by one Author; *Tacitus* who liv'd next those Times of any to us extant, writes that *Prasutagus* King of the *Icenians*, abounding in Wealth, had left *Cæsar* Coheir with his two Daughters; therby hoping to have secur'd from all wrong both his Kingdom and his House; which fell out far otherwise. For under colour to oversee and take possession of the Emperot's new Inheritance, his Kingdom became a Prey to Centurions, his House to rav'ning Officers, his Wife *Boadicea* violated with Stripes, his Daughters with Rape, the wealthiest of his Subjects, as it were, by the Will and Testament of thir King thrown out of thir Estates, his Kindred made little better then Slaves. The new Colony also at *Camalodunum* took House or Land from whom they pleas'd, terming them Slaves and Vassals; the Souldiers complying with the Colony, out of hope hereafter to use the same License themselves. Moreover the Temple erected to *Claudius* as a Badg of thir eternal Slavery, stood a great Eye-sore; the Priests wherof, under pretext of what was due to the religious Service, wast-ed and imbezl'd each Man's Substance upon themselves. And *Catus Decianus* the Procurator, endeavour'd to bring all thir Goods within the compass of a Dion: new Confiscation, by disavowing the remittment of *Claudius*. Lastly, *Seneca*, in his Books a Philosopher, having drawn the *Britans* unwillingly to borrow of him vast Sums upon fair Promises of easy Loan, and for repaiment to take thir own time, on a sudden compels them to pay in all at once with great Extortion. Thus provok't by heaviest Sufferings, and thus invited by Opportunities in the absence of *Paulinus*, the *Icenians*, and by thir Example the *Trinobantes*, and as many else as hated Servitude, rise up in Arms. Of these ensuing Troubles many foregoing Signs appear'd; the Image of Victory at *Camalodunum* fell down of it self with her Face turn'd, as it were, to the *Britans*; certain Women, in a kind of Extasy, foretold of Calamities to come: In the Council-house were heard by night barbarous Noises; in the Theater hideous Howlings, in the Creek horrid Sights, betok'ning the destruction of that Colony; hereto the Ocean seeming of a bloody hew, and human shapes at a low ebb, left imprinted on the Sand, wrought in the *Britans* new Courage, in the *Romans* unwonted Fears. *Camalodunum*, where the *Romans* had seated themselves to dwell pleasantly, rather then defensively, was not fortifi'd; against that therefore the *Britans* make first assault. The Souldiers within were not very many. *Decianus* the Procurator could send them but 200, those ill arm'd: and through the Treachery of som among them, who secretly favour'd the Insurrection, they had defer'd both to entrench, and to send out such as bore not Arms; such as did, flying to the Temple, which on the second day was forcibly tak'n, were put all to the Sword, the Temple made a heap, the rest ris'd and burnt. *Petilius Cerealis* coming to his Succour, is in his way met, and overthrown, his whole Legion cut to pieces; he with his Horse hardly escaping to the *Roman* Camp. *Decianus*, whose rapine was the cause of all this, fled into *Gallia*. But *Suetonius* at these tidings not dismay'd, through the midst of his Enemies Country, marches to *London* (though not term'd a Colony, yet full of *Roman* Inhabitants, and for the frequency of Trade, and other Commodities, a Town ev'n then of principal note) with purpose to have made there the seat of War. But considering the smalness of his Numbers, and the late rashness of *Petilius*, he chuses rather with the loss of one Town to save the rest. Nor was he flexible to any Prayers or Weeping of them that besought him to tarry there; but taking with him such as were willing, gave signal to depart; they who through weakness of Sex or Age, or love of the place went not along, perish'd by the Enemy; so did *Verulam* a *Roman* free Town. For the *Britans* omitting Forts and Castles, flew thither first where richest Booty, and the hope of pillaging toald them on. In this Massacre about 70000 *Romans* and thir Associates, in the places above-mention'd, of a certain lost thir lives. None might be spar'd, none ransom'd, but tasted all either a present or a lingring Death; no cruelty that either outrage, or the insolence of Success put into thir heads, was left unacted. The *Roman* Wives and Virgins hang'd up all naked, had thir Lion. l. 62.

Breasts cut off, and sow'd to thir Mouths; that in the grimness of Death they might seem to eat thir own Flesh; while the *Britans* fell to feasting and carousing in the Temple of *Andate* thir Goddess of Victory. *Suetonius* adding to his Legion other old Officers and Souldiers therabout, which gather'd to him, were neer upon ten thousand; and purposing with those not to defer Battel, had chos'n a place narrow, and not to be overwing'd, on his rear a Wood; being well inform'd that his Enemies were all in front on a Plain unapt for Ambush: the Legionaries stood thic in order, impal'd with light armed; the Horse on either Wing. The *Britans* in Companies and Squadrons were every where shouting and swarming, such a multitude as at other time never; no less reckon'd then 200 and 30 thousand, so seirce and confident of Victory, that thir Wives also came in Waggon to sit and behold the sport, as they made full account of killing *Romans*: a Folly doubtless for the serious *Romans* to smile at, as a sure Tok'n of prospering that day: a Woman also was thir Commander in Chief. For *Boadicea* and her Daughters ride about in a Chariot, telling the tall Champions as a great Encouragement, that with the *Britans* it was usual for Women to be thir Leaders. A deal of other Fondness they put into her Mouth, not worth recital; how she was lash'd, how her Daughters were handl'd, things worthier Silence, Retirment, and a Vail, then for a Woman to repeat, as don to hir own Person, or to hear repeated before an Host of Men. The *Greek Historian* sets her in the Field on a high heap of Turves, in a loose-bodied Gown declaiming, a Spear in her hand, a Hare in her Bosom, which after a long Circumlocution she was to let slip among them for luck's sake; then praying to *Andate* the *British Goddess*, to talk again as fondly as before. And this they do out of a Vanity, hoping to embellish and set out thir History with the strangeness of our manners, not caring in the mean while to brand us with the rankest note of Barbarism, as if in *Britain* Women were Men, and Men Women. I affect not set Speeches in a History, unless known for certain to have bin so spok'n in effect as they are writ'n, nor then, unless worth rehearsal; and to invent such, though eloquently, as some Historians have don, is an Abuse of Posterity, raising in them that read other Conceptions of those Times and Persons then were true. Much less therefore do I purpose heer or elsewhere to copy out tedious Orations without Decorum, though in thir Authors compos'd ready to my hand. Hitherto what we have heard of *Cassibelan*, *Togadumnus*, *Venusius*, and *Caractacus*, hath bin full of Magnanimity, Soberness, and martial Skill: but the truth is, that in this Battel and whole Business the *Britans* never more plainly manifested themselves to be right *Barbarians*; no Rule, no Foresight, no Forecast, Experience or Estimation, either of themselves or of thir Enemies; such Confusion, such Impotence, as seem'd likest not to a War, but to the wild hurry of a distracted Woman, with as mad a Crew at her heels. Therefore *Suetonius*, contemning thir unruly Noises and fierce looks, heart'ns his Men but to stand close a while, and strike manfully this headless Rabble that stood neereest, the rest would be a purchase rather than a toil. And so it fell out; for the Legion, when they saw thir time, bursting out like a violent wedg, quickly broke and dissipated what oppos'd them; all else held only out thir Necks to the Slayer, for thir own Carts and Waggon were so plac'd by themselves, as left them but little room to escape between. The *Roman* slew all; Men, Women, and the very drawing Horses lay heap'd along the Field in a gory mixture of Slaughter. About fourscore thousand *Britans* are said to have bin slain on the place; of the Enemy scarce 400, and not many more wounded. *Boadicea* poyson'd her self, or, as others say, sick'nd and dy'd. She was of Stature big and tall, of Visage grim and stern, harsh of Voice, her Hair of bright colour flowing down to her Hips; she wore a plighted Garment of divers Colours, with a great gold'n Chain; button'd over all a thick robe. *Gildas* calls her the crafty Lioness, and leaves an ill fame upon her doings. *Dion* sets down otherwise the Order of this Fight, and that the Field was not won without much Difficulty, nor without intention of the *Britans* to give another Battel, had not the Death of *Boadicea* come between. Howbeit *Suetonius*, to preserve Disciplin, and to dispatch the Reliques of War, lodg'd with all his Army in the op'n Field; which was supply'd out of *Germany* with 1000 Horse and 10000 Foot; thence dispers'd to win-

Dion.

Dion.

winter, and with Incurſions to waſt thoſe Countries that ſtood out. But to the *Britans* Famin was a worſe Affliction; having left off during this uproar, to till the Ground, and made reck'ning to ſerve themſelves on the Proviſions of thir Enemy. Nevertheleſs thoſe Nations that were yet untam'd, hearing of ſome Diſcord riſ'n between *Suetonius* and the new Procurator *Clauſicianus*, were brought but ſlowly to terms of Peace; and the Rigor us'd by *Suetonius* on them that yeilded, taught them the better Courſe to ſtand on thir Defence. For it is certain that *Suetonius*, though elſe a worthy Man, over-proud of his Victory, gave too much way to his Anger againſt the *Britans*. *Clauſicianus* therfore ſending ſuch word to *Rome*, that theſe ſevere Proceedings would beget an endleſs War, *Polycletus*, no *Roman* but a Courtier, was ſent by *Nero* to examin how things went. He admoniſhing *Suetonius* to uſe more Mildneſs; aw'd the Army, and to the *Britans* gave matter of Laughter. Who ſo much even till then were nurs'd up in thir nativ Liberty, as to wonder that ſo great a General with his whole Army ſhould be at the Rebuke and ordering of a Court Servitor. But *Suetonius* a while after, having loſt a few Gallies on the ſhoar, was bid reſign his Command to *Petronius Turpilianus*, who not provoking the *Britans*, nor by them provok'd, was thought to have pretended the Love of Peace to what indeed was his Love of Eaſe and Sloth. *Trebellius Maximus* follow'd his ſteps, uſurping the name of Gentle Government to any Remiſſion or Neglect of Diſciplin; which brought in firſt Licence, next Diſobedience into his Camp; incens'd againſt him partly for his Covetouſneſs, partly by the Incitement of *Rofcius Calius*, Legat of a Legion; with whom formerly diſagreeing, now that civil War began in the Empire, he fell to op'n Diſcord; charging him with Diſorder and Sedition, and him *Calius* with peeling and defrauding the Legions of thir Pay; inſomuch that *Trebellius* hated and deſerted of the Souldiers, was content a while to govern by baſe Entreaty, and forc'd at length to fly the Land. Which notwithstanding remain'd in good quiet, govern'd by *Calius* and the other Legat of a Legion, both faithful to *Vitellius* then Emperor; who ſent hither *Vellius Bolanus*; under whoſe Lenity, though not tainted with other Fault, againſt the *Britans* nothing was don, nor in thir own Diſciplin reform'd, *Petilius Cerealis* by appointment of *Vefpaſian* ſucceeding, had to do with the populous *Brigantes* in many Battels, and ſom of thoſe not unbloody. For as we heard before, it was *Venusius* who even to theſe times held them tack, both himſelf remaining to the end unvanquiſh'd, and ſom part of his Country not ſo much as reach'd. It appears alſo by ſeveral Paſſages in the Hiſtories of *Tacitus*, that no ſmall number of *Britiſh Forces* were commanded over Sea the Year before to ſerve in thoſe bloody Wars between *Otho* and *Vitellius*, *Vitellius* and *Vefpaſian* contending for the Empire. To *Cerealis* ſucceeded *Julius Frontinus* in the Government of *Britain*, who by taming the *Sihures*, a People warlike and ſtrongly inhabiting, augmented much his Reputation. But *Julius Agricola*, whom *Vefpaſian* in his laſt Year ſent hither, train'd up from his Youth in the *Britiſh Wars*, extended with Victories the *Roman Limit* beyond all his Predeceſſors. His coming was in the miſt of Summer; and the *Ordovices* to welcom the new General had hew'n in peeces a whole Squadron of Horſe which lay upon thir Bounds, few eſcaping. *Agricola*, who perceav'd that the noiſe of this Deſeat had alſo in the Province deſirous of Novelty ſtirr'd up new Expectations, reſolves to be before-hand with the danger: and drawing together the choice of his Legions with a competent number of Auxiliars, not being met by the *Ordovices*, who kept the Hills, himſelf in the head of his Men, hunts them up and down through difficult places, almoſt to the final extirpating of that whole Nation. With the ſame current of Succeſs, what *Paulinus* had left unfiniſh'd he conquers in the *Ile of Mona*: for the Ilanders altogether fearleſs of his Approach, whom they knew to have no Shipping, when they ſaw themſelves invaded on a ſudden by the Auxiliars, whoſe Country Uſe had taught them to ſwim over with Horſe and Arms, were compell'd to yeild. This gain'd *Agricola* much opinion; who at his very entrance, a time which others beſtow'd of courſe in hearing Complements and Gratulations, had made ſuch early Progreſs into laborious and hardeſt Enterpriſes. But by far not ſo famous was *Agricola* in bringing War to a ſpeedy end, as in cutting off the Cauſes from whence War ariſes. For he knowing that the end of War was not to make way for Injuries

Tacit. vit. Agric.

62.

Tacit. Hiſt. l. 1. & vit. Agric.

69.

Tacit. Hiſt. 2. & vit. Agric.

70.

74.

Calvis.

Tacit. Hiſt. 3. & vit. Agric.

79.

80.

81.

Dion. l. 66.

82.

83.

84.

in Peace, began Reformation from his own House; permitted not his Attendants and Followers to sway, or have to do at all in public Affairs: lays on with Equality the Proportions of Corn and Tribute that were impos'd; takes off Exactions, and the Fees of encroaching Officers, heavier than the Tribute it self. For the Countries had bin compell'd before, to sit and wait the op'ning of public Granaries, and both to sell and to buy thir Corn at what rate the Publicans thought fit; the Pourveyers also commanding when they pleas'd to bring it in, not to the neereſt, but ſtill to the remotest places, either by the compounding of such as would be excus'd, or by causing a Dearth, where none was, made a particular Gain. These Greevances and the like, he in the time of Peace removing, brought Peace into some Credit; which before, since the *Romans* coming, had as ill a name as War. The Summer following, *Titus* then Emperor, he so continually with Inroads disquieted the Enemy over all the Ile, and after Terror so allur'd them with his gentle Demeanour, that many Cities which till that time would not bend, gave Hostages, admitted Garisons, and came in voluntarily. The Winter he spent all in worthy Actions; teaching and promoting like a public Father the Institutes and Customs of civil Life. The Inhabitants rude and scatter'd, and by that the proner to War, he so perswaded as to build Houses, Temples, and Seats of Justice; and by prailing the forward, quick'ning the slow, assisting all, turn'd the name of Necessity into an Emulation. He caus'd moreover the Noblemens Sons to be bred up in liberal Arts; and by preferring the Wits of *Britain* before the Studies of *Gallia*, brought them to affect the Latin Eloquence, who before hated the Language. Then were the *Roman* Fashions imitated, and the Gown; after a while the Incitements also and Materials of Vice, and voluptuous Life, proud Buildings, Baths, and the Elegance of Banqueting; which the foolisher sort call'd Civility; but was indeed a secret Art to prepare them for Bondage. Spring appearing, he took the Field, and with a prosperous Expedition wasted as far Northward as the Frith of *Taus* all that obey'd not, with such a Terror, as he went, that the *Roman* Army, though much hinder'd by tempestuous Weather, had the leasure to build Forts and Castles where they pleas'd, none daring to oppose them. Besides, *Agricola* had this Excellence in him, so providently to choose his Places where to fortify, as not another General then alive. No Sconce or Fortress of his raising was ever known either to have bin forc'd, or yeilded up, or quitted. Out of these impregnable by Seige, or in that case duly releev'd, with continual Irruptions he so prevail'd, that the Enemy, whose manner was in Winter to regain what in Summer he had lost, was now alike in both Seasons kept short and strait'n'd. For these Exploits, then esteem'd so great and honourable, *Titus* in whose Reign they were atcheev'd was the fifteenth time saluted Imperator; and of him *Agricola* receav'd triumphal Honours. The fourth Summer, *Domitian* then ruling the Empire, he spent in settling and confirming what the Year before he had travail'd over with a running Conquest. And had the Valour of his Souldiers bin answerable, he had reach'd that Year, as was thought, the utmost Bounds of *Britain*. For *Glota* and *Bodotria*, now *Dunbritton*, and the Frith of *Edinburrow*, two opposite Arms of the Sea, divided only by a neck of Land, and all the Creeks and Inlets on this side, were held by the *Romans*, and the Enemy driv'n as it were into another Iland. In his fift Year he pass'd over into the *Orcades*, as we may probably guess, and other Scotch Iles; discovering and subduing Nations, till then unknown. He gain'd also with his Forces that part of *Britain* which faces *Ireland*, as aiming also to conquer that Iland; where one of the Irish Kings driv'n out by civil Wars coming to him, he both gladly receav'd and retain'd him as against a fit time. The Summer ensuing, on mistrust that the Nations beyond *Bodotria* would generally rise, and forelay the Passages by Land, he caus'd his Fleet, making a great shew, to bear along the Coast, and up the Friths and Harbours; joining most commonly at Night on the same shoar both Land and Sea Forces, with mutual Shouts and loud Greetings. At sight wherof the *Britans*, not wont to see thir Sea so ridd'n, were much daunted. Howbeit the *Caledonians* with great Preparation, and by Rumor, as of things unknown much greater, taking Arms, and of thir own Accord beginning War by the Assault of sundry Castles, sent back some of thir Fear to the *Romans* themselves:

selves: and there were of the Commanders, who cloking thir fear under shew of sage Advice, counsel'd the General to retreat back on this side *Bodotria*. He in the mean while having intelligence, that the Enemy would fall on in many Bodies, divided also his Armie into three parts. Which advantage the *Britans* quickly spying, and on a sudden uniting what before they had disjoin'd, assail by Night with all thir Forces that part of the Roman Armie which they knew to be the weakest; and breaking in upon the Camp, surpris'd between sleep and fear, had begun som Execution. When *Agricola*, who had learnt what way the Enemies took, and follow'd them with all speed, sending before him the lightest of his Horse and Foot to charge them behind, the rest as they came on to afright them with clamour, so ply'd them without respite, that by approach of day the Roman Ensigns glittering all about, had encompass'd the *Britans*: who now after a sharp fight in the very Ports of the Camp, betook them to thir wonted refuge, the Woods and Fens, pursu'd a while by the Romans; that day else in all appearance had ended the War. The Legions reincourag'd by this event, they also now boasting, who but lately trembl'd, cry all to be led on as far as there was *British* ground. The *Britans* also not acknowledging the loss of that day to Roman valour, but to the policy of thir Captain, abated nothing of thir stoutness; but arming thir youth, conveying thir Wives and Children to places of safety, in frequent Assemblies, and by solemn Cov'nants bound themselves to mutual assistance against the common Enemy. About the same time a Cohort of *Germians* having slain thir Centurion with other Roman Officers in a Mutiny, and for fear of punishment fled a Shipboard, launch'd forth in three light Gallies without Pilot; and by Tide or Weather carried round about the Coast, using Piracy where they landed, while thir Ships held out, and as thir skill serv'd them, with various fortune, were the first discoverers to the Romans that *Britain* was an Iland. Dion. l. 66.

The following Summer, *Agricola* having before sent his Navie to hover on the Coast, and with sundrie and uncertain Landings to divert and disunite the *Britans*, himself with a power best appointed for Expedition, wherin also were many *Britans*, whom he had long try'd both valiant and faithful, marches onward to the Mountain *Grampius*, where the *British*, above 30 thousand, were now lodg'd, and still encreasing; for neither would thir old men, so many as were yet vigorous and lusty, be left at home, long practis'd in War, and every one adorn'd with some Badg, or cognisance of his warlike deeds long ago. Of whom *Galgacus*, both by Birth and Merit the prime Leader to thir courage, though of it self hot and violent, is by his rough Oratory, in detestation of servitude and the Roman yoke, said to have added much more eagerness of Fight, testifi'd by thir shouts and barbarous applauses. As much did on the other side *Agricola* exhort his Souldiers to Victory and Glorie; as much the Soldiers by his firm and well grounded Exhortations were all on a fire to the Onset. But first he orders them in this sort: Of 8000 Auxiliari Foot he makes his middle ward, on the Wings 3000 Horse, the Legions as a Reserve, stood in array before the Camp; either to seise the Victory won without thir own hazard, or to keep up the Battle if it should need. The *British* powers on the Hill side, as might best serve for shew and terroure, stood in thir Battalions; the first on even Ground, the next rising behind, as the Hill ascended. The Field between rung with the noise of Horsemen and Chariots ranging up and down. *Agricola* doubting to be over wing'd, stretches out his Front, though somewhat with the thinnest, insomuch that many advis'd to bring up the Legions: yet he not altering, alights from his Horse, and stands on foot before the Ensigns. The fight began aloof, and the *Britans* had a certain skill with thir broad swashing Swords and short Bucklers either to strike aside, or to bear off the Darts of thir Enemies; and withal to send back showers of thir own. Until *Agricola* discerning that those little Targets and unweildie Glaves ill pointed, would soon become ridiculous against the thrust and close, commanded three *Batavian* Cohorts, and two of the *Tungrians* exercis'd and arm'd for close fight, to draw up, and come to handy-strokes. The *Batavians*, as they were commanded, running in upon them, now with thir long Tucks thrusting at the face, now with thir piked Targets bearing them down, had made good riddance of them that stood below; and for hast omitting further Execution, began apace to advance up Hill, seconded

now by all the other Cohorts. Mean while the Horse-men fly, the Charioters mix themselves to fight among the Foot, where many of thir Horse also fall'n in disorderly, were now more a mischief to thir own, then before a terrour to thir Enemies. The Battle was a confus'd heap, the ground unequal; Men, Horses, Chariots crowded Pelmel; somtimes in little room, by and by in large, fighting, rushing, felling, over-bearing, over-turning. They on the Hill, which were not yet com to blows, perceaving the fewness of thir Enemies, came down amain; and had enclos'd the *Romans* unawares behind, but that *Agricola* with a strong Body of Horse, which he reserv'd for such a purpose, repell'd them back as fast; and others drawn off the Front, were commanded to wheel about and charge them on the backs. Then were the *Romans* clearly Masters; they follow, they wound, they take, and to take more, kill whom they take: the *Britans* in whole Troops with weapons in thir Hands, one while flying the pursuer, anon without Weapons desperately running upon the Slayer. But all of them, when once they got the Woods to thir shelter, with fresh boldness made head again, and the forwardest on a sudden they turn'd and flew, the rest so hamper'd, as had not *Agricola*, who was every where at hand, sent out his readiest Cohorts, with part of his Horse to alight and scowr the Woods, they had receiv'd a foyl in the midst of Victorie; but following with a close and orderly pursuit, the *Britans* fled again, and were totally scatter'd; till Night and weariness ended the chase. And of them that day 10 thousand fell; of the *Romans* 340, among whom *Aulus Atticus* the Leader of a Cohort; carried with heat of Youth, and the fierceness of his Horse too far on. The *Romans* jocond of this Victorie, and the spoil they got, spent the Night; the vanquish'd wandring about the Field, both Men and Women, som lamenting, som calling thir lost Friends, or carrying off thir Wounded; others forsaking, som burning thir own Houses; and it was certain enough, that there were who with a stern Compassion laid violent hands on thir Wives and Children, to prevent the more violent hands of hostile Injury. Next day appearing manifested more plainly the greatness of thir loss receav'd; every where silence, desolation, Houses burning afar off, not a man seen, all fled, and doubtful whether: such word the Scouts bringing in from all parts, and the Summer now spent, no fit season to disperse a War, the *Roman* General leads his Armie among the *Horestians*; by whom Hostages being giv'n, he commands his Admiral with a sufficient Navie to sail round the Coast of *Britain*; himself with slow marches, that his delay in passing might serve to aw those new conquer'd Nations, bestows his Army in thir Winter-quarters. The Fleet also having fetch't a prosperous and speedy compass about the Ile, put in at the Haven *Trutulensis*, now *Richborough* near *Sandwich*, from whence it first set out: and now likeliest, if not two years before, as was mention'd, the *Romans* might discover and subdue the Iles of *Orkney*; which others with less reason following *Eusebius* and *Orosius*, attribute to the deeds of *Claudius*. These perpetual Exploits abroad won him wide fame; with *Domitian*, under whom great Virtue was as punishable as op'n Crime, won him Hatred. For he maligning the renown of these his acts, in shew decreed him honours, in secret devis'd his ruin. *Agricola* therfore, commanded home for doing too much of what he was sent to do, left the Province to his Successor quiet and secure. Whether he, as is conjectured, were *Salustius Lucullus*, or before him som other, for *Suetonius* only names him Legat of *Britain* under *Domitian*; but furdur of him, or ought else don here until the time of *Hadrian*, is no where plainly to be found. Som gather by a Preface in *Tacitus* to the Book of his Histories, that what *Agricola* won here, was soon after by *Domitian* either through want of Valour lost, or through Envy neglected. And *Juvenal* the Poet speaks of *Arviragus* in these days, and not before, King of *Britain*; who stood so well in his resistance, as not only to be talk'd of at *Rome*, but to be held matter of a glorious Triumph, if *Domitian* could take him Captive, or overcom him. Then also *Claudia Rufina* the Daughter of a *Britan*, and Wife of *Pudence* a *Roman* Senator, liv'd at *Rome*; famous by the Verse of *Martial* for Beauty, Wit, and Learning. The next we hear of *Britain*, is that when *Trajan* was Emperor, it revolted, and was subdued. But *Hadrian* next entring on the Empire, they soon unsubstid themselves. *Julius Severus*, saith *Dion*, then govern'd the Iland, a prime Souldier

Camden.

Juvenal, sat. 2.

Eutrop. l. 7.

Dion. l. 66.

86.

Spartianus in
vit. Hadrian.

dier of that Age: he being call'd away to suppress the Jews then in Tumult, left things at such a pass, as caus'd the Emperor in Person to take a Journey hither; where many things he reform'd, and, as *Augustus*, and *Tiberius* counsel'd to gird the Empire within moderate Bounds, he rais'd a Wall with great stakes driv'n in deep, and fastn'd together, in manner of a strong Mound, fourscore mile in length, to divide what was *Roman* from *Barbarian*; as his manner was to do in other Frontiers of his Empire, where great Rivers divided not the Limits. No antient Author names the place, but old Inscriptions, and ruin it self yet testifies where it went along between *Solway Frith* by *Carlisle*, and the Mouth of *Tine*. *Hadrian* having quieted the Iland, took it for honour to be titl'd on his Coin, The Restorer of *Britain*. In his time also *Priscus Licinius*, as appears by an old Inscription, was Lieutenant heer. *Antoninus Pius* reigning, the *Brigantes* ever least patient of Foren servitude, breaking in upon *Genounia* (which *Camden* guesses to be *Guinethia* or *North-Wales*) part of the *Roman* Province, were with the loss of much Territory driv'n back by *Lollius Urbicus*, who drew another Wall of Turves; in likelihood much beyond the former, and as *Camden* proves, between the Frith of *Dunbritton*, and of *Edinborrow*; to hedg out incursions from the North. And *Seius Saturninus*, as is collected from the digests, had charge heer of the *Roman* Navie. With like success did *Marcus Aurelius*, next Emperor, by his Legat *Calphurnius Agricola*, finish heer a new War: *Commodus* after him obtaining the Empire. In his time, as among so many different accounts may seem most probable, *Lucius* a suppos'd King in some part of *Britain*, the first of any King in *Europe*, that we read of, receav'd the Christian Faith, and this Nation the first by public Authority profess'd it: a high and singular Grace from above, if sinceritie and perseverance went along, otherwise an empty boast, and to be fear'd the verifing of that true sentence, *The first shall be last*. And indeed the praise of this action is more proper to King *Lucius*, then common to the Nation; whose first professing by public Authority was no real commendation of thir true Faith, which had appear'd more sincere and praise-worthy, whether in this or other Nation, first profess'd without public Authority or against it, might else have bin but outward conformity. *Lucius* in our *Monmouth* Story is made the second by Descent from *Marius*; *Marius* the Son of *Arviragus* is there said to have overthrown the *Picts* then first coming out of *Scythia*, slain *Roderic* thir King; and in sign of Victorie to have set up a Monument of Stone in the Country since call'd *Westmaria*; but these things have no Foundation. *Coilus* the Son of *Marius*, all his Reign which was just and peaceable, holding great amity with the *Romans*, left it Hereditary to *Lucius*. He (if *Beda* err not, living neer 500 years after, yet our antientest Author of this report) sent to *Eleutherius* then Bishop of *Rome*, an improbable Letter, as som of the Contents discover, desiring that by his appointment he and his People might receive Christianity. From whom two religious Doctors, nam'd in our Chronicles *Faganus* and *Deruvianus*, forthwith sent, are said to have converted and baptiz'd well nigh the whole Nation: thence *Lucius* to have had the surname of *Levermaur*, that is to say, Great light. Nor yet then first was the Christian Faith heer known, but ev'n from the latter daies of *Tiberius*, as *Gildas* confidently affirms, taught and propagated, and that as som say by *Simon Zelotes*, as others by *Joseph* of *Arimathæa*, *Barnabas*, *Paul*, *Peter*, and thir prime Disciples. But of these matters, variouly written and believ'd, Ecclesiastic Historians can best determin; as the best of them do, with little Credit giv'n to the particulars of such uncertain relations. As for *Lucius*, they write, that after a long Reign he was buried in *Gloster*; but dying without Issue, left the Kingdom in great Commotion. By truer testimony we find that the greatest War which in those days busy'd *Commodus*, was in this Iland. For the Nations Northward, notwithstanding the Wall rais'd to keep them out, breaking in upon the *Roman* Province, wast'd wide; and both the Army and the Leader that came against them wholly routed, and destroy'd; which put the Emperor in such a fear, as to dispatch hither one of his best Commanders, *Ulpus Marcellus*. He a man endu'd with all nobleness of mind, frugal and temperate, mild and magnanimous, in War bold and watchful, invincible against *Lucre*, and the assault of Bribes; what with his Valour, and these his other Virtues, quickly ended this War that look'd so dangerous,

122.

Spartianus
ibid.

Camden.

Pausan. archad.

Capit. vit. Ant.

144.

Capit. Marc.

Ant. Philof.

162.

Digest. l. 36.

Beda.

181.

Nennius.

Geff. Men.

Dion. l. 72.

183.

Lamprid. in
comm.
186.

Capitolin. in
Pert.

Capitolin. in
Alb.

193.

Dion.
Did. Jul.
Spartian. in
Sever.
Herod. l. 3.

Herod. l. 3.

Digest. l. 28.
tit. 6.

Dion.

Herod. l. 3.

208.

209.

Dion.

210.

Spartianus in
Sever.

dangerous, and had himself like to have been ended by the Peace which he brought home, for presuming to be so worthy and so good under the envy of so worthless and so bad an Emperor. After whose departure the *Roman* Legions fell to Sedition among themselves; fifteen hundred of them went to *Rome* in name of the rest, and were so terrible to *Commodus* himself, as that to please them he deliver'd up to thir care *Perennis* the Captain of his Guard, for having in the *British* War remov'd thir Leaders, who were Senators, and in thir places put those of the Equestrian Order. Notwithstanding which compliance, they endeavour'd here to set up another Emperor against him; and *Helvius Pertinax* who succeeded Governour, found it a work so difficult to appease them, that once in a Mutiny he was left for dead among many slain; and though afterwards he severely punish'd the Tumulters, was fain at length to seek a dismissal from his Charge. After him *Clodius Albinus* took the Government; but he, for having to the Souldiers made an Oration against Monarchy, by the appointment of *Commodus* was bid resign to *Junius Severus*. But *Albinus* in those troublesom times ensuing under the short Reign of *Pertinax* and *Didius Julianus*, found means to keep in his hands the Government of *Britain*; although *Septimius Severus* who next held the Empire, sent hither *Heracitus* to displace him; but in vain, for *Albinus* with all the *British* Powers and those of *Gallia* met *Severus* about *Lyons* in *France*, and fought a bloody Battail with him for the Empire, though at last vanquish'd and slain. The Government of *Britain*, *Severus* divided between two Deputies; till then one Legat was thought sufficient; the North he committed to *Virius Lupus*. Where the *Meata* rising in Arms, and the *Caledonians*, though they had promis'd the contrary to *Lupus*, preparing to defend them, so hard beset, he was compell'd to buy his Peace, and a few of Pris'ners with great Sums of Money. But hearing that *Severus* had now brought to an end his other Wars, he writes him plainly the state of things here, that the *Britans* of the North made War upon him, broke into the Province, and haras'd all the Countries nigh them, that there needed suddenly either more Aid, or himself in Person. *Severus*, though now much weaken'd with Age and the Gout, yet desirous to leav som Memorial of his warlike Achievments here, as he had don in other places, and besides to withdraw by this means his two Sons from the Pleasures of *Rome*, and his Souldiers from Idleness, with a mighty power far sooner than could be expected, arrives in *Britain*. The Northern People much daunted with the report of so great Forces brought over with him, and yet more preparing, send Embassadors to treat of Peace, and to excuse thir former doings. The Emperor now loth to return home without som memorable thing don, wherby he might assume to his other Titles the addition of *Britannicus*, delays his Answer, and quick'ns his Preparations; till in the end, when all things were in readiness to follow them, they are dismiss'd without effect. His principal care was to have many Bridges laid over Bogs and rotten Mores, that his Souldiers might have to fight on sure footing. For it seems through lack of Tillage, the Northern parts were then, as *Ireland* is at this day; and the Inhabitants in like manner wonted to retire, and defend themselves in such watery places half naked. He also being past *Adrian's* Wall, cut down Woods, made way through Hills, fast'nd and fill'd up unsound and plaschy Fens. Notwithstanding all this Industry us'd, the Enemy kept himself so cunningly within his best Advantages, and seldom appearing, so opportunely found his times to make Irruption upon the *Romans*, when they were most in straits and difficulties, somtimes training them on with a few Cattel turn'd out, and drawn within Ambush cruelly handling them, that many a time enclos'd in the midst of Sloughs and Quagmires, they chose rather themselves to kill such as were faint and could not shift away, then leave them there a Prey to the *Caledonians*. Thus lost *Severus*, and by Sickness in those noisom places, no less then fifty thousand Men: and yet desisted not, though for Weakness carried in a Litter, till he had march'd through with his Army to the utmost Northern Verge of the Ile: and the *Britans* offering Peace, were compell'd to lose much of thir Country not before subject to the *Romans*. *Severus* on the Frontiers of what he had firmly conquer'd, builds a Wall cross the Iland from Sea to Sea; which one Author judges the most magnificent of all his other

other Deeds; and that he thence receav'd the stile of *Britannicus*; in length 132 Miles. *Orosius* adds it fortify'd with a deep Trench, and between certain spaces many Towers, or Battlements. The place wherof som will have to be in *Scotland*, the same which *Lollius Urbicus* had wall'd before. Others affirm it only *Hadrians* Work re-edifid; both plead Authorities and the ancient Tract yet visible: but this I leave among the studious of these Antiquities to be discus't more at large. While Peace held, the Empress *Julia* meeting on a time certain *British* Ladies, and discoursing with the Wife of *Argentocoxus* a *Caledonian*, cast out a Scoff against the Looseness of our Iland Women; whose manner then was to use promiscuously the company of divers Men. Whom straight the *British* Woman boldly thus answer'd: *Much better do we Britans fulfil the work of Nature then you Romans; we with the best Men use custom openly; you with the basest commit private Adulteries.* Whether she thought this Answer might serve to justify the practice of her Country, as when Vices are compar'd, the greater seems to justify the less; or whether the Law and Custom wherein she was bred, had whip't out of her Conscience the better Dictate of Nature, and not convinc't her of the shame; certain it is that whereas other Nations us'd a liberty not unnatural for one Man to have many Wives, the *Britans* altogether as licentious, but more absurd and preposterous in thir licence, had one or many Wives in common among ten or twelve Husbands; and those for the most part incestuously. But no sooner was *Severus* return'd into the Province, then the *Britans* take Arms again. Against whom *Severus*, worn out with Labours and Infirmary, sends *Antoninus* his eldest Son, expressly commanding him to spare neither Sex nor Age. But *Antoninus*, who had his wicked thoughts tak'n up with the contriving of his Father's Death; a safer Enemy then a Son, did the *Britans* not much detrimēt. Wherat *Severus*, more overcome with Grief then any other Malady, ended his Life at *York*. After whose decease *Antoninus Caracalla* his impious Son, concluding Peace with the *Britans*, took Hostages and departed to *Rome*. The Conductor of all this Northern War *Scottish* Writers name *Donaldus*, he of *Monmouth Fulgenius*, in the rest of his relation nothing worth. From hence the *Roman* Empire declining apace, good Historians growing scarce, or lost, have left us little else but Fragments for many years ensuing. Under *Gordian* the Emperour we find by the Inscription of an Altar-stone, that *Nonius Philippus* govern'd here. Under *Galienus* we read there was a strong and general revolt from the *Roman* Legat. Of the thirty Tyrants which not long after took upon them the stile of Emperor, by many Coins found among us, *Lollianus*, *Victorinus*, *Posthumus*, the *Tetrici* and *Marius* are conjectured to have ris'n or born great sway in this Iland. Whence *Porphyrius*, a Philosopher then living, said that *Britain* was a Soil fruitful of Tyrants; and is noted to be the first Author that makes mention of the *Scottish* Nation. While *Probus* was Emperor, *Bonofus* the Son of a Rhetorician, bred up a *Spaniard*, though by descent a *Britan*, and a matchless Drinker, nor much to be blam'd, if, as they write, he were still wisest in his Cups, having attain'd in warfare to high Honours, and lastly in his Charge over the *German* shipping, willingly, as was thought, miscarried, trusting on his Power with the Western Armies, and join'd with *Proculus*, bore himself a while for Emperor; but after a long and bloody fight at *Cullen*, vanquish'd by *Probus* he hang'd himself, and gave occasion of a ready Jest made on him for his much drinking; *Here hangs a Tankard, not a Man.* After this, *Probus* with much Wisdom prevented a new rising here in *Britain* by the severe Loyalty of *Victorinus* a *Moor*, at whose entreaty he had plac'd here that Governour which rebell'd. For the Emperor upbraiding him with the Disloyalty of whom he had commended, *Victorinus* undertaking to set all right again, hastes hither, and finding indeed the Governour to intend Sedition, by som contrivance not mention'd in the Story, slew him, whose name som imagin to be *Cornelius Lelianus*. They write also that *Probus* gave leave to the *Spaniards*, *Gauls* and *Britans* to plant Vines, and to make Wine; and having subdu'd the *Vandals*, and *Burgundians* in a great Battail, sent over many of them hither to inhabit, where they did good Service to the *Romans* when any Insurrection happen'd in the Ile. After whom *Carus* Emperor going against the *Persians*, left *Carinus* one of his Sons to govern among other Western Provinces this Iland

Eutropii Pe-
an. Oros. l. 7
Cassidor. chro.
Buchanan.

Caesar.

211.
Spartianus in
Sever.

242.
Camd. Cum-
ber.

259.
Eumen. Pa-
neg. Const.

267.
Camden.
Gildas.
Hieronym.

282.
Vapisc. in
Bonof.

Zozim. l. 1.

Camd.

Zozimus.

283.
Vopisc. in
Carin.

284. Aurel. victor. de Cæsar. 285. Eutrop. Oros. Eumen. Paneg. 2. 286. Victor. Eutrop. 291. Buchanan. Paneg. 2. Paneg. Sigonius. 292. Camd. ex Nin. Eumen. Pan. 3. Oros. l. 7. cap. 25. Eumen.
- land with Imperial Authority; but him *Dioclesian*, saluted Emperor by the Eastern Arms, overcame and slew. About which time *Carausius*, a Man of low Parentage, born in *Menapia*, about the parts of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, who through all military degrees was made at length Admiral of the *Belgic* and *Armoric* Seas, then much infested by the *Franks* and *Saxons*, what he took from the *Pyrats*, neither restoring to the Owners, nor accounting to the Public, but enriching himself, and yet not scowring the Seas, but conniving rather at those Sea-Robbers, was grown at length too great a Delinquent to be less than an Emperor: for fear and guiltiness in those days made Emperors offer then merit: And understanding that *Maximianus Hercules*, *Dioclesian's* adopted Son, was com against him into *Gallia*, pass'd over with the Navy which he had made his own, into *Britain*, and possess'd the Island. Where he built a new Fleet after the *Roman* fashion, got into his Power the Legion that was left here in Garrison, other outlandish Cohorts detain'd, list'd the very Merchants and Factors of *Gallia*, and with the allurements of Spoil invited great numbers of other barbarous Nations to his part, and train'd them to Sea-Service, wherein the *Romans* at that time were grown so out of skill, that *Carausius* with his Navy did at Sea what he list'd, robbing on every Coast; wherby *Maximian*, able to com no nearer then the shoar of *Boloigne*, was forc't to conclude a Peace with *Carausius*, and yeild him *Britain*; as one fittest to guard the Province there against Inroads from the North. But not long after having assum'd *Constantius Chlorus* to the dignity of *Cæsar*, sent him against *Carausius*; who in the mean while had made himself strong both within the Land and without. *Galfred* of *Monmouth* writes that he made the *Picts* his Confederates; to whom lately com out of *Scythia* he gave *Albany* to dwell in: and it is observ'd that before his time the *Picts* are not known to have bin any where mention'd, and then first by *Eumenius* a Rhetorician. He repair'd and fortifi'd the Wall of *Severus* with seven Castles, and a round House of smooth Stone on the Bank of *Carron*, which River, saith *Ninnius*, was of his Name so call'd; he built also a Triumphant Arch in remembrance of som Victory there obtain'd. In *France* he held *Gessoriacum*, or *Boloigne*; and all the *Franks* which had by his permission seated themselves in *Belgia*, were at his devotion. But *Constantius* hasting into *Gallia*, besieges *Boloigne*, and with Stones and Timber obstructing the Port, keeps out all Relief that could be sent in by *Carausius*. Who ere *Constantius* with the great Fleet which he had prepar'd, could arrive hither, was slain treacherously by *Alectus* one of his Friends, who long'd to step into his place; when he seven Years, and worthily as som say, as others tyrannically, had rul'd the Island. So much the more did *Constantius* prosecute that opportunity, before *Alectus* could well strengthen his Affairs: and though in ill weather, putting to Sea with all urgency from several Hav'ns to spread the terror of his landing, and the doubt where to expect him, in a Mist passing the *British* Fleet unseen, that lay scouting near the Ile of *Wight*, no sooner got a shoar, but fires his own Ships, to leave no hope of Refuge but in Victory. *Alectus* also, though now much dismay'd, transfers his Fortune to a Battel on the shoar; but encounter'd by *Asclepiodotus* Captain of the *Prætorian* Bands, and desperately rushing on, unmindful both of ordering his Men, or bringing them all to fight, save the Accessories of his Treason, and his outlandish Hirelings, is overthrown, and slain with little or no loss to the *Romans*, but great execution on the *Franks*. His Body was found almost naked in the field, for his Purple Robe he had thrown aside, lest it should descry him, unwilling to be found. The rest taking flight to *London*, and purposing with the Pillage of that City to escape by Sea, are met by another part of the *Roman* Army, whom the Mist at Sea disjoining had by chance brought thither, and with a new slaughter chas'd through all the Streets. The *Britans*, thir Wives also and Children, with great joy go out to meet *Constantius*, as one whom they acknowledg thir Deliverer from Bondage and Insolence. All this seems by *Eumenius*, who then liv'd, and was of *Constantius's* Household, to have bin don in the course of one continu'd Action; so also thinks *Sigonius* a learned Writer: though all others allow three Years to the Tyranny of *Alectus*. In these days were great store of Workmen, and excellent Builders in this Island, whom after the alteration of things here, the *Aduans* in *Burgundy* enter-

entertain'd to build thir Temples and public Edifices. *Dioclesian* having hitherto successfully us'd his Valour against the Enemies of his Empire, uses now his Rage in a bloody Persecution against his obedient and harmless Christian Subjects: from the feeling wherof neither was this Iland, though most remote, far enough remov'd. Among them here who suffer'd gloriously, *Aron*, and *Julius* of *Caerleon* upon *Usk*, but chiefly *Alban* of *Verulam*, were most renown'd: The story of whose Martyrdom soil'd, and worse martyr'd with the fabling Zeal of some idle Fancies, more fond of Miracles, then apprehensive of Truth, deserves not longer digression. *Constantius* after *Dioclesian*, dividing the Empire with *Galerius*, had *Britain* among his other Provinces; where either preparing or returning with Victory from an Expedition against the *Caledonians*, he died at *York*. His Son *Constantine*, who happily came post from *Rome* to *Beloigne*, just about the time, saith *Eumenius*, that his Father was setting sail his last time hither, and not long before his Death, was by him on his Death-bed nam'd, and after his Funeral, by the whole Army saluted Emperor. There goes a fame, and that seconded by most of our own Historians, though not those the ancientest, that *Constantine* was born in this Iland, his Mother *Helena* the Daughter of *Coilus* a *British* Prince, not sure the Father of King *Lucius*, whose Sister she must then be, for that would detect her too old by a hundred Years to be the Mother of *Constantine*. But to save this Incoherence, another *Coilus* is feign'd to be then Earl of *Colchester*. To this therefore the *Roman* Authors give no testimony, except a Passage or two in the *Penegyrics*, about the sence wherof much is argu'd: Others nearest to those times clear the Doubt, and write him certainly born of a mean Woman, *Helena*, the Concubine of *Constantius*, at *Naisus* in *Dardania*. Howbeit, ere his departure hence he seems to have had some Bickerings in the North, which by reason of more urgent Affairs compos'd, he passes into *Gallia*; and after four Years returns either to settle or to alter the state of things here, until a new War against *Maxentius* call'd him back, leaving *Pacatianus* his Vicegerent. He deceasing, *Constantine* his eldest Son enjoy'd for his part of the Empire, with all the Provinces that lay on this side the *Alps*, this Iland also. But falling to Civil War with *Constans* his Brother, was by him slain; who with his third Brother *Constantius* coming into *Britain*, seiz'd it as Victor. Against him rose *Magnentius*, one of his chief Commanders, by some affirm'd the Son of a *Britan*, he having gain'd on his side great Forces, contested with *Constantius* in many Battels for the sole Empire; but vanquish't, in the end slew himself. Somewhat before this time *Gratianus* *Funarius*, the Father of *Valentinian*, afterwards Emperor, had chief command of those Armies which the *Romans* kept here. And the *Arian* Doctrin which then divided Christendom, wrought also in this Iland no small Disturbance; a Land, saith *Gildas*, greedy of every thing new, stedfast in nothing. At last *Constantius* appointed a Synod of more then 400 Bishops to assemble at *Ariminum* on the Emperor's Charges, which the rest all refusing, three only of the *British*, poverty constraining them, accepted; though the other Bishops among them offer'd to have born thir Charges; esteeming it more honourable to live on the Public; then to be obnoxious to any private Purse. Doubtless an ingenuous Mind, and far above the Presbyters of our Age; who like well to sit in Assembly on the public Stipend, but lik'd not the Poverty that caus'd these to do so. After this *Martinus* was Deputy of the Province; who being offended with the Cruelty which *Paulus*, an Inquisitor sent from *Constantius*, exercis'd in his enquiry after those Military Officers who had conspir'd with *Magnentius*, was himself laid hold on as an Accessory; at which enrag'd he runs at *Paulus* with his drawn Sword; but failing to kill him, turns it on himself. Next to whom, as may be guess'd, *Alipius* was made Deputy. In the mean time *Julian*, whom *Constantius* had made *Cæsar*, having recover'd much Territory about the *Rhine*, where the *German* Inrodes before had long insulted, to relieve those Countries almost ruin'd, causes 800 Pinaces to be built; and with them, by frequent Voyages, plenty of Corn to be fetch'd in from *Britain*; which ev'n then was the usual bounty of this Soil to those parts, as oft as *French* and *Saxon* Pirats hinder'd not the transportation. While *Constantius* yet reign'd, the *Scots* and *Picts* breaking in upon the Northern Confines, *Julian*, being at *Paris*,

Gildas

Author. ignor.

post Marcell.

lin. Valesii.

306.

Entrop. Eumen.

idem

Auth. ignor.

Idem vit.

Auth. ignor.

Euseb. Const.

Oros. l. 7.

25. cap.

Caes. chron.

307.

Sigon.

311.

Camd.

Ammian. l.

20. & in eum

Valentius.

310.

Libanius in

Basilico.

343.

Camb. ex

Firmico.

350.

Camden.

353.

Ammian.

359.

Liban. Orat. 10.

Zozim. l. 3.

Marcell. l. 18.

Amm. l. 23.

360.

Amm. l. 20.

364.
Amm. l. 26,
27.

367.

368.
Amm. l. 28.
Zozim. l. 4.

373.
Amm. l. 29.

Zozim. l. 4.
Sigon.

Prosper. Aquit.
tan. chron.

383.
Gildas.

388.
Beda.
Ninn.

Paris, sends over *Lupicinus*, a well-try'd Souldier, but a proud and covetous Man, who with a Power of light-arm'd *Herulians*, *Batavians*, and *Mæsians*, in the midst of Winter sailing from *Boloigne*, arrives at *Rutupiæ* seated on the opposite Shoar, and comes to *London*, to consult there about the War; but soon after was recal'd by *Julian* then chosen Emperor. Under whom we read not of ought hapning here, only that *Palladius* one of his great Officers was hither banish'd. This Year *Valentinian* being Emperor, the *Attacots*, *Picts*, and *Scots*, roving up and down, and last the *Saxons* with perpetual Landings and Invasions harryed the South Coast of *Britain*; slew *Nectaridius* who govern'd the Sea-Borders, and *Bulchobaudes* with his Forces by an Ambush. With which News *Valentinian* not a little perplexed, sends first *Severus* high Steward of his House, and soon recalls him; then *Jovinus*, who intimating the necessity of greater Supplies, he sends at length *Theodosius*, a Man of try'd Valour and Experience, Father to the first Emperor of that Name. He with selected Numbers out of the Legions, and Cohorts, crosses the Sea from *Boloigne* to *Rutupiæ*; from whence with the *Batavians*, *Herulians*, and other Legions that arriv'd soon after, he marches to *London*; and dividing his Forces into several Bodies, sets upon the dispers'd and plundering Enemy, lad'n with spoil; from whom recovering the Booty which they led away, and were forc'd to leave there with thir lives, he restores all to the right Owners, save a small Portion to his wearied Souldiers, and enters *London* victoriously; which before in many Straits and Difficulties, was now reviv'd as with a great deliverance. The numerous Enemy with whom he had to deal, was of different Nations, and the War scatter'd: Which *Theodosius*, getting daily some intelligence from Fugitives and Prisoners, resolves to carry on by sudden Parties and Surprisals, rather then set Battels; nor omits he to proclaim Indemnity to such as would lay down Arms, and accept of Peace, which brought in many. Yet all this not ending the Work, he requires that *Civilis*, a Man of much Uprightness, might be sent him, to be as Deputy of the Iland, and *Dulcitius* a famous Captain. Thus was *Theodosius* busy'd, besetting with Ambushes the roving Enemy, repressing his Roads, restoring Cities and Castles to thir former Safety and Defence, laying every where the firm Foundation of a long Peace, when *Valentinus* a *Pannonian*, for som great Offence banish'd into *Britain*, conspiring with certain Exiles and Souldiers against *Theodosius*, whose Worth he dreaded as the only Obstacle to his greater Design of gaining the Ile into his Power, is discover'd, and with his chief Accomplices deliver'd over to condign Punishment: Against the rest, *Theodosius* with a wife Lenity suffer'd not Inquisition to proceed too rigorously, lest the fear therof appertaining to so many, occasion might arise of new Trouble in a time so unsetl'd. This don, he applies himself to reform things out of order, raises on the Confines many strong holds; and in them appoints due and diligent Watches: and so reduc'd all things out of danger, that the Province which but lately was under command of the Enemy, became now wholly *Roman*, new nam'd *Valentia* of *Valentinian*, and the City of *London*, *Augusta*. Thus *Theodosius* nobly acquitting himself in all Affairs, with general applause of the whole Province, accompanied to the Sea-side, returns to *Valentinian*. Who about five Years after sent hither *Fraomarius*, a King of the *Almans*, with Authority of a Tribune over his own Country Forces; which then both for number and good Service, were in high esteem. Against *Gratian* who succeeded in the Western Empire, *Maximus* a *Spaniard*, and one who had serv'd in the *British* Wars with younger *Theodosius*, (for he also, either with his Father, or not long after him, seems to have don something in this Iland) and now General of the *Roman* Armies here, either discontented that *Theodosius* was prefer'd before him to the Empire, or constrain'd by the Souldiers who hated *Gratian*, assumes the Imperial Purple; and having attain'd Victory against the *Scots* and *Picts*, with the flow'r and strength of *Britain*, passes into *France*; there slays *Gratian*, and without much difficulty, the space of five Years, obtains his part of the Empire, overthrown at length, and slain by *Theodosius*. With whom perishing most of his Followers, or not returning out of *Armorica*, which *Maximus* had giv'n them to possess, the South of *Britain* by this means exhausted of her Youth, and what there was of *Roman* Souldiers on the Confines drawn off, became a Prey to sa-
vage

vage Invasions; of *Scots* from the *Irish* Seas, of *Saxons* from the *German*, of *Picts* from the North. Against them, first *Chrysanthus* the Son of *Marcian* a Bishop, made Deputy of *Britain* by *Theodosius*, demean'd himself worthily: *Socrat.* 1. 7. then *Stilicho* a Man of great Power, whom *Theodosius* dying, left Protector of his Son *Honorius*, either came in Person, or sending over sufficient Aid, repress'd them, and as it seems new fortifi'd the Wall against them. But that Legion being call'd away, when the *Roman* Armies from all parts halted to relieve *Honorius* then besieg'd in *Ast* of *Piemont*, by *Alaric* the *Goth*, *Britain* was left expos'd as before, to those barbarous Robbers. Lest any wonder how the *Scots* came to infest *Britain* from the *Irish* Sea, it must be understood, that the *Scots* not many Years before had been driv'n all out of *Britain* by *Maximus*; and thir King *Eugenius* slain in Fight, as thir own Annals report: wherby, it seems, wandring up and down, without certain Seat, they liv'd by scumming those Seas and Shoars as *Pirats*. But more authentic Writers confirm us, that the *Scots*, whoever they be originally, came first into *Ireland*, and dwelt there, and nam'd it *Scotia* long before the North of *Britain* took that Name. *Orosius* who liv'd at this time writes, that *Ireland* was then inhabited by *Scots*. About this time, though troublesom, *Pelagius* a *Britain* found the leasure to bring new and dangerous Opinions into the Church, and is largely writ against by *St. Austin*. But the *Roman* Powers which were call'd into *Italy*, when once the fear of *Alaric* was over, made return into several Provinces; and perhaps *Vitorinus* of *Tolosa*, whom *Rutilius* the Poet much commends, might be then Prefect of this Iland; if it were not he whom *Stilicho* sent hither. *Buchanan* writes, that endeavouring to reduce the *Picts* into a Province, he gave the occasion of thir calling back *Fergusius* and the *Scots*, whom *Maximus* with thir help had quite driv'n out of the Iland: and indeed the Verses of that Poet speak him to have bin active in those parts. But the time which is assign'd him later by *Buchanan* after *Gratianus* *Municeps*, by *Camden* after *Constantine* the Tyrant, accords not with that which follows in the plain course of History. For the *Vandals* having broke in and wasted all *Belgia*, ev'n to those places from whence easiest passage is into *Britain*, the *Roman* Forces here, doubting to be suddenly invaded, were all in uproar, and in tumultuous manner set up *Marcus*, who it may seem was then Deputy. But him not found agreeable to thir heady courses, they as hastily kill; for the giddy favour of a mutining Rout is as dangerous as thir Fury. The like they do by *Gratian* a *British* *Roman*, in four Months advanc't, ador'd, and destroy'd. There was among them a common Souldier whose name was *Constantine*, with him on a sudden so taken they are, upon the Conceit put in them of a luckiness in his Name, as without other visible Merit to create him Emperor. It fortun'd that the Man had not his Name for nought; so well he knew to lay hold, and make good use of an unexpected Offer. He therefore with a wak'nd spirit, to the extent of his Fortune dilating his mind, which in his mean condition before lay contracted and shrunk up, orders with good Advice his Military Affairs: and with the whole Force of the Province, and what of *British* was able to bear Arms, he passes into *France*, aspiring at least to an equal share with *Honorius* in the Empire. Where, by the Valour of *Edobecus* a *Frank*, and *Gerontius* a *Britain*, and partly by perswasion, gaining all in his way, he comes to *Arles*. With like felicity by his Son *Constans*, whom of a Monk he had made a *Cesar*, and by the Conduct of *Gerontius* he reduces all *Spain* to his Obedience. But *Constans* after this displacing *Gerontius*, the Affairs of *Constantine* soon went to wrack; for he by this means alienated, set up *Maximus* one of his Friends against him in *Spain*; and passing into *France*, took *Vienna* by assault, and having slain *Constans* in that City, calls on the *Vandals* against *Constantine*; who by him incited, as by him before they had bin repres't, breaking forward, over-run most part of *France*. But when *Constantius* Comes, the Emperor's General, with a strong Power came out of *Italy*, *Gerontius* deserted by his own Forces, retires into *Spain*; where also growing into contempt with the Souldiers, after his flight out of *France*, by whom his House in the night was beset, having first with a few of his Servants defended himself valiantly, and slain above 300, though when his Darts and other Weapons were spent, he might have scap'd at a private Door, as all his Servants did, not enduring to leave his Wife *Nonninchia*, whom

389.

Socrat. 1. 7.
Claud. lib. 12.
 & de bellis
 Get.

402.

Ethelweird:
Sax. an.
Ede. epit. in
the Year 508,
and Ede. l. 2.
c. 4.

Oros. l. 1. cap. 2.

405.

407.

*Zozim. l. 6.**Sozom. l. 9.**Oros. l. 7.*

408.

409.

Sozom. l. 9.

Olympiodor.
apud Phot.
um.

whom

whom he lov'd, to the violence of an enraged Crew, he first cuts off the Head of his Friend *Alanus*, as was agreed; next his Wife, though loth and delaying, yet by her entreated and importun'd, refusing to outlive her Husband, he dispatches: for which her Resolution, *Sozomenus* an Ecclesiastic Writer gives her high praise, both as a Wife, and as a Christian. Last of all against himself he turns his Sword; but missing the mortal place, with his Poinard finishes the Work. Thus far is pursu'd the story of a famous *Britan*, related negligently by our other Historians. As for *Constantine*, his ending was not answerable to his setting out; for he with his other Son *Julian* besieg'd by *Constantius* in *Arles*, and mistrusting the change of his wonted Success, to save his head, poorly turns Priest; but that not availing him, is carried into *Italy*, and there put to death; having four Years acted the Emperor. While these things were doing, the *Britans* at home, destitute of *Roman* Aid, and the chief strength of thir own Youth, that went first with *Maximus*, then with *Constantine*, not returning home, vext and haras'd by thir wonted Enemies, had sent Messages to *Honorius*; but he at that time not being able to defend *Rome* it self, which the same Year was taken by *Alaric*, advises them by his Letter to consult how best they might for thir own Safety, and acquits them of the *Roman* Jurisdiction. They therefore thus relinquish't, and by all Right the Government relapsing into thir own hands, thenceforth betook themselves to live after thir own Laws, defending thir Bounds as well as they were able; and the *Armoricans*, who not long after were call'd the *Britans* of *France*, follow'd thir Example. Thus expir'd this great Empire of the *Romans*; first in *Britain*, soon after in *Italy* it self: having born chief sway in this Iland, though never thoroughly subdu'd, or all at once in subjection, if we reck'n from the coming in of *Julius* to the taking of *Rome* by *Alaric*, in which Year *Honorius* wrote those Letters of Discharge into *Britain*, the space of 462 Years. And with the Empire fell also what before in this Western World was chiefly *Roman*; Learning, Valour, Eloquence, History, Civility, and ev'n Language it self, all these together, as it were, with equal pace, diminishing and decaying. Henceforth we are to steer by another sort of Authors; near enough to the things they write, as in thir own Country, if that would serve; in time not much belated, som of equal Age, in expression barbarous; and to say how judicious, I suspend a while: This we must expect; in Civil Matters to find them dubious Relaters, and still to the best advantage of what they term Holy Church, meaning indeed themselves: in most other Matters of Religion, blind, astonish'd, and strook with Superstition as with a Planet; in one word, Monks. Yet these Guides, where can be had no better, must be follow'd; in gross, it may be true enough; in circumstance each Man as his Judgment gives him, may reserve his Faith, or bestow it. But so different a state of things requires a several relation.

Gildas.
Beda.
Zozim. l. 6.

Procopius
vandalic.

Calvis.
Sigon.

THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

The Third Book.

THIS third Book having to tell of Accidents as various and exemplary as the Intermision or Change of Government hath any where brought forth, may deserve Attention more than common, and repay it with like benefit to them who can judiciously read: considering especially that the late civil Broils had cast us into a condition not much unlike to what the *Britans* then were in, when the imperial Jurisdiction departing hence left them to the sway of thir own Councils; which times by comparing seriously with these later, and that confused Anarchy with this Interreign, we may be able from two such remarkable turns of State, producing like Events among us, to raise a Knowledge of our selves both great and weighty, by judging hence what kind of Men the *Britans* generally are in Matters of so high Enterprise, how by Nature, Industry, or Custom, fitted to attempt or undergo Matters of so main Consequence: for if it be a high point of Wisdom in every private Man, much more is it in a Nation to know it self; rather then puffed up with vulgar Flatteries and Encomiums, for want of self-knowledg, to enterprise rashly and come off miserably in great Undertakings. The *Britans* thus as we heard being left without protection from the Empire, and the Land in a manner emptied of all her Youth, consumed in Wars abroad, or not caring to return home, themselves through long Subjection, servile in Mind, slothful of Body, and with the use of Arms unacquainted, sustain'd but ill for many Years the Violence of these barbarous Invaders, who now daily grew upon them. For although at first greedy of Change, and to be thought the leading Nation to Freedom from the Empire, they seem'd a while to bestir them with a shew of Diligence in thir new Affairs, some secretly aspiring to rule, others adoring the name of Liberty, yet so soon as they felt by proof the weight of what it was to govern well themselves, and what was wanting within them, not stomach or the love of Licence, but the Wisdom, the Vertue, the Labour, to use and maintain true Liberty, they soon remitted thir heat, and shrunk more wretchedly under the Burden of thir own Liberty, then before under a foren Yoke. Insomuch that the Residue of those *Romans* which had planted themselves heer, despairing of thir ill Deportment at home, and weak Resistance in the Field by those few who had the Courage or the Strength to bear Arms, nine Years after the sacking of *Rome* remov'd out of *Britain* into *France*, hiding for halle great part of thir Treasure, which was never after found. And now again the *Britans*, no longer able to support themselves against the prevailing Enemy, solicit *Honorius* to thir aid, with mournful Letters, Emballages and Vows of perpetual Subjection to *Rome*, if the *Northern* Fo were but repuls'd. He at thir request spares them one Legion, which with great Slaughter of the *Scots* and *Picts* drove them beyond the Borders, rescu'd the *Britans*, and advis'd them to build a Wall cross the Iland, between Sea and Sea, from the place

Gild. Bede.
Mahns.

Zozim. l. 6.

418.
Ethelwerd.
annal. Sax.

Gild.
422.

Dionys. l. 1.

Bede, l. 1. c. 2. where *Edinburg* now stands to the Frith of *Dunbritton*, by the City *Alcluith*. But the Material being only Turf, and by the rude multitude unartificially built up without better Direction, avail'd them little. For no sooner was the Legion departed, but the greedy Spoilers returning, land in great numbers from thir Boats and Pinaces, wasting, slaying, and treading down all before them. Then are Messengers again posted to *Rome* in lamentable sort, beseeching that they would not suffer a whole Province to be destroy'd, and the *Roman* Name, so honourable yet among them, to become the Subject of Barbarian Scorn and Insolence. The Emperor, at thir sad Complaint, with what speed was possible, sends to thir succour. Who coming suddenly on those ravenous multitudes that minded only Spoil, surprise them with a terrible Slaughter: They who escap'd fled back to those Seas from whence yearly they were wont to arrive, and return lad'n with Booties. But the *Romans*, who came not now to rule, but charitably to aid, declaring that it stood not longer with the ease of thir Affairs to make such laborious Voyages in pursuit of so base and vagabond Robbers, of whom neither Glory was to be got, nor Gain, exhorted them to manage thir own Warfare; and to defend like Men thir Country, thir Wives, thir Children, and what was to be dearer then Life, thir Liberty, against an Enemy not stronger then themselves, if thir own Sloth and Cowardise had not made them so; if they would but only find hands to grasp defensive Arms, rather then basely stretch them out to receive Bonds. They gave them also thir help to build a new Wall, not of Earth as the former, but of Stone, (both at the public Cost, and by particular Contributions) traversing the Ile in direct Line from East to West between certain Cities plac'd there as Frontiers to bear off the Enemy, where *Severus* had wall'd once before. They rais'd it 12 foot high, 8 broad. Along the South Shoar, because from thence also like Hostility was fear'd, they place Towers by the Sea-side at certain distances, for Safety of the Coast. Withal they instruct them in the Art of War, leaving Patterns of thir Arms and Weapons behind them; and with animating Words, and many Lessons of Valour to a faint-hearted Audience, bid them finally farewell, without purpose to return. And these two friendly Expeditions, the last of any hither by the *Romans*, were perform'd, as may be gather'd out of *Beda* and *Diaconus*, the two last Years of *Honorius*. Thir Leader, as som modernly write, was *Gallio* of *Ravenna*; *Buchanan*, who departs not much from the Fables of his Predecessor *Boethius*, names him *Maximianus*, and brings against him to this Battel *Fergus* first King of *Scots*, after thir second suppos'd coming into *Scotland*, *Durhus* King of *Picts*; both there slain, and *Dioneth* an imaginary King of *Britain*, or Duke of *Cornwall*, who improbably sided with them against his own Country, hardly escaping. With no less exactness of particular Circumstances he takes upon him to relate all those tumultuary Inrodes of the *Scots* and *Picts* into *Britain*, as if they had but yesterday happen'd, thir Order of Battel, manner of Fight, number of Slain, Articles of Peace, things wherof *Gildas* and *Beda* are utterly silent, Authors to whom the *Scotch* Writers have none to cite comparable in Antiquity; no more therefore to be believ'd for bare Assertions, however quaintly dress'd, then our *Geofry* of *Monmouth* when he varies most from authentick Story. But either the inbred Vanity of som, in that respect unworthily call'd Historians, or the fond Zeal of praising thir Nations above Truth, hath so far transported them, that where they find nothing faithfully to relate, they fall confidently to invent what they think may either best set off thir History, or magnify thir Country.

The *Scots* and *Picts* in Manners differing somewhat from each other, but still unanimous to rob and spoil, hearing that the *Romans* intended not to return from thir Gorroghs or leathern Frigats, pour out themselves in Swarms upon the Land more confident then ever: and from the North end of the Ile to the very Wall-side, then first took possession as Inhabitants; while the *Britans* with idle Weapons in thir hands stand trembling on the Battlements, till the half-naked Barbarians with thir long and formidable Iron Hooks pull them down headlong. The rest not only quitting the Wall, but Towns and Cities, leave them to the bloody Pursuer, who follows killing, wasting, and destroying all in his way. From these Confusions arose a Famin, and from thence Discord and civil Commotion among the *Britans*: each Man living by what he robb'd

or took violently from his Neighbour. When all Stores were consum'd and spent where Men inhabited, they betook them to the Woods, and liv'd by hunting, which was thir only Sustainment. To the heaps of these Evils from Bede. without were added new Divisions within the Church. For *Agricola* the Son of *Severianus* a *Pelagian* Bishop had spread his Doctrin wide among the *Britans* not uninfected before. The soulder part neither willing to embrace his Opinion to the overthrow of Divine Grace, nor able to refute him, crave Assistance from the Churches of *France*: who send them *Germanus* Bishop of *Auxerre*, and *Lupus* of *Troyes*. They by continual preaching in Churches, in Streets, in Fields, and not without Miracles, as is writt'n, confirm'd som, regain'd others, and at *Verulam* in a public Disputation put to silence thir chief Adversaries. This Reformation in the Church was beleev'd to be the cause of thir Success a while after in the Field. For the *Saxons* and *Picts* with joint force, which was no new thing before the *Saxons* at least had any dwelling in this Island, during the Abode of *Germanus* heer, had made a strong impressiō from the North. The *Britans* marching out against them, and mistrusting thir own Power, send to *Germanus* and his Colleague, reposing more in the spiritual Strength of those two Men, then in thir own thousands arm'd. They came, and thir Presence in the Camp was not less then if a whole Army had com to second them. It was then the time of *Lent*, and the People instructed by the daily Sermons of these two Pastors, came flocking to receive Baptism. There was a place in the Camp set apart as a Church, and trick'd up with Boughs upon *Easter-day*. The Enemy understanding this, and that the *Britans* were tak'n up with Religions more then with feats of Arms, advances, after the Paschal Feast, as to a certain Victory. *German*, who also had intelligence of thir Approach, undertakes to be Captain that day; and riding out with select'd Troops to discover what Advantages the place might offer, lights on a Valley compass'd about with Hills, by which the Enemy was to pass. And placing there his Ambush, warns them, that what word they heard him pronounce aloud, the same they should repeat with universal shout. The Enemy passes on securely, and *German* thrice aloud cries *Hallelujah*; which answer'd by the Souldiers with a sudd'n burst of Clamour, is from the Hills and Valleys redoubled. The *Saxons* and *Picts* on a sudden supposing it the noise of a huge Host, throw themselves into flight, casting down thir Arms, and great numbers of them are drown'd in the River which they had newly pass'd. This Victory, thus won without hands, left to the *Britans* plenty of Spoil, and to the Person and the Preaching of *German* greater Authority and Reverence then before. And the Exploit might pass for current, if *Constantius*, the Writer of his Life in the next Age, had resolv'd us how the *British* Army came to want baptizing; for of any Paganism at that time, or long before, in the Land, we read not, or that *Pelagianism* was re-baptiz'd. The place of this Victory, as is reported, was in *Flintshire*, by a Town call'd *Guid-cruc*, and the River *Allen*, where a Field retains the name of *Maes German* to this day. But so soon as *German* was return'd home, the *Scots* and *Picts*, though sent by *Celestine* the Pope to be a Bishop over them, were not so well reclaim'd, or not so many of them as to cease from doing Mischief to thir Neighbours, where they found no Impeachment to fall in yearly as they were wont. Therefore of the *Britans* who perhaps were not yet wholly ruin'd, in the strongest and South-west parts of the Ile, send Letters to *Ætius*, then third time Consul of *Rome*, with this Superscription; To *Ætius* thrice Consul, the Groans of the *Britans*. And after a few words thus: The Barbarians drive us to the Sea, the Sea drives us back to the Barbarians; thus bandied up and down between two Deaths, we perish either by the Sword or by the Sea. But the Empire, at that time overspread with *Hunns* and *Vandals*, was not in condition to lend them aid. Thus reject'd and wearied out with continual flying from place to place, but more afflicted with Famin, which then grew outrageous among them, many for Hunger yielded to the Enemy, others either more resolute, or less expos'd to wants, keeping within Woods and mountainous places, not only defended themselves, but sallying out at length gave a stop to the insulting Fo, with many seasonable Defeats; led by som eminent Person, as may be thought, who exhorted them not to trust in thir own Strength, but in Di-

Gildas.

vine Assistance. And perhaps no other heer is meant then the foresaid Deliverance by *German*, if computation would permit, which *Gildas* either not much regarded, or might mistake; but that he tarried so long heer, the Writers of his Life assent not. Finding therfore such opposition, the *Scots* or *Irish* Robbers, for so they are indifferently term'd, without delay get them home. The *Picts*, as before was mention'd, then first began to settle in the utmost parts of the Iland, using now and then to make Inroads upon the *Britans*. But they in the mean while thus rid of thir Enemies, begin afresh to till the Ground; which after Cessation yields her Fruit in such abundance, as had not formerly bin known for many Ages. But Wantonness and Luxury, the wonted Companions of Plenty, grow up as fast, and with them, if *Gildas* deserve belief, all other Vices incident to human Corruption. That which he notes especially to be the chief perverting of all Good in the Land, and so continued in his days, was the hatred of Truth, and all such as durst appear to vindicate and maintain it. Against them, as against the only Disturbers, all the Malice of the Land was bent. Lies and Falsties, and such as could best invent them, were only in request. Evil was embrac'd for Good, Wickedness honour'd and esteem'd as Vertue. And this quality thir Valour had, against a foren Enemy to be ever backward and heartless; to civil Broils eager and prompt. In Matters of Government, and the search of Truth, weak and shallow, in Falshood and wicked Deeds pregnant and industrious. Pleasing to God, or not pleasing, with them weighed alike; and the worse most an end was the weightier. All things were don contrary to public Welfare and Safety; nor only by secular Men, for the Clergy also, whose Example should have guided others, were as vitious and corrupt. Many of them besotted with continual Drunkenness; or swoln with Pride and Wilfulness, full of Contention, full of Envy, indiscreet, incompetent Judges to determin what in the practice of Life is good or evil, what lawful or unlawful. Thus furnished with Judgment, and for Manners thus qualify'd both Priest and Lay, they agree to chuse them several Kings of thir own; as neer as might be, likest themselves; and the words of my Author import as much. Kings were anointed, saith he, not of God's anointing, but such as were cruellest, and soon after as inconsiderately, without examining the truth, put to death by thir Anointers, to set up others more fierce and proud. As for the Election of thir Kings (and that they had not all one Monarch, appears both in Ages past and by the Sequel) it began, as nigh as may be guess'd, either this Year or the following, when they saw the *Romans* had quite deserted thir claim. About which time also *Pelagianism* again prevailing by means of som few, the *British* Clergy too weak, it seems, at dispute, entreat the second time *German* to thir Assistance. Who coming with *Severus* a Disciple of *Lupus* that was his former Associate, stands not now to argue, for the People generally continu'd right; but enquiring those Authors of new Disturbance, adjudges them to Banishment. They therfore by consent of all were deliver'd to *German*; who carrying them over with him, dispos'd of them in such place where neither they could infect others, and were themselves under cure of better Instruction. But *Germanus* the same year dy'd in *Italy*; and the *Britans* not long after found themselves again in much perplexity, with no slight rumour that thir old Troublers the *Scots* and *Picts* had prepar'd a strong Invasion, purposing to kill all, and dwell themselves in the Land from end to end. But e're thir coming in, as if the Instruments of Divine Justice had bin at strife, which of them first should destroy a wicked Nation, the Pestilence forestalling the Sword, left scarce alive whom to bury the dead; and for that time, as one Extremity keeps off another, preserv'd the Land from a worse Incumbrance of those barbarous Dispossessors, whom the Contagion gave not leave now to enter far. And yet the *Britans*, nothing better'd by these heavy Judgments, the one threatn'd, the other felt, instead of acknowledging the hand of Heaven, run to the Palace of thir King *Vortigern* with Complaints and Cries of what they suddenly fear'd from the *Pictish* Invasion. *Vortigern*, who at that time was chief rather than sole King, unless the rest had perhaps left thir Dominions to the common Enemy, is said by him of *Monmouth* to have procur'd the Death first of *Constantine*, then of *Constance* his Son, who of a Monk was made King, and by that means to have usurp'd the Crown. But they

447.
Constant.
Bede.

448.
Sigon.
Gildas.

Malmf. l. i.

they who can remember how *Constantine* with his Son *Constance* the Monk, the one made Emperor, the other *Cæsar*, perish'd in *France*, may discern the simple fraud of this Fable. But *Vortigern* however coming to reign, is decipher'd by truer stories a proud unfortunate Tyrant, and yet of the People much belov'd, because his Vices sort'd so well with theirs. For neither was he skill'd in War, nor wise in Counsel, but covetous, lustful, luxurious, and prone to all Vice; wasting the public Treasure in Gluttony and Riot, careless of the common danger, and through a haughty Ignorance, unapprehensive of his own. Nevertheless importun'd and awak'd at length by unusual clamours of the People, he summons a general Council, to provide some better means than heertofore had been us'd against these continual annoyances from the North. Wherin by advice of all it was determin'd, that the *Saxons* be invited into *Britain* against the *Scots* and *Picts*; whose breaking in they either shortly expected, or already found they had not strength enough to oppose. The *Saxons* were a barbarous and heathen Nation, famous for nothing else but Robberies and Cruelties done to all thir Neighbours, both by Sea and Land; in particular to this Iland, witness that military Force which the *Roman* Emperors maintain'd heer purposely against them, under a special Commander, whose title, as is found on good record, was Count of the *Saxon* shoar in *Bri-* Notitia impe-
tain; and the many mischiefs done by thir landing heer, both alone and with iii.
the *Picts*, as above hath bin related, witness as much. They were a People thought by good Writers, to be descended of the *Sacæ*, a kind of *Scythian* in Florent.
the North of *Asia*, thence call'd *Sacafsons*, or Sons of *Sacæ*, who with a Flood Wigorn. ad
of other Northern Nations came into *Europe*, toward the declining of the an. 370.
Roman Empire; and using Pyracry from *Denmark* all along these Seas, possess'd at length by intrusion all that Coast of *Germany* and the *Nether-lands*, which Ethelwerd.
took thence the name of old *Saxony*, lying between the *Rhene* and *Elve*, and from thence North as far as *Eidora*, the River bounding *Holsatia*, though not so firmly, or so largely, but that thir multitude wander'd yet uncertain of Habitation. Such Guests as these the *Britans* resolve now to send for, and entreat into thir Houses and Possessions, at whose very name heertofore they trembl'd afar off. So much do men through impatience count ever that the heaviest which they bear at present, and to remove the evil which they suffer, care not to pull on a greater; as if variety and change in evil also were acceptable. Or whether it be that men in the despair of better, imagin fondly a kind of refuge from one misery to another.

The *Britans* therefore, with *Vortigern*, who was then accounted King over Ethelwerd.
them all, resolve in full Council to send Embassadors of thir choicest men Malmsb.
with great Gifts, and saith a *Saxon* Writer in these words, desiring thir aid. Witichind:
Worthy Saxons, hearing the fame of your prowess, the distressed *Britains* wearied gest. Sax:
out, and overprest by a continual invading Enemy, have sent us to beseech your aid. l. 1. p. 3.
They have a Land fertile and spacious, which to your commands they bid us surrender. Heertofore we have liv'd with freedom, under the obedience and protection of the *Roman* Empire. Next to them we know none worthier than your selves; and therefore become suppliants to your Valour. Leave us not below our present Enemies, and to ought by you impos'd, willingly we shall submit. Yet *Ethelwerd* writes not that they promis'd subjection, but only Amity and League. They therefore who had chief Rule among them, hearing themselves entreated by the *Britans*, to that Malmsb.
which gladly they would have wish't to obtain of them by entreating, to the *British* Embassy return this answer: Be assur'd henceforth of the *Saxons*, as of Witichind.
faithful Friends to the *Britans*, no less ready to stand by them in thir need, then in thir best of fortune. The Embassadors return joyful, and with news as welcom to thir Country, whose sinister fate had now blinded them for destruction. The *Saxons*, consulting first thir Gods (for they had answer, that Gildas.
the Land wherto they went, they should hold 300 years, half that time conquering, and half quietly possessing) furnish out three long Gallies, or Kyules, Bede:
with a chos'n company of warlike Youth, under the conduct of two Brothers, *Hengist* and *Horfa*, descended in the fourth degree from *Woden*; of whom, deify'd for the fame of his Acts, most Kings of those Nations derive thir Pedigree. These, and either mixt with these, or soon after by themselves, two other Tribes, or neighbouring People, *Jutes* and *Angles*, the one from *Jutland*, the other from *Anglen* by the City of *Sleswich*, both Provinces of *Den-*
mark;

450.
Nennius.
Malmsb.

Malmsb.

Henry Hun-
tingd.
Ethelwerd.
Bed. Nin.
Nenn.

Gildas. Bed.
Nenn.

Primord.
pag. 418.

Malms. l. 1.
c. 1.

mark, arrive in the first year of *Martian* the Greek Emperor, from the Birth of Christ 450, receav'd with much good will of the People first, then of the King, who after some assurances giv'n and tak'n, bestows on them the Ile of *Tanet*, where they first landed, hoping they might be made heerby more eager against the *Picts*, when they fought as for thir own Country, and more loyal to the *Britans*, from whom they had receav'd a place to dwell in, which before they wanted. The *British Nennius* writes, that these Brethren were driv'n into Exile out of *Germany*, and to *Vortigern* who reign'd in much fear, one while of the *Picts*, then of the *Romans* and *Ambrosius*, came opportunely into the Hav'n. For it was the custom in old *Saxony*, when thir numerous Offspring overflow'd the narrowness of thir bounds, to send them out by lot into new Dwellings wherever they found room, either vacant or to be forc't. But whether fought, or unfought, they dwelt not heer long without Employment. For the *Scots* and *Picts* were now com down, som say, as far as *Stamford* in *Lincoln-shire*, whom, perhaps not imagining to meet new opposition, the *Saxons*, though not till after a sharp Encounter, put to flight; and that more then once; slaying in fight, as some *Scotch* writers affirm, thir King *Eugenius* the Son of *Fergus*. *Hengist* perceaving the Iland to be rich and fruitful, but her Princes and other Inhabitants giv'n to vicious ease, sends word home, inviting others to a share of his good success. Who returning with 17 Ships, were grown up now to a sufficient Army, and entertain'd without suspicion on these terms, that they should bear the brunt of War against the *Picts*, receaving stipend and some place to inhabit. With these was brought over the Daughter of *Hengist*, a Virgin wondrous fair, as is reported, *Rowen* the *British* call her: she by commandment of her Father, who had invited the King to a Banquet, coming in presence with a Bowl of Wine to welcom him, and to attend on his Cup till the Feast ended, won so much upon his fancy, though already wiv'd, as to demand her in marriage upon any Conditions. *Hengist* at first, though it fell out perhaps according to his drift, held off, excusing his meanness; then obscurely intimating a desire and almost a necessity, by reason of his augmented numbers, to have his narrow bounds of *Tanet* enlarg'd to the Circuit of *Kent*, had it streit by Donation; though *Guoraingonus* till then was King of that place; and so, as it were overcome by the great munificence of *Vortigern*, gave his Daughter. And still encroaching on the Kings Favour, got furdur leave to call over *Osta* and *Elissa*, his own and his Brothers Son; pretending that they, if the North were giv'n them, would sit there as a continual defence against the *Scots*, while himself guarded the East. They therefore sayling with forty Ships ev'n to the *Orcades*, and every way curbing the *Scots* and *Picts*, possess'd that part of the Ile which is now *Northumberland*. Notwithstanding this they complain that thir Monthly pay was grown much into Arrear; which when the *Britans* found means to satisfy, though alleging withal that they to whom promise was made of Wages, were nothing so many in number: quieted with this a while, but still seeking occasion to fall off, they find fault next, that thir Pay is too small for the danger they undergo, threatening op'n War unless it be augmented. *Guortimer* the Kings Son perceaving his Father and the Kingdom thus betray'd, from that time bends his utmost endeavour to drive them out. They on the other side making League with the *Picts* and *Scots*, and issuing out of *Kent*, wasted without resistance almost the whole Land ev'n to the Western Sea, with such a horrid devastation, that Towns and Colonies overturn'd, Priests and People slain, Temples and Palaces, what with Fire and Sword, lay altogether heap'd in one mixt ruin. Of all which multitude, so great was the sinfulness that brought this upon them, *Gildas* adds that few or none were likely to be other then lewd and wicked Persons. The residue of these, part overtak'n in the Mountains were slain; others subdu'd with Hunger preferr'd slavery before instant Death; som getting to Rocks, Hills, and Woods inaccessible, preferr'd the fear and danger of any Death before the shame of a secure Slavery; many fled over Sea into other Countries; some into *Holland*, where yet remain the ruins of *Brittenburgh*, an old Castle on the Sea, to be seen at low Water not far from *Leiden*, either built, as Writers of thir own affirm, or seiz'd on by those *Britans* in thir escape from *Hengist*: Others into *Armorica*, peopl'd, as som think, with *Britans* long before, either by gift of *Constantine* the Great, or else

else of *Maximus* to those *British* Forces which had serv'd them in Foreign Wars, Huntingd. l. 1. to whom those also that miscarried not with the latter *Constantine* at *Arles*; and lastly, these Exiles driv'n out by *Saxons*, fled for Refuge. But the antient Chronicles of those Provinces attest thir coming thither to be then first when they fled the *Saxons*, and indeed the name of *Britain* in *France* is not read till after that time. Yet how a sort of Fugitives, who had quitted without stroke thir own Country, should so soon win another, appears not, unless join'd to som party of thir own setl'd there before. *Vortigern* nothing better'd Ninn. Malmsb. by these Calamities, grew at last so obdurat as to commit incest with his Daughter, tempted or tempting him out of an ambition to the Crown. For which being censur'd and condemn'd in a great Synod of *Clerics*, and *Laics*, and partly for fear of the *Saxons*, according to the Counsel of his Peers he retir'd into *Wales*, and built him there a strong Castle in *Radnorshire*, by the advice of *Ambrosius* a young Prophet, whom others call *Merlin*. Ninn. Nevertheless *Faustus*, who was the Son thus incestuously begott'n, under the instructions of *German*, or som of his Disciples, for *German* was dead before, prov'd a religious man, and liv'd in devotion by the River *Remnis* in *Glamorganshire*. Gildas. But the *Saxons*, though finding it so easy to subdue the Ile, with most of thir Forces, uncertain for what cause, return'd home: when as the easiness of thir Conquest might seem rather likely to have call'd in more; which makes more probable that which the *British* write of *Guortemir*. Ninn. For he coming to reign, instead of his Father depos'd for Incest, is said to have thrice driv'n and beseig'd the *Saxons* in the Ile of *Taneth*; and when they issu'd out with powerful Supplies sent from *Saxony*, to have fought with them four other Battels, wherof three are nam'd; the first on the River *Darwent*, the second at *Episford*, wherin *Horfa* the Brother of *Hengist* fell, and on the *British* part *Catigern* the other Son of *Vortigern*. The third in a Feild by *Stonar*, then call'd *Lapis tituli*, in *Tanet*, where he beat them into thir Ships that bore them home, glad to have so escap'd, and not venturing to land again for five years after. In the space wherof *Guortemir* dying, commanded they should bury him in the Port of *Stonar*; perswaded that his Bones lying there would be terror enough to keep the *Saxons* from ever landing in that place: they, saith *Ninnius*, neglecting his command, buried him in *Lincoln*. But concerning these times, antientest Annals of the *Saxons* relate in this manner. In the year 455. *Hengist* and *Horfa* 455. Bede. Ethelwerd. Florent. Annal. Sax. fought against *Vortigern*, in a place call'd *Eglestbrip*, now *Ailsford* in *Kent*; where *Horfa* lost his Life, of whom *Horsted*, the place of his burial, took name.

After this first Battel and the Death of his Brother, *Hengist* with his Son *Esa* took on him Kingly Title, and peopl'd *Kent* with *Jutes*; who also then, or not long after possess'd the Ile of *Wight*, and part of *Hampshire* lying opposite. Two years after in a fight at *Creganford*, or *Craford*, *Hengist* and his Son slew of the *Britains* four chief Commanders, and as many thousand men; the rest in great disorder flying to *London*, with the total loss of *Kent*. 457. The Kingdom of Kent. And eight years passing between, he made new War on the *Britans*; of whom in a Battel at *Wippeds-fleet*, twelve Princes were slain, and *Wipped* the *Saxon* Earl, who left his name to that place, though not sufficient to direct us where it now stands. His last encounter was at a place not mention'd, where he gave them such an overthrow, that flying in great fear they left the spoil of all to thir Enemies. 465. And these perhaps are the four Battels, according to *Nennius*, fought by *Guortemir*, though by these Writers far differently related; and happen'g besides many other bickerings, in the space of 20 years, as *Malmsbury* reckon's. 473. Nennius. Nevertheless it plainly appears that the *Saxons*, by whomsoever, were put to hard shifts, being all this while fought withal in *Kent*, thir own allotted dwelling, and sometimes on the very edg of the Sea, which the word *Wippeds-fleet* seems to intimat. But *Guortemir* now dead, and none of Courage left to defend the Land, *Vortigern* either by the power of his Faction, or by consent of all, reassumes the Government: and *Hengist* thus rid of his grand opposer, hearing gladly the restoration of his old favourer, returns again with great Forces; but to *Vortigern* whom he well knew how to handle without warring, as to his Son in Law, now that the only Author of dissention between them was remov'd by Death, offers nothing but all terms of new League and Amity. The King both for his Wives sake and his own sottishness,

Malmf.

Min. ex le-
gend St. Ger.
Galfrid.
Mommouth.

Gildas. Bed.

Nenn.

477.
Sax. an.
Ethelw.
Florent.
485.
Florent.
Huntingd.489.
Malmf.
Bed. 1. 2.
c. 5.

492.

ness, consulting also with his Peers not unlike himself, readily yields; and the place of Parly is agreed on; to which either side was to repair without Weapons. *Hengist*, whose meaning was not Peace, but Treachery, appointed his men to be secretly arm'd, and acquainted them to what intent. The watch-word was, *Nemet eour Saxes*, that is, *Draw your Daggers*; which they observing, when the *Britans* were thoroughly heated with Wine (for the Treaty it seems was not without Cups) and provok'd, as was plotted, by some Af-front, dispatch'd with those Poniards every one his next man, to the number of 300, the chief of those that could do ought against him, either in Counsel or in Field. *Vortigern* they only bound and kept in Custody, until he granted them for his ransom three Provinces, which were called afterward *Essex*, *Sussex*, and *Middlesex*. Who thus dismiss'd, retiring again to his solitary abode in the Country of *Guorthigirniaun*, so call'd by his name, from thence to the Castle of his own building in *North-Wales*, by the River *Tiebi*; and living there obscurely among his Wives, was at length burnt in his Tower by Fire from Heav'n, at the Praier, as some say, of *German*, but that coheres not; as others, by *Ambrosius Aurelianus*; of whom as we have heard at first, he stood in great fear, and partly for that cause invited in the *Saxons*. Who whether by constraint, or of thir own accord after much mischief don, most of them returning back into thir own Country, left a fair opportunity to the *Britans* of avenging themselves easier on those that staid behind. Repenting therefore, and with earnest supplication imploring divine help to prevent thir final rooting out, they gather from all parts, and under the leading of *Ambrosius Aurelianus*, a vertuous and modest man, the last heer of the *Roman* Stock, advancing now onward against the late *Victors*, defeat them in a memorable Battel. Common opinion, but grounded chiefly on the *British* Fables, makes this *Ambrosius* to be a younger Son of that *Constantine*, whose eldest, as we heard, was *Constance* the Monk; who both lost thir Lives abroad usurping the Empire. But the exprefs words both of *Gildas* and *Bede*, assure us, that the Parents of this *Ambrosius* having heer born regal Dignity, were slain in these *Pidish* Wars and Commotions in the Iland. And if the fear of *Ambrose* induc'd *Vortigern* to call in the *Saxons*, it seems *Vortigern* usurp'd his Right. I perceave not that *Nennius* makes any difference between him and *Merlin*: for that Child without Father that propheci'd to *Vortigern*, he names not *Merlin*, but *Ambrose*, makes him the Son of a *Roman* Consul; but conceal'd by his Mother, as fearing that the King therefore sought his Life: yet the Youth no sooner had confess'd his Parentage, but *Vortigern* either in reward of his Predictions, or as his Right, bestow'd upon him all the West of *Britain*; himself retiring to a solitary Life. Whose ever Son he was, he was the first, according to surest Authors, that led against the *Saxons*, and overthrew them; but whether before this time or after, none have writt'n. This is certain, that in a time when most of the *Saxon* Forces were departed home, the *Britans* gather'd Strength; and either against those who were left remaining, or against thir whole Powers, the second time returning obtain'd this Victory. Thus *Ambrose* as chief Monarch of the Ile succeeded *Vortigern*; to whose third Son *Pascentius* he permitted the rule of two Regions in *Wales*, *Buchth*, and *Guorthigirniaun*. In his daies, saith *Nennius*, the *Saxons* prevail'd not much: against whom *Arthur*, as being then Chief General for the *British* Kings, made great War, but more renown'd in Songs and Romances, then in true stories. And the sequel it self declares as much. For in the year 477, *Ella* the *Saxon*, with his three Sons, *Cymen*, *Pleting*, and *Cissa*, at a place in *Sussex* call'd *Cymenshore*, arrive in three Ships, kill many of the *Britans*, chasing them that remain'd into the Wood *Andreds Leage*. Another Battel was fought at *Mercreds-Burnamsted*, wherein *Ella* had by far the Victory; but *Huntingdon* makes it so doubtful, that the *Saxons* were constrain'd to send home for supplies. Four year after dy'd *Hengist*, the first *Saxon* King of *Kent*; noted to have attain'd that Dignity by craft, as much as Valour, and giving scope to his own cruel nature, rather then proceeding by Mildness or Civility. His Son *Oeric* furnam'd *Oisc*, of whom the *Kentish* Kings were call'd *Oiscings*, succeeded him, and fate content with his Fathers winnings, more desirous to settle and defend, then to enlarge his Bounds: he reign'd 24 years. By this time *Ella* and his Son *Cissa*, beseiging *Andredesbester*, suppos'd

suppos'd now to be *Newenden* in *Kent*, take it by force, and all within it put to the Sword.

Thus *Ella* three years after the death of *Hengist*, began his Kingdom of the South-Saxons; peopling it with new Inhabitants, from the Country which was then old *Saxony*, at this day *Holstein* in *Denmark*, and had besides at his command all those Provinces which the *Saxons* had won on this side *Humber*. Animated with these good Successes, as if *Britain* were becom now the field of Fortune, *Kerdic* another *Saxon* Prince, the tenth by Linage from *Woden*, an old and practis'd Souldier, who in many prosperous Conflicts against the Enemy in those parts, had nurs'd up a Spirit too big to live at home with Equals, coming to a certain place which from thence took the name of *Kerdic-shoar*, with five Ships, and *Kenric* his Son, the very same day overthrew the *Britans* that oppos'd him; and so effectually, that smaller Skirmishes after that day were sufficient to drive them still further off, leaving him a large Territory. After him *Porta*, another *Saxon*, with his two Sons *Bida* and *Migla*, in two Ships arrive at *Portsmouth* thence call'd, and at thir landing slew a young *British* Nobleman, with many others who unadvisedly set upon them. The *Britans* to recover what they had lost, draw together all thir Forces led by *Natanleod*, or *Nazaleod*, a certain King in *Britain*, and the greatest faith one; but with him 5000 of his Men *Kerdic* puts to rout and slays. From whence the place in *Hants*hire, as far as *Kerdicsford*, now *Chardford*, was call'd of old *Nazaleod*. Who this King should be, hath bred much question; som think it to be the *British* name of *Ambrose*; others to be the right name of his Brother, who for the terror of his eagerness in fight, became more known by the Sirname of *Uther*, which in the Welch Tongue signifies Dreadful. And if ever such a King in *Britain* there were as *Uther Pendragon*, for so also the *Monmouth* Book surnames him, this in all likelihood must be he. *Kerdic* by so great a blow giv'n to the *Britans* had made large room about him; not only for the Men he brought with him, but for such also of his Friends, as he desir'd to make great; for which cause, and withal the more to strengthen himself, his two Nefews *Stuff* and *Withgar*, in three Vessels bring him new Levies to *Kerdic shoar*. Who that they might not come slyly to possess what others had won for them, either by thir own seeking, or by appointment, are set in place where they could not but at thir first coming give proof of themselves upon the Enemy: and so well they did it, that the *Britans* after a hard encounter left them Masters of the field. About the same time, *Ella* the first *South-Saxon* King dy'd; whom *Cissa* his youngest succeeded; the other two failing before him.

Nor can it be much more or less then about this time, for it was before the *West-Saxon* Kingdom, that *Uffa*, the 8th from *Woden*, made himself King of the *East-Angles*; who by thir name testifie the Country above mention'd; from whence they came in such multitudes, that thir native Soil is said to have remain'd in the days of *Beda* uninhabited. of thir coming in, to the ninth year of *Kerdic's* Reign: for, saith he, first many of them strove for Principality, seiling every one his Province, and for som while so continu'd making petty Wars among themselves; till in the end *Uffa*, of whom those Kings were call'd *Uffings*, over-top'd them all in the year 571, then *Titilus* his Son, the Father of *Redwald*, who became potent.

And not much after the *East-Angles*, began also the *East-Saxons* to erect a Kingdom under *Sleda* the tenth from *Woden*. But *Huntingdon*, as before, will have it later by 11 years, and *Erchenwin* to be the first King.

Kerdic the same in power, though not so fond of Title, forbore the name 24 Years after his arrival; but then founded so firmly the Kingdom of *West-Saxons*, that it subjected all the rest at length, and became the sole Monarchy of *England*. The same year he had a Victory against the *Britans* at *Kerdics Ford*, by the River *Aven*: and after eight years, another great fight at *Kerdics Leage*, but which won the day is not by any set down. Hitherto hath bin collected what there is of certainty with circumstance of time and place to be found register'd, and no more then barely register'd in Annals of best note; without describing after *Huntingdon* the manner of those Battels and Encounters, which they who compare, and can judg of Books, may be confident he

never found in any current Author whom he had to follow. But this Disease hath bin incident to many more Historians: and the Age wherof we now write, hath had the ill hap, more then any since the first fabulous times, to be furcharg'd with all the idle fancies of Posterity. Yet that we may not rely altogether on *Saxon* Relaters, *Gildas*, in Antiquity far before these, and every way more credible, speaks of these Wars in such a manner, though nothing conceited of the *British* Valour, as declares the *Saxons* in his time and before to have bin foil'd not seldomer then the *Britans*. For besides that first Victory of *Ambrose*, and the interchangeable Success long after, he tells that the last overthrow which they receav'd at *Badon Hill*, was not the least; which they in thir oldest Annals mention not at all. And because the time of this Battel, by any who could do more then guess, is not set down, or any Foundation giv'n from whence to draw a solid compute, it cannot be much wide to insert it in this place. For such Authors as we have to follow, give the Conduct and Praise of this Exploit to *Arthur*; and that this was the last of twelve great Battels which he fought victoriously against the *Saxons*. The several places writt'n by *Nennius* in thir Welch Names, were many hunder'd years ago unknown, and so here omitted. But who *Arthur* was, and whether ever any such reign'd in *Britain*, hath bin doubted hertofore, and may again with good reason. For the Monk of *Malmesbury*, and others whose Credit hath sway'd most with the learned fort, we may well perceave to have known no more of this *Arthur* 500 years past, nor of his doings, then we now living; and what they had to say, transcrib'd out of *Nennius*, a very trivial Writer yet extant, which hath already bin related; or out of a *British* Book, the same which he of *Monmouth* set forth, utterly unknown to the World, till more then 600 Years after the days of *Arthur*, of whom (as *Sigebert* in his Chronicle confesses) all other Histories were silent, both Foren and Domestic, except only that fabulous Book. Others of later time have sought to assert him by old Legends and Cathedral Regests. But he who can accept of Legends for good Story, may quickly swell a Volume with Trash, and had need be furnish'd with two only Necessaries, Leisure and Belief, whether it be the Writer, or he that shall read. As to *Arthur*, no less is in doubt who was his Father; for if it be true as *Nennius* or his Notist avers, that *Arthur* was call'd *Mab-Uther*, that is to say, a cruel Son, for the fierceness that Men saw in him of a Child, and the intent of his Name *Arturus* imports as much, it might well be that som in after Ages who sought to turn him into a Fable, wrested the word *Uther* into a proper Name, and so fain'd him the Son of *Uther*; since we read not in any certain Story, that ever such Person liv'd till *Geffry* of *Monmouth* set him off with the surname of *Pendragon*. And as we doubted of his Parentage, so may we also of his Puissance; for whether that Victory at *Badon Hill* were his or no, is uncertain; *Gildas* not naming him, as he did *Ambrose* in the former. Next, if it be true as *Caradoc* relates, that *Melwas* King of that Country which is now *Summerset*, kept from him *Gueniver* his Wife a whole Year in the Town of *Glaston*, and restor'd her at the entreaty of *Gildas*, rather then for any enforcment that *Artur* with all his Chivalry could make against a small Town defended only by a moory situation; had either his knowledg in War, or the force he had to make, bin answerable to the Fame they bear, that petty King had neither dar'd such an affront, nor he bin so long, and at last without effect, in revenging it. Considering lastly how the *Saxons* gain'd upon him every where all the time of his suppos'd Reign, which began, as som write, in the tenth year of *Kerdic*, who wrung from him by long War the Countries of *Summerset* and *Hamshire*; there will remain neither place nor circumstance in story, which may administer any likelihood of those great Acts that are ascrib'd him. This only is alledg'd by *Nennius* in *Artur's* behalf, that the *Saxons*, though vanquish'd never so oft, grew still more numerous upon him by continual Supplies out of *Germany*. And the truth is, that Valour may be over-toil'd, and overcome at last with endless overcoming. But as for this Battel of Mount *Badon* where the *Saxons* were hemm'd in, or besieg'd, whether by *Artur* won, or whensoever, it seems indeed to have giv'n a most undoubted and important blow to the *Saxons*, and to have stop'd thir proceedings for a good while after. *Gildas* himself witnessing that the *Britans* having thus compell'd them

Ninn.

Caradoc.
Llancarvon.
Vit. Gild.

Malmf. Anti-
quit. Glaston.
529.
Primord. p.
462.
Polychronic.
l. 5. c. 6.

to sit down with Peace, fell therupon to civil discord among themselves. Which words may seem to let in som light toward the searching out when this Battel was fought. And we shall find no time since the first Saxon War, from whence a longer Peace ensu'd, then from the fight at *Kerdic's Leage* in the year 527. which all the Chronicles mention, without Victory to *Kerdic*; and give us argument from the custom they have of magnifying thir own Deeds upon all occasions, to presume here his ill speeding. And if we look still onward, ev'n to the 44th year after, wherein *Gildas* wrote, if his obscure utterance be understood, we shall meet with very little War between the *Britans* and *Saxons*. This only remains difficult, that the Victory first *Gildas*, won by *Ambrose*, was not so long before this at *Badon* Siege, but that the same Men living might be eye-witnesses of both; and by this rate hardly can the latter be thought won by *Artur*, unless we reck'n him a grown youth at least in the days of *Ambrose*, and much more then a youth, if *Malmsbury* be heard, who affirms all the Exploits of *Ambrose* to have bin don chiefly by *Artur* as his General, which will add much Unbelief to the common Assertion of his reigning after *Ambrose* and *Uther*, especially the fight at *Badon*, being the last of his twelve Battels. But to prove by that which follows, that the fight at *Kerdic's Leage*, though it differ in name from that of *Badon*, may be thought the same by all effects; *Kerdic* three years after, not proceeding onward, as his manner was, on the Continent, turns back his Forces on the Ile of *Wight*; which with the slaying of a few only in *Withgarburgh*, he soon masters; and not long surviving, left it to his Nephews by the Mother's side, *Stuff* and *Withgar*: the rest of what he had subdu'd, *Kenric* his Son held; and reign'd 26 Years, in whose tenth Year *Withgar* was buried in the Town of that Iland which bore his Name. Notwithstanding all these unlikelihoods of *Artur's* Reign and great Achievments, in a Narration crept in I know not how among the Laws of *Edward the Confessor*, *Artur* the famous King of *Britans*, is said not only to have expell'd hence the *Saracens*, who were not then known in *Europe*, but to have conquer'd *Freeoland*, and all the North East Iles as far as *Russia*, to have made *Lapland* the Eastern bound of his Empire, and *Norway* the Chamber of *Britain*. When should this be don? from the *Saxons*, till after twelve Battels, he had no rest at home; after those, the *Britans* contented with the quiet they had from thir Saxon Enemies, were so far from seeking Conquests abroad, that, by report of *Gildas* above cited, they fell to civil Wars at home. Surely *Artur* much better had made War in old *Saxony*, to repress thir flowing hither, then to have won Kingdoms as far as *Russia*, scarce able here to defend his own. *Buchanan* our Neighbour Historian reprehends him of *Monmouth* and others for fabling in the Deeds of *Artur*; yet what he writes therof himself, as of better Credit, shews not whence he had but from those Fables; which he seems content to believe in part, on condition that the *Scots* and *Picts* may be thought to have assisted *Artur* in all his Wars, and Achievments; wherof appears as little ground by any credible Story, as of that which he most counts fabulous. But not further to contest about such Uncertainties.

In the Year 547, *Ida* the Saxon, sprung also from *Woden* in the tenth Degree, began the Kingdom of *Bernicia* in *Northumberland*; built the Town *Bebenburgh*, which was after wall'd; and had twelve Sons, half by Wives, and half by Concubines. *Hengist* by leave of *Vortigern*, we may remember, had sent *Octave* and *Ebissa* to seek them Seats in the North, and there by war-ring on the *Picts*, to secure the Southern parts. Which they so prudently effected, that what by Force and fair proceeding, they well quieted those Countries; and though so far distant from *Kent*, nor without Power in thir hands, yet kept themselves nigh 180 Years within moderation; and as inferior Governors, they and thir Off-spring gave obedience to the Kings of *Kent*, as to the elder Family. Till at length following the Example of that Age, when no less then Kingdoms were the prize of every fortunate Commander, they thought it but reason, as well as others of thir Nation, to assume Royalty. Of whom *Ida* was the first, a Man in the Prime of his Years, and of Parentage as we heard; but how he came to wear the Crown, aspiring or by free choice, is not said. Certain anough it is, that his Vertues made him not less noble then his Birth, in War undaunted, and unfoil'd; in Peace tem-

530.

Sax. an. omni.

534.

544.

547.

The Kingdom of
Northumber-
land.
Annal omni.
Bed. Epit.
Malmsb.

Malmsb.

552.
Annal omn.556.
Camden.560.
Annal.
Florent.

561.

Malmf.

Ann. omn.

568.

Gildas.

pering the aw of Magistracy, with a natural mildness he reign'd about 12 Years. In the mean while *Kenric* in a Fight at *Searesbirig*, now *Salisbury*, kill'd and put to flight many of the *Britans*; and the fourth Year after at *Beranvirig*, now *Banbury*, as som think, with *Keaulin* his Son put them again to flight. *Keaulin* shortly after succeeded his Father in the *West-Saxons*. And *Alla* descended also of *Woden*, but by another Line, set up a second Kingdom in *Deira*, the South part of *Northumberland*, and held it 30 Years; while *Ad-da*, the Son of *Ida*, and five more after him reign'd without other memory in *Bernicia*: And in *Kent*, *Ethelbert* the next Year began. For *Esea* the Son of *Hengist* had left *Otha*, and he *Emeric* to rule after him; both which, without adding to thir Bounds, kept what they had in Peace 53 Years. But *Ethelbert* in length of reign equal'd both his Progenitors, and as *Beda* counts, three Years exceeded. Young at his first entrance, and unexperienc'd, he was the first raiser of Civil War among the *Saxons*; claiming from the priority of time wherein *Hengist* took possession here, a kind of Right over the later Kingdoms; and therupon was troublesom to thir Confines: but by them twice defeated, he who but now thought to seem dreadful, became almost contemptible. For *Keaulin* and *Cutha* his Son, persuing him into his own Territory, slew there in Battel, at *Wibbandun*, two of his Earls, *Oslac* and *Onebban*. By this means the *Britans*, but chiefly by this Victory at *Badon*, for the space of 44 Years, ending in 571, receiv'd no great Annoyance from the *Saxons*: But the Peace they enjoy'd, by ill using it, prov'd more destructive to them then War. For being rais'd on a sudden by two such eminent Successes, from the lowest condition of Thralldom, they whose Eyes had beheld both those Deliverances, that by *Ambrose*, and this at *Badon*, were taught by the experience of either Fortune, both Kings, Magistrates, Priests, and privat Men, to live orderly. But when the next Age, unacquainted with past Evils, and only sensible of thir present ease and quiet, succeeded, strait follow'd the apparent subversion of all Truth, and Justice, in the minds of most Men: scarce the least footstep, or impresson of Goodness left remaining through all Ranks and Degrees in the Land; except in som so very few, as to be hardly visible in a general Corruption: which grew in short space not only manifest, but odious to all the Neighbour Nations. And first thir Kings, among whom also the Sons or Grand-children of *Ambrose*, were foully degenerated to all Tyranny and vitious Life. Wherof to hear some Particulars out of *Gildas*, will not be impertinent. They avenge, saith he, and they protect; not the Innocent, but the Guilty: They swear oft, but perjure; they wage War, but civil and unjust War. They punish rigorously them that rob by the High-way; but those grand Robbers that sit with them at Table, they honour and reward. They give Alms largely, but in the face of thir Alms-deeds, pile up Wickedness to a far higher heap. They sit in the Seat of Judgment, but go seldom by the Rule of Right; neglecting and proudly overlooking the modest and harmless, but countenancing the audacious, though guilty of abominablest Crimes; they stuff thir Prisons, but with Men committed rather by Circumvention, then any just Cause. Nothing better were the Clergy, but at the same pass, or rather worse then when the *Saxons* came first in; unlearned, unapprehensive, yet impudent; suttle Prowlers, Pastors in Name, but indeed Wolves; intent upon all occasions, not to feed the Flock, but to pamper and well-line themselves: not call'd, but seising on the Minstry as a Trade, not as a spiritual Charge: teaching the People, not by sound Doctrin, but by evil Example: usurping the Chair of *Peter*, but through the blindness of thir own worldly Lusts, they stumble upon the Seat of *Judas*: deadly haters of Truth, broachers of Lies: looking on the poor Christian with eyes of Pride and Contempt; but fawning on the wickedest rich Men without shame: great promoters of other mens Alms, with thir set Exhortations; but themselves contributing ever least: slightly touching the many Vices of the Age, but preaching without end thir own Grievances, as don to Christ; seeking after Preferments and Degrees in the Church, more then after Heav'n; and so gain'd, make it thir whole study how to keep them by any Tyranny. Yet lest they should be thought things of no use in thir eminent Places, they have thir Niceties and trivial Points to keep in aw the superstitious Multitude; but in true saving Knowledg leave them still

still as gross and stupid as themselves; bunglers at the Scripture, nay, forbidding and silencing them that know; but in worldly Matters, practis'd and cunning Shifters; in that only Art and Symony, great Clercs and Masters, bearing thir heads high, but thir thoughts abject and low. He taxes them also as gluttonous, incontinent, and daily Drunkards. And what shouldst thou expect from these, poor Laity, so he goes on, these Beasts, all Belly? Shall these amend thee, who are themselves laborious in evil doings? Shalt thou see with thir Eyes, who see right forward nothing but Gain? Leave them rather, as bids our Saviour, lest ye fall both blindfold into the same Perdition. Are all thus? Perhaps not all, or not so grossly. But what avail'd it *Eli* to be himself blameless, while he conniv'd at others that were abominable? Who of them hath been envi'd for his better Life? who of them hath hated to consort with these, or withstood thir entring the Ministry, or endeavour'd zealously thir casting out? Yet som of these perhaps by others are legended for great Saints. This was the state of Government, this of Religion among the *Britans*, in that long calm of Peace, which the fight at *Badon-Hill* had brought forth. Wherby it came to pass, that so fair a Victory came to nothing. Towns and Cities were not reinhabited, but lay ruin'd and wast; nor was it long ere Domestic War breaking out, wasted them more. For *Britain*, as at other times, had then also several Kings: Five of whom *Gildas*, Primord. living then in *Armorica* at a safe distance, boldly reproves by name; First *Constantine* (fabl'd the Son of *Cador*, Duke of *Cornwal*, *Arturs* half Brother by the Mother's side) who then reign'd in *Cornwal* and *Devon*, a Tyrannical and Bloody King, polluted also with many Adulteries: He got into his Power two young Princes of the Blood Royal, uncertain whether before him in right, or otherwise suspected; and after solemn Oath giv'n of thir Safety the Year that *Gildas* wrote, slew them with thir two Governors in the Church, and in thir Mother's Arms, through the Abbot's Coap which he had thrown over them, thinking by the reverence of his Vesture to have withheld the Murderer. These are commonly suppos'd to be the Sons of *Mordred*, *Arturs* Nefew, said to have revolted from his Uncle, giv'n him in a Battel his Death's Wound, and by him after to have bin slain. Which things were they true, would much diminish the blame of Cruelty in *Constantine*, revenging *Artur* on the Sons of so false a *Mordred*. In another part, but not express'd where, *Aurelius Conan* was King: him he charges also with Adulteries, and Parricide; Cruelties wors then the former; to be a hater of his Country's Peace, thirsting after Civil War and Prey. His Condition it seems was not very prosperous, for *Gildas* wishes him, being now left alone, like a Tree withering in the midst of a barren Field, to remember the Vanity and Arrogance of his Father, and elder Brethren, who came all to untimely Death in thir Youth. The third reigning in *Demetia*, or *South Wales*, was *Vortipor*, the Son of a good Father; he was, when *Gildas* wrote, grown old, not in Years only, but in Adulteries; and in governing, full of Falshood and cruel Actions. In his latter days, putting away his Wife, who di'd in Divorce, he became, if we mistake not *Gildas*, incestuous with his Daughter. The fourth was *Cuneglas*, imbru'd in Civil War; he also had divorc'd his Wife, and tak'n her Sister, who had vow'd Widowhood: he was a great Enemy to the Clergy, high-minded, and trusting to his Wealth. The last, but greatest of all in Power, was *Maglocune*, and greatest also in Wickedness: he had driven out, or slain, many other Kings or Tyrants, and was call'd the *Island Dragon*, perhaps having his Seat in *Anglesey*; a profuse Giver, a great Warrior, and of a goodly Stature. While he was yet young, he overthrew his Uncle, though in the head of a compleat Army, and took from him the Kingdom: Then touch't with remorse of his doings, not without deliberation, took upon him the profession of a Monk; but soon forsook his Vow, and his Wife also; which for that Vow he had left, making Love to the Wife of his Brother's Son then living. Who not refusing the Offer, if she were not rather the first that entic'd, found means both to dispatch her own Husband, and the former Wife of *Maglocune*, to make her Marriage with him the more unquestionable. Neither did he this for want of better Instructions, having had the learnedest and wisest Man reputed of all *Britain*, the instituter of his Youth. Thus

much,

571.
Camden.
Annal. omn.

577.

584.

Huntingd.

The Kingdom
of Mercia.
Huntingd.
Matt. Westm.

Malmsb. l. 1.
c. 3.

Florent. ad
ann.

559.

588.
Annal. omn.

592.
Florent.
Bed. l. 2. c. 3.
Malmf.
Florent.
Sax. an.

593.

much, the utmost that can be learnt by truer Story, of what past among the *Britains* from the time of thir useles Victory at *Badon*, to the time that *Gildas* wrote, that is to say, as may be guess't, from 527 to 571, is here set down altogether; not to be reduc't under any certainty of Years. But now the *Saxons*, who for the most part all this while had bin still, unless among themselves, began afresh to assault them, and ere long to drive them out of all which they yet maintain'd on this side *Wales*. For *Cuthulf* the Brother of *Keaulin*, by a Victory obtain'd at *Bedanford*, now *Bedford*, took from them four good Towns, *Liganburgh*, *Eglesburb*, *Besington*, now *Benson* in *Oxfordshire*, and *Ignesham*; but outliv'd not many months his good Succes. And after six Years more, *Keaulin*, and *Cuthwin* his Son, gave them a great overthrow at *Deorrbam* in *Glostershire*, slew three of thir Kings, *Comail*, *Condidan*, and *Farinmaile*; and took three of thir chief Cities, *Glocester*, *Cirencester*, and *Badencester*. The *Britans* notwithstanding, after some space of time, judging to have out-grown thir Losles, gather to a head, and encounter *Keaulin* with *Cutha* his Son, at *Fethanleage*; whom valiantly fighting, they slew among the thickest, and, as is said, forc'd the *Saxons* to retire. But *Keaulin* reinforcing the Fight, put them to a main rout; and following his Advantage, took many Towns, and return'd laden with rich Booty.

The last of those *Saxons* who rais'd thir own Achievments to a Monarchy, was *Crida*, much about this time, first founder of the *Mercian* Kingdom, drawing also his Pedigree from *Woden*. Of whom all to write the severall Genealogies, though it might be don without long search, were, in my opinion, to encumber the Story with a fort of barbarous Names, to little purpose. This may suffice, that of *Wodens* three Sons, from the eldest issu'd *Hengist*, and his Succession; from the second, the Kings of *Mercia*; from the third, all that reign'd in *West-Saxon*, and most of the *Northumbers*, of whom *Alla* was one, the first King of *Deira*; which, after his Death, the Race of *Ida* seiz'd, and made it one Kingdom with *Bernicia*, usurping on the Childhood of *Edwin*, *Alla's* Son: Whom *Ethelric* the Son of *Ida* expel'd. Notwithstanding others write of him, that from a poor Life, and beyond hope in his old Age, coming to the Crown, he could hardly, by the Access of a Kingdom, have overcom his former obscurity, had not the Fame of his Son preserv'd him. Once more the *Britans*, ere they quitted all on this side the Mountains, forgot not to shew some Manhood: for meeting *Keaulin* at *Woden's* Beorth, that is to say, *Woden's* Mount in *Wiltshire*; whether it were by thir own Forces, or assisted by the *Angles*, whose hatred *Keaulin* had incur'd, they ruin'd his whole Army, and chas'd him out of his Kingdom; from whence flying, he did the next Year in Poverty, who a little before was the most potent, and indeed sole King of all the *Saxons* on this side *Humber*. But who was chief among the *Britans* in this Exploit, had bin worth remembering, whether it were *Maglocune*, of whose Prowess hath bin spok'n, or *Teudric* King of *Glamorgan*, whom the Regest of *Landaff* recounts to have bin always victorious in fight; to have reign'd about this time, and at length to have exchange'd his Crown for a Hermitage; till in the Aid of his Son *Mauric*, whom the *Saxons* had reduc'd to extremes, taking Arms again, he defeated them at *Tinterne* by the River *Wye*; but himself receiv'd a mortal Wound. The same Year with *Keaulin*, whom *Keola* the Son of *Cuthulf*, *Keaulin's* Brother, succeeded, *Crida* also the *Mercian* King deceas'd, in whose room *Wibba* succeeded; and in *Northumberland*, *Ethelfrid*, in the room of *Ethelric*, reigning 24 Years. Thus omitting Fables, we have the view of what with reason can be rely'd on for truth, don in *Britain* since the *Romans* forsook it. Wherin we have heard the many Miseries and Desolations brought by Divine Hand on a perverse Nation; driv'n, when nothing else would reform them, out of a fair Country, into a mountanous and barren Corner, by Strangers and Pagans. So much more tolerable in the Eye of Heav'n is Infidelity profest, then Christian Faith and Religion dishonour'd by unchristian Works. Yet they also at length renounc'd thir Heathenism; which how it came to pass, will be the Matter next related.

The End of the third Book.

T H E

THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

The Fourth Book.

THE Saxons grown up now to seven absolute Kingdoms, and the latest of them establish'd by Succession, finding thir Power arrive well nigh at the utmost of what was to be gain'd upon the Britans, and as little fearing to be displanted by them, had time now to survey at leasure one anothers Greatness. Which quickly bred among them either Envy or mutual Jealousies; till the West Kingdom at length grown over powerful, put an end to all the rest. Mean while, above others, *Ethelbert* of *Kent*, who by this time had well rip'nd his young Ambition, with more Ability of Years and Experience in War, what before he attempted to his Loss, now successfully attains; and by degrees brought all the other Monarchies between *Kent* and *Humber* to be at his devotion. To which design the Kingdom of *West-Saxons*, being the firmest of them all, at that time sore shak'n by thir overthrow at *Wodens-beorth*, and the Death of *Keaulin*, gave him no doubt a main Advantage; the rest yeilded not Subjection, but as he earn'd it by continual Victories. And to win him the more regard abroad, he marries *Bertha* the French King's Daughter, though a Christian, and with this condition, to have the free exercise of her Faith, under the Care and Instruction of *Letardus* a Bishop, sent by her Parents along with her; the King notwithstanding and his People retaining thir own Religion. *Beda* out of *Gildas* lays it sadly to the Britans charge, that they never would voutsafe thir Saxon Neighbours the means of Conversion: but how far to blame they were, and what hope there was of converting in the midst of so much Hostility, at least Falshood, from thir first Arrival, is not now easy to determin. Howbeit not long after they had the Christian Faith preach'd to them by a Nation more remote, and (as a Report went, accounted old in *Beda's* time) upon this occasion.

The *Northumbrians* had a Custom at that time, and many hunder'd years after not abolish't, to sell thir Children for a small value into any foren Land. Of which number two comly Youths were brought to *Rome*, whose fair and honest Countnances invited *Gregory* Arch-deacon of that City, among others that beheld them, pitying thir condition, to demand whence they were; it was answer'd by som who stood by, that they were *Angli* of the Province *Deira*, Subjects to *Alla* King of *Northumberland*, and by Religion Pagans. Which last *Gregory* deploring, fram'd on a sudden this allusion to the three names he heard; that the *Angli* so like to Angels should be snatch't *de ira*, that is, from the Wrath of God, to sing *Hallelujah*: and forthwith obtaining License of *Benedict* the Pope, had com and preach't heer among them, had not the *Roman* People, whose Love endur'd not the Absence of so vigilant a Pastor over them, recal'd him then on his Journey, though but defer'd his pious Intention. For a while after, succeeding in the Papal Seat, and now in his fourth Year, admonish'd, saith *Beda*, by divine Instinct, he sent *Augustine*, whom he had

597.

design'd for Bishop of the *English* Nation, and other zealous Monks with him, to preach to them the Gospel. Who being now on thir way, discourag'd by som Reports, or thir own carnal Fear, sent back *Austin*, in the name of all, to beseech *Gregory* they might return home, and not be sent a Journey so full of hazard, to a fierce and infidel Nation, whose Tongue they understood not. *Gregory* with pious and Apostolic Perswasions exhorts them not to shrink back from so good a Work, but cheerfully to go on in the Strength of Divine Assistance. The Letter it self yet extant among our Writers of Ecclesiastic Story, I omit here, as not professing to relate of those Matters more then what mixes aptly with civil Affairs. The Abbot *Austin*, for so he was ordain'd over the rest, reincourag'd by the Exhortations of *Gregory*, and his Fellows by the Letter which he brought them, came safe to the Ile of *Tanet*, in number about 40, besides som of the French Nation whom they took along as Interpreters. *Ethelbert* the King, to whom *Austin* at his Landing had sent a new and wondrous Messlage, that he came from *Rome* to profer Heav'n and eternal Happinefs in the knowledg of another God then the *Saxons* knew, appoints them to remain where they landed, and Necessaries to be provided them, consulting in the mean time what was to be done. And after certain days coming into the Iland, chose a place to meet them under the open Sky, possess'd with an old perswasion, that all Spels, if they should use any to deceive him, so it were not within doors, would be unavailable. They on the other side call'd to his presence, advancing for thir Standard a Silver Cross, and the painted Image of our Saviour, came slowly forward, singing thir solemn Litanies: which wrought in *Ethelbert* more suspicion perhaps that they us'd Enchantments; till sitting down as the King will'd them, they there preach'd to him, and all in that Assembly, the tidings of Salvation. Whom having heard attentively, the King thus answer'd: Fair indeed and ample are the Promises which ye bring, and such things as have the appearance in them of much good; yet such as being new and uncertain, I cannot hastily assent to, quitting the Religion which from my Ancestors, with all the *English* Nation, so many years I have retain'd. Nevertheless because ye are Strangers; and have endur'd so long a Journey, to impart us the knowledg of things, which I perswade me you believe to be the truest and the best, ye may be sure we shall not recompence you with any Molestation, but shall provide rather how we may friendliest entertain ye; nor do we forbid whom ye can by preaching gain to your Belief. And accordingly thir Residence he allotted them in *Doroverne* or *Canturbury* his chief City, and made provision for thir maintenance, with free leave to preach thir Doctrin where they pleased. By which, and by the example of thir holy Life, spent in Prayer, Fasting, and continual Labour in the Conversion of Souls, they won many; on whose Bounty and the King's, receiving only what was necessary, they subsisted. There stood without the City, on the East-side, an ancient Church built in honour of *St. Martin*, while yet the *Romans* remain'd heer: in which *Bertha* the Queen went out usually to pray: Heer they also began first to preach, baptize, and openly to exercise Divine Worship. But when the King himself, convinc't by thir good Life and Miracles, became Christian, and was baptized, which came to pass in the very first Year of thir Arrival, then multitudes daily, conforming to thir Prince, thought it honour to be reckon'd among those of his Faith. To whom *Ethelbert* indeed principally shewed his Favour, but compell'd none. For so he had bin taught by them who were both the Instructors and the Authors of his Faith, that Christian Religion ought to be voluntary, not compell'd. About this time *Kelwulf* the Son of *Cutha*, *Keaulins* Brother, reign'd over the *West-Saxons*, after his Brother *Keola* or *Kelric*, and had continual War either with *English*, *Welch*, *Picts*, or *Scots*. But *Austin*, whom

Bed. l. 2. c. 5.

Sax. an. Malmf.

601.

Bed. l. 1. c. 27.

with his Fellows, *Ethelbert* now had endow'd with a better place for thir Abode in the City, and other Possessions necessary to Livelihood, crossing into *France*, was by the Archbishop of *Arles*, at the Appointment of Pope *Gregory*, ordain'd Archbishop of the *English*; and returning, sent to *Rome* *Laurence* and *Peter*, two of his Associates, to acquaint the Pope of his good Success in *England*, and to be resolv'd of certain Theological, or rather Levitical Questions: with Answers to which, not proper in this place, *Gregory* sends also to the great Work of Converting, that went on so happily, a Supply of Labourers,

bourers, *Mellitus*, *Justus*, *Paulinus*, *Rufinian*, and many others; who what they were, may be guess't by the stuff which they brought with them, Vessels and Vestments for the Altar, Coaps, Reliques, and for the Archbishop *Austin* a Pall to say Mass in: to such a rank Superstition that Age was grown; though som of them yet retaining an Emulation of Apostolic Zeal. Lastly, to *Ethelbert* they brought a Letter with many Presents. *Austin* thus exalted to Archiepiscopal Authority, recover'd from the Ruins and other profane Uses, a Christian Church in *Canturbury* built of old by the *Romans*, which he dedicated by the name of Christ's Church, and joyning to it built a seat for himself and his Successors; a Monastery also neer the City Eastward, where *Ethelbert* at his Motion built *St. Peters*, and enrich'd it with great Endowments, to be a place of Burial for the Archbishops and Kings of *Kent*: so quickly they step'd up into Fellowship of Pomp with Kings. While thus *Ethelbert* and his People had thir Minds intent, *Ethelfrid* the *Northumbrian* King was not less busied in far different Affairs: for being altogether warlike, and covetous of Fame, he more wasted the *Britans* than any *Saxon* King before him; winning from them large Territories, which either he made tributary, or planted with his own Subjects. Whence *Edan* King of those *Scots* that dwell in *Britain*, jealous of his Successes, came against him with a mighty Army, to a place call'd *Degsastan*; but in the fight losing most of his Men, himself with a few escap'd: only *Theobald* the King's Brother, and the whole Wing which he commanded, unfortunately cut off, made the Victory to *Ethelfrid* less intire. Yet from that time no King of *Scots* in hostile manner durst pass into *Britain* for a hunderd and more Years after: and what som Years before *Kelwulf* the *West-Saxon* is annal'd to have don against the *Scots* and *Picts*, passing through the Land of *Ethelfrid* a King so potent, unless in his Aid and Alliance, is not likely. *Buchanan* writes as if *Ethelfrid*, assisted by *Keaulin* whom he mistitles King of *East-Saxons*, had before this time a Battel with *Aidan*, wherein *Cutha* *Keaulin's* Son was slain. But *Cutha*, as is above-written from better Authority, was slain in fight against the *Welch* 20 years before. The number of Christians began now to increase so fast, that *Augustin* ordaining Bishops under him, two of his Assistants *Mellitus* and *Justus* sent them out both to the Work of thir Ministry. And *Mellitus* by preaching converted the *Edst-Saxons*, over whom *Sebert* the Son of *Sleda*, by permission of *Ethelbert*, being born of his Sister *Ricula*, then reign'd. Whose Conversion *Ethelbert* to gratulate, built them the great Church of *St. Paul* in *London* to be thir Bishop's Cathedral; as *Justus* also had his built at *Rocheſter*, and both gifted by the same King with fair Possessions. Hitherto *Austin* labour'd well among Infidels, but not with like Commendation-soon after among Christians. For by means of *Ethelbert* summoning the *Britan* Bishops to a place on the edg of *Worcestershire*, call'd from that time *Augustin's Oke*, he requires them to conform with him in the same day of celebrating *Easter*, and many other points wherein they differ'd from the Rites of *Rome*: which when they refus'd to do, not prevailing by Dispute, he appeals to a Miracle, restoring to sight a blind Man whom the *Britans* could not cure. At this somthing mov'd, though not minded to recede from thir own Opinions without further Consultation, they request a second meeting: to which came seven *Britan* Bishops, with many other lerned Men, especially from the famous Monastery of *Bangor*, in which were said to be so many Monks, living all by thir own Labour, that being divided under seven Rectors, none had fewer then 300. One Man there was who staid behind, a Hermit by the Life he led, who by his Wisdom effected more then all the rest who went: being demanded, for they held him as an Oracle, how they might know *Austin* to be a Man from God, that they might follow him, he answer'd, that if they found him meek and humble, they should be taught by him, for it was likeliest to be the Yoke of Christ, both what he bore himself, and would have them bear; but if he bore himself proudly, that they should not regard him, for he was then certainly not of God. They took his Advice, and hasted to the place of meeting. Whom *Austin*, being already there before them, neither arose to meet, nor receiv'd in any brotherly sort, but sat all the while pontifically in his Chair. Wherat the *Britans*, as they were counsel'd by the holy Man, neglected him, and neither harkn'd to his Proposals of Conformity, nor would acknowledg him for an Archbishop:

Spelman. Con-
cil. p. 108.

Sax. an.
Huntingd.
607.

Malmf. gest.
pont. l. 1.
Sax. an.

611.

Sax. an. Malmf.

614.

Camd.

616.

Sax. an.

Malmf.

And in name of the rest, *Dinotus*, then Abbot of *Bangor*, is said thus sagely to have answer'd him. As to the Subjection which you require, be thus perswaded of us, that in the bond of Love and Charity we are all Subjects and Servants to the Church of God, yea to the Pope of *Rome*, and every good Christian to help them forward, both by Word and Deed, to be the Children of God : other Obedience then this we know not to be due to him whom you term the Pope ; and this Obedience we are ready to give both to him and to every Christian continually. Besides, we are govern'd under God by the Bishop of *Caerleon*, who is to oversee us in spiritual Matters. To which *Austin* thus presaging, som say menacing, replies, Since ye refuse to accept of Peace with your Brethren, ye shall have War from your Enemies ; and since ye will not with us preach the Word of Life to whom ye ought, from thir hands ye shall receive Death. This, though Writers agree not whether *Austin* spake it as his Prophecy, or as his Plot against the *Britans*, fell out accordingly. For many years were not past, when *Ethelfrid*, whether of his own accord, or at the request of *Ethelbert*, incens'd by *Austin*, with a powerful Host came to *Westcheester*, then *Caer-legion*. Where being met by the *British* Forces, and both sides in readines to give the onset, he discerns a Company of Men, not habited for War, standing together in a place of som Safety ; and by them a Squadron arm'd. Whom having learnt upon som enquiry to be Priests and Monks, assembl'd thither after three days fasting, to pray for the good Success of thir Forces against him, therefore they first, saith he, shall feel our Swords ; for they who pray against us, fight heaviest against us by thir Prayers, and are our dangerourest Enemies. And with that turns his first Charge upon the Monks : *Brocmail* the Captain set to guard them, quickly turns his back, and leaves above 1200 Monks to a sudden Massacer, wherof scarce fifty escap'd. But not so easy work found *Ethelfrid* against another part of *Britans* that stood in arms, whom though at last he overthrew, yet with Slaughter nigh as great to his own Souldiers. To excuse *Austin* of this Bloodshed, lest som might think it his revengeful Policy, *Beda* writes that he was dead long before, although if the time of his sitting Archbishop be right computed sixteen years, he must survive this Action. Other just ground of charging him with this Imputation appears not, save what evidently we have from *Geffry Monmouth*, whose weight we know. The same year *Kelmulf* made War on the *South-Saxons*, bloody, saith *Huntingdon*, to both sides, but most to them of the *South* : and four years after dying, left the Government of *West-Saxons* to *Kinegils* and *Cuicelm*, the Sons of his Brother *Keola*. Others, as *Florent* of *Worster*, and *Matthew* of *Westminster*, will have *Cuicelm* Son of *Kinegils*, but admitted to reign with his Father, in whose third year they are recorded with joynt Forces or Conduct to have fought against the *Britans* in *Beandune*, now *Bindon* in *Dorsetshire*, and to have slain of them above two thousand. More memorable was the second year following, by the Death of *Ethelbert* the first Christian King of *Saxons*, and no less a Favourer of all Civility in that rude Age. He gave Laws and Statutes after the example of *Roman* Emperors, written with the Advice of his sagest Counsellors, but in the *English* Tongue, and observ'd long after. Wherin his special care was to punish those who had stoln ought from Church or Churchman, thereby shewing how gratefully he receiv'd at thir hands the Christian Faith, Which, he no sooner dead, but his Son *Eadbald* took the Course as fast to extinguish ; not only falling back to Heathenism, but that which Heathenism was wont to abhor, marrying his Father's second Wife. Then soon was perceiv'd what multitudes for fear or countenance of the King had profess't Christianity, returning now as eagerly to thir old Religion. Nor staid the Apostacy within one Province, but quickly spread over to the *East-Saxons* ; occasion'd there likewise, or set forward by the Death of thir Christian King *Sebert* : whose three Sons, of whom two are nam'd *Sexted* and *Seward*, neither in his life-time would be brought to Baptism, and after his Decease re-establish'd the free Exercise of Idolatry ; nor so content, they set themselves in despight to do som op'n Profanation against the other Sacrament. Coming therefore into the Church where *Mellitus* the Bishop was ministring, they requir'd him in abuse and scorn to deliver to them unbaptiz'd the consecrated Bread ; and him refusing, drove disgracefully out of thir Dominion. Who cross'd forthwith into

into *Kent*, where things were in the same plight, and thence into *France*, with *Justus* Bishop of *Rocheſter*. But Divine Vengeance defer'd not long the Punishment of men ſo impious; for *Eadbald*, vext with an evil Spirit, fell oft'n into foul fits of Diſtraction; and the Sons of *Sebert*, in a Fight againſt the *West-Saxons*, periſh'd with thir whole Army. But *Eadbald*, within the year, by an extraordinary means became penitent. For when *Laurence* the Archbiſhop and Succeſſor of *Auſtin* was preparing to ſhip for *France*, after *Justus* and *Mellitus*, the ſtory goes, if it be worth beleev'g, that St. *Peter*, in whoſe Church he ſpent the Night before in watching and praying, appear'd to him, and to make the Viſion more ſenſible, gave him many ſtripes for offering to deſert his Flock; at ſight wherof the King (to whom next Morning he ſhew'd the marks of what he had ſuffer'd, by whom and for what cauſe) relenting and in great fear, diſſolv'd his inceſtuous marriage, and appli'd himſelf to the Chriſtian Faith more ſincerely then before, with all his People. But the *Londoners* addicted ſtill to Paganism, would not be perſwaded to receive again' *Mellitus* thir Biſhop, and to compel them was not in his power. Thus much through all the South was troubl'd in Religion, as much were the North parts diſquieted through Ambition. For *Ethelfrid* of *Bernicia*, as was touch't before, having thrown *Edwin* out of *Deira*, and join'd that Kingdom to his own, not content to have bereav'd him of his Right, whoſe known virtues and high parts gave cauſe of ſuſpicion to his Enemies, ſends Meſſengers to demand him of *Redwald* King of *East-Angles*; under whoſe Protection, after many years wandring obſcurely through all the Iland, he had plac'd his ſafety. *Redwald*, though having promis'd all defence to *Edwin* as to his ſuppliant, yet tempted with continual and large offers of Gold, and not contemning the puiſſance of *Ethelfrid*, yeilded at length, either to diſpatch him, or to give him into thir hands: but earneſtly exhorted by his Wife, not to betray the Faith and inviolable Law of Hoſpitality and Refuge giv'n, prefers his firſt Malmſb. l. 1. c. 2. promiſe as the more Religious; nor only refuſes to deliver him, but ſince War was therupon denounc't, determin's to be beforehand with the danger; and with a ſudden Army rais'd, ſurpriſes *Ethelfrid*, little dreaming an Invalidon, and in a Fight near to the Eaſt-side of the River *Idle*, on the *Mercian* border, now *Nottinghamſhire*, ſlaies him, diſſipating eaſily thoſe few Forces which Camden. he had got to march out over-haſtily with him; who yet as a teſtimony of his Fortune, not his Valour to be blam'd, ſlew firſt with his own hands, *Reiner* the Kings Son. His two Sons *Oſwald*, and *Oſwi*, by *Acca*, *Edwin's* Siſter, eſcap'd into *Scotland*. By this Victory, *Redwald* became ſo far ſuperior to the other *Saxon* Kings, that *Beda* reck'ns him the next after *Ella* and *Ethelbert*; who beſides this Conqueſt of the North, had likewise all on the hitherſide *Humber* at his obedience. He had formerly in *Kent* receav'd Baptiſm, but Eed. l. 2. c. 13. coming home and perſwaded by his Wife, who ſtill it ſeems was his chief Counſellor to good or bad alike, relaps'd into his old Religion: yet not willing to forgo his new, thought it not the worſt way, leſt perhaps he might err in either, for more aſſurance to keep them both; and in the ſame Temple erected one Altar to Chriſt, another to his Idols. But *Edwin*, as with more deliberation he undertook, and with more ſincerity retain'd the Chriſtian Profeſſion, ſo alſo in Power and extent of Dominion far exceeded all before him; ſubduing all, ſaith *Beda*, Engliſh or Britiſh, ev'n to the Iles, then call'd *Me-
vanian*, *Angleſey*, and *Man*; ſetl'd in his Kingdom by *Redwald*, he ſought in marriage *Edelburga*, whom others call *Tate*, the Daughter of *Ethelbert*. To whoſe Embaſſadors, *Eadbald* her Brother made anſwer, that to wed thir Daughter to a Pagan, was not the Chriſtian Law. *Edwin* repli'd, that to her Religion he would be no hindrance, which with her whole Houſhold ſhe might freely exerciſe. And moreover, that if examin'd it were found the better, he would imbrace it. Theſe ingenuous offers, op'ning ſo fair a way to the advancement of Truth, are accepted, and *Paulinus* as a ſpiritual Guardian ſent 625. along with the Virgin. He being to that purpoſe made Biſhop by *Justus*, omitted no occaſion to plant the Goſpel in thoſe parts, but with ſmall ſucceſs, till the next year, *Cuthelm*, at that time one of the two *West-Saxon* Kings, 626. envious of the greatneſs which he ſaw *Edwin* growing up to, ſent privily *Eumerus* a hir'd Sword-man to aſſaſſin him; who under pretence of doing a Meſſage from his Maſter, with a poiſon'd Weapon, ſtabs at *Edwin*, conferring with

with him in his House, by the River *Derwent* in *Yorkshire*, on an Easter-day; which *Lilla* one of the Kings Attendants, at the instant perceiving, with a Loyalty that stood not then to deliberate, abandon'd his whole Body to the blow; which notwithstanding made passage through to the Kings Person, with a wound not to be slighted. The murderer encompass'd now with Swords, and desperate, fore-revenges his own fall with the Death of another, whom his *Poniard* reach'd home. *Paulinus* omitting no opportunity to win the King from misbeleef, obtain'd at length this promise from him; that if Christ, whom he so magnifi'd, would give him to recover of his wound, and victory of his Enemies who had thus assaulted him, he would then become Christian, in pledg wherof he gave his young Daughter *Eanfled* to be bred up in Religion; who with 12 others of his Family, on the day of *Pentecost* was baptiz'd. And by that time well recover'd of his wound, to punish the Authors of so foul a Fact, he went with an Army against the *West-Saxons*: whom having quell'd by War, and of such as had conspir'd against him, put som to Death, others pardon'd, he return'd home victorious, and from that time worship'd no more his Idols, yet ventur'd not rashly into Baptism, but first took care to be instructed rightly what he learnt, examining and still considering with himself and others, whom he held wisest; though *Boniface* the Pope, by large Letters of Exhortation, both to him and his Queen, was not wanting to quicken his beleef. But while he still defer'd, and his deferring might seem now to have past the maturity of Wisdom to a faulty lingring, *Paulinus* by Revelation, as was beleev'd, coming to the knowledg of a Secret, which besel him strangely in the time of his troubles, on a certain day went in boldly to him, and laying his right hand on the head of the King, ask'd him if he remember'd what that sign meant; the King trembling, and in a maze rising up, strait fell at his Feet. Behold, saith *Paulinus*, raising him from the Ground, God hath deliver'd you from your Enemies, and giv'n you the Kingdom, as you desir'd: perform now what long since you promis'd him, to receive his Doctrin which I now bring you, and the Faith, which if you accept, shall to your temporal Felicity, add eternal. The promise claim'd of him by *Paulinus*, how and wherefore made, though favouring much of Legend, is thus related. *Redwald*, as we heard before, dazl'd with the Gold of *Ethelfrid*, or by his threatning over-aw'd, having promis'd to yield up *Edwin*, one of his faithful Companions, of which he had som few with him in the Court of *Redwald*, that never shrunk from his Adversity, about the first hour of night comes in hast to his Chamber, and calling him forth for better secrecy, reveles to him his danger, offers him his aid to make escape; but that course not approv'd, as seeming dishonourable without more manifest cause to begin distrust towards one who had so long bin his only refuge, the friend departs. *Edwin* left alone without the Palace Gate, full of sadness and perplext Thoughts, discerns about the dead of Night, a man neither by Countenance nor by Habit to him known, approaching towards him. Who after salutation, ask'd him why at this hour, when all others were at rest, he alone so sadly sat waking on a cold Stone? *Edwin* not a little misdoubting who he might be, ask'd him again, what his sitting within dores, or without, concern'd him to know? To whom he again, think not that who thou art, or why sitting heer, or what danger hangs over thee, is to me unknown: But what would you promise to that man, who ever would befriend you out of all these troubles, and perswade *Redwald* to the like? All that I am able, answer'd *Edwin*. And he, What if the same man should promise to make you greater then any English King hath bin before you? I should not doubt, quoth *Edwin*, to be answerably grateful. And what if to all this he would inform you, said the other, in a way to Happiness, beyond what any of your Ancestors hath known? Would you hark'n to his Counfel? *Edwin* without stopping promis'd he would. And the other laying his Right hand on *Edwin*'s Head, When this Sign, saith he, shall next besel thee, remember this time of Night, and this Discourse, to perform what thou hast promis'd; and with these words disappeering, left *Edwin* much reviv'd, but not less fill'd with wonder, who this unknown should be. When suddenly the Friend who had bin gon all this while to list'n further what was like to be decreed of *Edwin*, comes back and joyfully bids him rise to his repose, for that the Kings mind, though for a while drawn aside, was now fully resolv'd not only

only not to betray him, but to defend him against all Enemies, as he had promis'd. This was said to be the cause why *Edwin* admonish'd by the Bishop of a Sign which had befallen him so strangely, and as he thought so secretly, arose to him with that reverence and amazement, as to one sent from Heav'n, to claim that Promise of him which he perceav'd well was due to a Divine Power, that had assisted him in his Troubles. To *Paulinus* therefore he makes answer, that the Christian Belief he himself ought by promise, and intended to receive; but would confer first with his chief Peers and Counsellors, that if they likewise could be won, all at once might be baptiz'd. They therefore being ask'd in Council what thir opinion was concerning this new Doctrin, and well perceaving which way the King inclin'd, every one therafter shap'd his Reply. The Chief Priest speaking first, discover'd an old grudge he had against his Gods, for advancing others in the King's Favour above him thir Chief Priest: another hiding his Court-compliance with a grave Sentence, commended the choise of certain before uncertain, upon due examination; to like purpose answer'd all the rest of his Sages, none op'nly dissenting from what was likely to be the King's Creed: whereas the preaching of *Paulinus* could work no such effect upon them, toiling till that time without success. Whereupon *Edwin* renouncing Heathenism, became Christian: and the Pagan Priest, offering himself freely to demolish the Altars of his former Gods, made some amends for his teaching to adore them. With *Edwin*, his two Sons *Osfrid* and *Eanfrid*, born to him by *Queenburga*, Daughter, as saith *Beda*, of *Kearle* King of *Mercia*, in the time of his Banishment, and with them most of the People, both Nobles and Commons, easily converted, were baptiz'd; he with his whole Family at *York*, in a Church hastily built up of Wood, the multitude most part in Rivers. *Northumberland* thus christ'nd, *Paulinus* crossing *Humber*, converted also the Province of *Lindsey*, and *Blecca* the Governour of *Lincoln*, with his Household and most of that City; wherein he built a Church of Stone, curiously wrought, but of small continuance; for the Roof in *Beda's* time, uncertain whether by neglect or Enemies, was down; the Walls only standing. Mean while in *Mercia*, *Kearle* a Kinsman of *Wibba*, saith *Huntingdon*, not a Son, having long withheld the Kingdom from *Penda Wibba's* Son, left it now at length to the fiftieth Year of his Age: with whom *Kinegils* and *Cuicelm*, the *West-Saxon* Kings, two Year after, having by that time it seems recover'd Strength, since the Inrode made upon them by *Edwin*, fought at *Cirencester*, then made Truce. But *Edwin* seeking every way to propagate the Faith, which with so much deliberation he had receav'd, persuaded *Eorpmald* the Son of *Redwald*, King of *East-Angles*, to embrace the same belief; willingly or in aw, is not known, retaining under *Edwin* the name only of a King. But *Eorpmald* not long surviv'd his Conversion, slain in fight by *Ricbert* a Pagan: wherby the People having lightly follow'd the Religion of thir King, as lightly fell back to thir old Superstitions for above three Years after: *Edwin* in the mean while, to his Faith adding Vertue, by the due administration of Justice wrought such Peace over all his Territories, that from Sea to Sea, Man or Woman might have travail'd in safety. His care also was of Fountains by the way side, to make them fittest for the use of Travellers. And not unmindful of regal State, whether in War or Peace, he had a Royal Banner carried before him. But having reign'd with much honour seventeen Years, he was at length by *Kedwalla*, or *Cadwallon*, King of the *Britans*, who with aid of the *Mercian* *Penda* had rebell'd against him, slain in a Battel with his Son *Osfrid*, at a place call'd *Hethseild*, and his whole Army overthrown or disperst in the Year 633. and the 47th of his Age, in the Eye of Man worthy a more peaceful end. His Head brought to *York*, was there buried in the Church by him begun. Sad was this overthrow, both to Church and State of the *Northumbrians*: for *Penda* being a Heathen, and the British King, though in name a Christian, yet in deeds more bloody then the Pagan, nothing was omitted of barbarous Cruelty in the slaughter of Sex or Age; *Kedwalla* threatening to root out the whole Nation, though then newly Christian. For the *Britans*, and, as *Beda* saith, ev'n to his days, accounted *Saxon* Christianity no better then Paganism, and with them held as little Communion. From these Calamities no refuge being left but flight, *Paulinus* taking

627.

629.

Saxon. an.

632.

Saxon. an.

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nealog.

633.

taking with him *Ethilburga* the Queen and her Children, aided by *Bassus*, one of *Edwin's* Captains, made escape by Sea to *Eadbald* King of *Kent*: who receiving his Sister with all kindness, made *Paulinus* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, where he ended his days. After *Edwin*, the Kingdom of *Northumberland* became divided as before, each rightful Heir ſeiſing his part; in *Deira* *Oſric*, the Son of *Elfric*, *Edwin's* Uncle, by profeſſion a Chriſtian, and baptiz'd by *Paulinus*: in *Bernicia*, *Eanfrid*, the Son of *Ethelfrid*; who all the time of *Edwin*, with his Brother *Oſwald*, and many of the young Nobility, liv'd in *Scotland* exil'd, and had bin there taught and baptiz'd. No ſooner had they gott'n each a Kingdom, but both turn'd recreant, ſliding back into thir old Religion; and both were the ſame Year ſlain; *Oſric* by a ſudden eruption of *Kedwalla*, whom he in a ſtrong Town had unadviſedly beſieg'd; *Eanfrid* ſeeking Peace, and inconfideratly with a few ſurrendring himſelf. *Kedwalla* now rang'd at will through both thoſe Provinces, uſing cruelly his Conqueſt; when *Oſwald* the Brother of *Eanfrid* with a ſmall but Chriſtian Army unexpectedly coming on, defeated and deſtroy'd both him and his huge Forces, which he boated to be invincible, by a little River running into *Tine*, near the antient *Roman* Wall then call'd *Denisburn*, the place afterwards *Heav'n field*, from the Croſs, reported miraculous for Cures, which *Oſwald* there erected before the Battail, in tok'n of his Faith againſt the great number of his Enemies. Obtaining the Kingdom, he took care to inſtruct again the People in Chriſtianity. Sending therfore to the Scotch Elders, *Beda* ſo terms them, among whom he had receav'd Baptiſm, requested of them ſom faithful Teacher, who might again ſettle Religion in his Realm, which the late Troubles had much impar'd; they as readily hearkning to his Requeſt, ſend *Aidan* a Scotch Monk and Biſhop, but of ſingular Zeal and Meekneſs, with others to aſſiſt him, whom at thir own deſire he ſeated in *Lindisfarne*, as the Episcopall Seat, now *Holy Iland*: and being the Son of *Ethelfrid*, by the Siſter of *Edwin*, as right Heir, others failing, eaſily reduc'd both Kingdoms of *Northumberland* as before into one; nor of *Edwin's* Dominion loſt any part, but enlarg'd it rather; over all the four *Britiſh* Nations, *Angles*, *Britans*, *Picts* and *Scots*, exerciſing Regal Authority. Of his Devotion, Humility, and Alms-deeds, much is spok'n; that he diſdain'd not to be the Interpreter of *Aidan*, preaching in Scotch or bad Engliſh, to his Nobles and Houſhold Servants; and had the Poor continually ſerv'd at his Gate, after the promiſcuous manner of thoſe times: his meaning might be upright, but the manner more antient of privat or of Church-Contribution, is doubtleſs more Evangelical. About this time, the *West-Saxons*, antiently call'd *Geviſſi*, by the preaching of *Berinus*, a Biſhop, whom Pope *Honorius* had ſent, were converted to the Faith with *Kinegils* thir King: him *Oſwald* receav'd out of the Font, and his Daughter in Marriage. The next Year *Cuichelm* was baptiz'd in *Dorcheſter*, but liv'd not to the years end. The *East-Angles* alſo this year were reclaim'd to the Faith of Chriſt, which for ſom years paſt they had thrown off. But *Sigbert* the Brother of *Eorpwald* now ſucceeded in that Kingdom, praiſ'd for a moſt Chriſtian and Learned Man: who while his Brother yet reign'd, living in *France* an Exile, for ſom diſpleaſure conceav'd againſt him by *Redwald* his Father, learn'd there the Chriſtian Faith; and reigning ſoon after, in the ſame inſtructed his People, by the preaching of *Felix* a *Burgundian* Biſhop.

In the Year 640 *Eadbald* deceaſing, left to *Ercombert* his Son by *Emma* the French King's Daughter, the Kingdom of *Kent*; recorded the firſt of *Engliſh* Kings, who commanded through his limits the deſtroying of Idols; laudably, if all Idols without exception; and the firſt to have eſtabliſh'd *Lent* among us, under ſtriſt Penalty, not worth remembring, but only to inform us, that no *Lent* was obſerv'd here till his time by compulſion: eſpecially being noted by ſom to have fraudulently uſurp'd upon his elder Brother *Ermenred*, whoſe right was precedent to the Crown. *Oſwald* having reign'd eight Years, worthy alſo as might ſeem of longer Life, fell into the ſame fate with *Edwin*, and from the ſame hand, in a great Battel overcom and ſlain by *Penda*, at a place call'd *Maſerſeild*, now *Oſweſtre* in *Shropſhire*, miraculous, as faith *Beda*, after his Death. His Brother *Oſwi* ſucceeded him; reigning, though in much trouble, 28 Years; oppos'd either by *Penda*, or his own Son *Alfred*, or his Brother's Son *Ethilwald*. Next Year *Kinegils* the *West-Saxon* dying,

634.

635.
Sax. an.

636.

640.

Mat. Weſt.

642.

Camden.

Eed. l. 3. c. 14.

643.

dying, left his Son *Kenwalk* in his stead, though as yet unconverted. About Sax. an. this time *Sigebert* King of *East-Angles* having learnt in *France*, ere his coming to reign, the manner of thir Schools, with the Assistance of som Teachers out of *Kent*, instituted a School heer after the same Disciplin, thought to be the University of *Cambridg* then first founded: and at length weary of his Kingly Office, betook him to a Monastical Life; commending the Care of Government to his Kinsman *Egric*, who had sustain'd with him part of that Burden before. It happen'd som Years after, that *Penda* made War on the *East-Angles*: they expecting a sharp Encounter, besought *Sigebert*, whom they esteem'd an expert Leader, with his Prefence to confirm the Souldiery: and him refusing, carried by force out of the Monastery into the Camp; where acting the Monk rather than the Captain, with a single Wand in his hand, he was slain with *Egric*, and his whole Army put to flight. *Anna* of the Royal Stock, as next in right, succeeded; and hath the Praise of a vertuous and most Christian Prince. But *Kenwalk* the *West-Saxon* having marry'd the Sister of *Penda*, and divorc'd her, was by him with more appearance of a just cause 645. Sax. an. vanquish'd in Fight, and depriv'd of his Crown: whence retiring to *Anna* King of *East-Angles*, after three Years abode in his Court, he there became Christian, and afterwards regain'd his Kingdom. *Oswi* in the former Years of his Reign had sharer with him, *Oswin* Nephew of *Edwin*, who rul'd in *Deira* seven Years, commended much for his Zeal in Religion, and for Comliness of Person, with other princely Qualities, belov'd of all. Notwithstanding which, Dissentions growing between them, it came to Arms. *Oswin* seeing himself much exceeded in numbers, thought it more Prudence, dismissing his Army, to reserve himself for som better occasion. But committing his Person with one faithful Attendant to the Loyalty of *Hunwald* an Earl, his imagin'd Friend, he was by him treacherously discover'd, and by Command of *Oswi* slain. After whom within twelve days, and for Grief of him whose 648. Death he foretold, dy'd Bishop *Aidan*, famous for his Charity, Meekness, 651. Bede. and Labour in the Gospel. The Fact of *Oswi* was detestable to all; which therefore to expiate, a Monastery was built in the place where it was don, and Prayers there daily offer'd up for the Souls of both Kings, the Slain and the Slayer. *Kenwalk* by this time re-install'd in his Kingdom, kept it long, but with various Fortune; for *Beda* relates him oft-times afflicted by his Enemies Bed. l. 3. c. 7. 652. with great Losses: and in 652, by the Annals, fought a Battel (Civil War *Ethelwerd* calls it) at *Bradansford* by the River *Asene*; against whom, and for what cause, or who had the Victory, they write not. *Camden* names the place *Bradford* in *Wiltshire*, by the River *Avon*, and *Cuthred* his neer Kinsman, against whom he fought, but cites no Authority; certain it is, that *Kenwalk* four Years before had giv'n large Possessions to his Nephew *Cuthred*, the more unlikely therefore now to have rebell'd.

The next Year *Peada*, whom his Father *Penda*, though a Heathen, had for his princely Vertues made Prince of *Middle-Angles*, belonging to the *Mercians*, was with that People converted to the Faith. For coming to *Oswi* with request to have in Mariage *Alfreda* his Daughter, he was deny'd her, but on condition, that he with all his People should receive Christianity. Heering therefore not unwillingly what was preach'd to him of Resurrection and Eternal Life, much persuaded also by *Alfrid* the King's Son, who had his Sister *Kyniburg* to Wife, he easily assented, for the Truth's sake only as he profess'd, whether he obtain'd the Virgin or no, and was baptiz'd with all his Followers. Returning, he took with him four Presbyters to teach the People of his Province; who by thir daily preaching won many. Neither did *Penda*, though himself no Beleever, prohibit any in his Kingdom to heer or beleieve the Gospel, but rather hated and despis'd those, who professing to beleieve, attested not thir Faith by good Works; condemning them for miserable and justly to be despis'd, who obey not that God in whom they choose to beleieve. How well might *Penda* this Heathen rise up in Judgment against many pretending Christians, both of his own and these days! yet being a Man bred up to War, (as no less were others then reigning, and oft-times one against another, though both Christians) he warr'd on *Anna* King of the *East-Angles*, 654: Sax. an. perhaps without cause, for *Anna* was esteem'd a just Man, and at length slew him. About this time the *East-Saxons*, who, as above hath bin said, had ex-
pell'd

pell'd thir Bishop *Mellitus*, and renounc'd the Faith, were by the means of *Ofwi* thus reconverted. *Sigebert*, surnam'd the small, being the Son of *Seward*, without other Memory of his Reign, left his Son King of that Province, after him *Sigebert* the Second, who coming oft'n to visit *Ofwi* his great Friend, was by him at several times fervently dissuaded from Idolatry, and convinc'd at length to forsake it, was there baptiz'd; on his return home taking with him *Kedda* a laborious Preacher, afterwards made Bishop; by whose teaching, with som help of others, the People were again recover'd from Misbelief. But *Sigebert* some Years after, though standing fast in Religion, was by the Conspiracy of two Brethren in place neer about him, wickedly murder'd; who being ask'd what mov'd them to do a Deed so hainous, gave no other then this barbarous Answer; that they were angry with him for being so gentle to his Enemies, as to forgive them thir Injuries whenever they besought him. Yet his Death seems to have hap'nd not without som cause by him giv'n of Divine Displeasure. For one of those Earls who slew him living in unlawful Wedloc, and therefore excommunicated so severely by the Bishop, that no Man might presume to enter into his House, much less to sit at Meat with him, the King not regarding this Church-Censure, went to feast with him at his Invitation. Whom the Bishop meeting in his Return, though penitent for what he had don, and saln at his feet, touch'd with the Rod in his hand, and angerly thus foretold: Because thou hast neglected to abstain from the House of that Excommunicate, in that House thou shalt die; and so it fell out, perhaps from that Prediction, God bearing witness to his Minister in the Power of Church Disciplin, spiritually executed, not juridically on the Contemner therof. This Year 655 prov'd fortunate to *Ofwi*, and fatal to *Penda*, for *Ofwi* by the continual Inrodes of *Penda* having long endur'd much Devastation, to the endangering once by Assault and Fire *Bebbanburg*, his strongest City, now *Bamborrough-Castle*, unable to resist him, with many rich Presents offer'd to buy his Peace. Which not accepted by the Pagan, who intended nothing but Destruction to that King, though more then once in Affinity with him, turning Gifts into Vows, he implores Divine Assistance, devoting, if he were deliver'd from his Enemy, a Child of one year old, his Daughter, to be a Nun, and 12 portions of Land wheron to build Monasteries. His Vows, as may be thought, found better Success then his profer'd Gifts; for heerupon with his Son *Alfrid*, gathering a small Power, he encounter'd and discomfited the *Mercians*, 30 times exceeding his in number, and led on by expert Captains, at a place call'd *Loydes*, now *Leeds* in *Yorkshire*. Besides this *Ethelwald*, the Son of *Ofwald*, who rul'd in *Deira*, took part with the *Mercians*, but in the Fight withdrew his Forces, and in a safe place expected the event: with which unseasonable Retreat the *Mercians*, perhaps terrify'd and misdoubting more Danger, fled; thir Commanders, with *Penda* himself, most being slain, among whom *Edilbere* the Brother of *Anna*, who rul'd after him the *East-Angles*, and was the Author of this War; many more flying were drown'd in the River, which *Beda* calls *Winwed*, then swoln above its Banks. The Death of *Penda*, who had bin the Death of so many good Kings, made general rejoicing, as the Song witness'd. At the River *Winwed* *Anna* was aveng'd. To *Edelhere* succeeded *Ethelwald* his Brother, in the *East-Angles*; to *Sigebert* in the *East-Saxons* *Suidhelm* the Son of *Sexbald*, saith *Bede*, the Brother of *Sigebert*, saith *Malmsbury*; he was baptiz'd by *Kedda*, then residing in the *East-Angles*, and by *Ethelwald* the King receav'd out of the Font. But *Ofwi* in the strength of his late Victory, within three Years after subdu'd all *Mercia*, and of the Pictish Nation greatest part, at which time he gave to *Peada* his Son in law the Kingdom of *South-Mercia*, divided from the Northern by *Trent*. But *Peada* the Spring following, as was said, by the Treason of his Wife the Daughter of *Ofwi*, marry'd by him for a special Christian, on the Feast of *Easter*, not protected by the holy time, was slain. The *Mercian* Nobles, *Immin*, *Eaba*, and *Eadbert*, throwing off the Government of *Ofwi*, set up *Wulfer* the other Son of *Penda* to be thir King, whom till then they had kept hid, and with him adher'd to the Christian Faith. *Kenwalk* the *West-Saxon*, now settl'd at home, and desirous to enlarge his Dominion, prepares against the *Britans*, joins Battel with them at *Pen* in *Somersetshire*, and overcoming, pursues them to *Pedridan*. Another Fight he had with them before, at a place call'd *Witgeornesbrug*,

655.

Bed. l. 3. c. 16.
Camd.

Camden.

Mat. West.

Bed. l. 3. c. 22.

658.

Sax. an.

659.

Sax. an.

brug, barely mention'd by the Monk of *Malmshury*. Nor was it long e're he
 fell at variance with *Wulfer* the Son of *Penda*, his old Enemy, scarce yet warm
 in his Throne, fought with him at *Possentesburg*, on the *Easter* Holy days, *Sax. an.*
 and as *Ethelwerd* saith, took him Prisoner; but the *Saxon Annals*, quite other-
 wise, that *Wulfer* winning the Field, wasted the *West-Saxon* Country as far as
Eskefdun; nor staying there, took and wasted the Ile of *Wight*, but causing
 the Inhabitants to be baptiz'd, till then Unbelievers, gave the Iland to *Ethel-*
wald King of *South Saxons*, whom he had receav'd out of the Font. The
 Year 664 a Synod of Scottish and English Bishops, in the presence of *Oswi* and *664.*
Alfred his Son, was held at a Monastery in those parts, to debate on what day *Eed.*
Easter should be kept; a Controversy which long before had disturb'd the
 Greek and Latin Churches: wherein the Scots not agreeing with the way of
Rome, nor yeilding to the Disputants on that side, to whom the King most en-
 clin'd, such as were Bishops heer, resign'd, and return'd home with thir Dis-
 ciples. Another clerical Question was there also much controverted, not so
 superstitious in my opinion as ridiculous, about the right shaving of Crowns.
 The same Year was seen an Eclips of the Sun in *May*, followed by a sore Pestil-
 lence beginning in the South, but spreading to the North, and over all *Ire-Malmf.*
land with great Mortality. In which time the *East-Saxons* after *Swithelm's*
 Decease, being govern'd by *Siger* the Son of *Sigebert* the small, and *Sebbi* of
Seward, though both subject to the *Mercians*; *Siger* and his People unsteddy of
 Faith, supposing that this Plague was come upon them for renouncing thir old
 Religion, fell off the second time to Infidelity. Which the *Mercian* King
Wulfer understanding, sent *Jarumannus* a faithful Bishop, who with other his
 Fellow-labourers, by sound Doctrin and gentle dealing, soon recur'd them of
 thir second Relaps. In *Kent*, *Ercombert* expiring, was succeeded by his Son
Ecbert. In whose fourth Year, by means of *Theodore*, a learned Greekish *668.*
 Monk of *Tarsus*, whom Pope *Vitalian* had ordain'd Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Sax. an.*
 the Greek and Latin Tongue, with other liberal Arts, Arithmetic, Music,
 Astronomy, and the like, began first to flourish among the *Saxons*; as did
 also the whole Land, under potent and religious Kings, more then ever be-
 fore, as *Bede* affirms, till his own days. Two Years after in *Northumberland* *670.*
 dy'd *Oswi*, much addic'ted to Romish Rites, and resolv'd, had his Disease re- *Sax. an.*
 leas'd him, to have ended his days at *Rome*. *Ecfrid* the eldest of his Sons begot
 in *Wedloc*, succeeded him. After other three Years, *Ecbert* in *Kent* de- *673.*
 ceasing, left nothing memorable behind him, but the general suspicion to *Sax. an.*
 have slain or conniv'd at the Slaughter of his Uncles two Sons, *Elbert* and
Egelbright. In recompence wherof, he gave to the Mother of them part of
Tanet, wherein to build an Abbey; the Kingdom fell to his Brother *Lothair*. *Malmf.*
 And much about this time, by best account it should be, however plac'd in
Beda, that *Ecfrid* of *Northumberland* having War with the *Mercian Wulfer*, *Eed. l. 4. c. 12.*
 won from him *Lindsey*, and the Country therabout. *Sebbi* having reign'd
 over the *East-Saxons* thirty years, not long before his Death, though long be-
 fore desiring, took on him the Habit of a Monk; and drew his Wife at length,
 though unwilling, to the same Devotion. *Kenwalk* also dying, left the Go-
 vernment to *Sexburga* his Wife, who out-liv'd him in it but one Year, driv'n
 out, saith *Mat. West.* by the Nobles, disdainig Female Government. After *675.*
 whom several petty Kings, as *Beda* calls them, for ten Years space divided *Eed. l. 4. c. 12.*
 the *West-Saxons*; others name two, *Efscwin* the Nephew of *Kinigils* and *Sax. an.*
Kentwin the Son, not petty by thir Deeds: for *Efscwin* fought a Battel with *Malmf.*
Wulfer, at *Bedanbasde*, and about a Year after both deceas'd; but *Wulfer* not *676.*
 without a stain left behind him, of selling the Bishoprick of *London* to *Wini*
 the first Simonist we read of in this Story; *Kenwalk* had before expell'd him
 from his Chair at *Winchester*. *Ethelred* the Brother of *Wulfer* obtaining next
 the Kingdom of *Mercia*, not only recover'd *Lindsey*, and what besides in those
 parts *Wulfer* had lost to *Ecfrid* some Years before, but found himself strong
 enough to extend his Arms another way, as far as *Kent*, wasting that Country
 without respect to Church or Monastery, much also endamaging the City of *Eed. l. 4. c. 12.*
Rocheſter, notwithstanding what Resistance *Lothair* could make against him.
 In *August* 678 was seen a Morning Comet for three Months following, in man- *678.*
 ner of a fiery Pillar. And the *South-Saxons* about this time were converted to
 the Christian Faith, upon this occasion. *Wilfrid* Bishop of the *Northumbrians*
 K entering

679. entring into Contention with *Ecfrid* the King, was by him depriv'd of his Bishoprick, and long wandering up and down as far as *Rome*, return'd at length into *England*; but not daring to approach the North, whence he was banish'd, bethought him where he might to best purpose elsewhere exercise his Ministry. The South of all other *Saxons* remain'd yet Heathen; but *Edilwalk* thir King not long before had bin baptiz'd in *Mercia*, perswaded by *Wulfer*, and by him, as hath bin said, receav'd out of the Font. For which relations sake he had the Ile of *Wight*, and a Province of the *Meannari* adjoining, giv'n him on the Continent about *Meanesborow* in *Hants*shire, which *Wulfer* had a little before gott'n from *Kenwalk*. Thether *Wilfrid* takes his Journey, and with the help of other spiritual Labourers about him, in short time planted there the Gospel. It had not rain'd, as is said, of three Years before in that Country, whence many of the People daily perish'd by Famin; till on the first day of thir public Baptism, soft and plentiful Showers descending, restor'd all abundance to the Summer following. Two Years after this *Kentwin* the other *West-Saxon* King above-nam'd, chac'd the *Welch Britans*, as is chronic'd without Circumstance, to the very Sea-shoar. But in the Year, by *Beda's* reck'ning, 683, *Kedwalla* a *West-Saxon* of the Royal Line, (whom the *Welch* will have to be *Cadwallader*, last King of the *Britans*) thrown out by Faction, return'd from Banishment, and invaded both *Kentwin*, if then living, or, whoever else had divided the Succellion of *Kenwalk*, slaying in fight
681. *Edilwalk* the *South-Saxon*, who oppos'd him in thir aid; but soon after was repuls'd by two of his Captains, *Bertune* and *Andune*, who for a while held the Province in thir Power. But *Kedwalla* gathering new Force, with the
683. Slaughter of *Bertune*, and also of *Edric* the Successor of *Edilwalk*, won the
684. Kingdom: but reduc'd the People to heavy Thralldom. Then addressling to conquer the Ile of *Wight*, till that time *Pagan*, faith *Beda*, (others otherwise, as above hath bin related) made a Vow, though himself yet unbaptiz'd, to devote the fourth part of that Iland, and the Spoils therof, to holy Uses. Conquest obtain'd, paying his Vow as then was the Beleeef, he gave his fourth to Bishop *Wilfrid*, by chance there present; and he to *Bertwin* a Priest, his Sister's Son, with commission to baptize all the vanquish'd, who meant to save thir Lives. But the two young Sons of *Arnwald*, King of that Iland, met with much more Hostility; for they at the Enemies Approach flying out of the Ile, and betray'd where they were hid not far from thence, were led to *Kedwalla*, who lay then under cure of some Wounds receav'd, and by his appointment, after Instruction and Baptism first giv'n them, harshly put to Death, which the Youths are said above thir Age to have christianly suffer'd. In *Kent Lothair* dy'd this Year of his Wounds receav'd in fight against the *South-Saxons*, led on by *Edrick*, who descending from *Ermenred*, it seems challeng'd the Crown, and wore it, though not commendably, one Year and a half: but coming to a violent Death, left the Land expos'd a Prey either to home-bred Usurpers, or neighbouring Invaders. Among whom *Kedwalla* taking advantage from thir civil Distempers, and marching easily through the *South-Saxons*, whom he had subdu'd, sorely harass'd the Country, untouch'd of a long time by any hostile Incursion. But the *Kentish* Men, all Parties uniting against a common Enemy, with joint Power so oppos'd him, that he was constrain'd to retire back; his Brother *Mollo* in the flight with 12 Men of his Company, seeking shelter in a House, was beset, and therin burnt by the Persuers: *Kedwalla* much troubl'd at so great a Loss, recalling and soon rallying his disorder'd Forces, return'd fiercely upon the chacing Enemy; nor could be got out of the Province, till both by Fire and Sword he had aveng'd the Death of his Brother.
686. At length *Viftred* the Son of *Ecbert*, attaining the Kingdom, both settl'd at home all things in Peace, and secur'd his Borders from all outward Hostilitie.
687. While thus *Kedwalla* disquieted both *West* and *East*, after his winning the Crown, *Ecfrid* the *Northumbrian*, and *Ethelred* the *Mercian*, fought a sore Battel by the River *Trent*; wherein *Elfwyn* Brother to *Ecfrid*, a youth of 18 years, much belov'd, was slain; and the accident likely to occasion much more shedding of Blood, Peace was happily made by the grave Exhortation of Archbishop *Theodore*, a pecuniary Fine only paid to *Ecfrid*, as some satisfaction for the loss of his Brothers Life. Another adversity befel *Ecfrid* in his Family, by means of *Etheldrit* his Wife, King *Anna's* Daughter, who having tak'n him for her

Husband, and professing to love him above all other men, persisted twelve years in the obstinate refusal of his Bed, thereby thinking to live the purer Life. So perversely then was Chastity instructed against the Apostles rule. At length obtaining of him with much importunity her departure, she veild her self a Nun, then made Abbess of *Ely*, dy'd 7 years after the Pestilence; and might with better warrant have kept faithfully her undertak'n Wedloc, though now canoniz'd St. *Audrey* of *Ely*. In the mean while *Ecfrid* had sent *Bertus* with a power to subdue *Ireland*, a harmless Nation, faith *Beda*, and ever friendly to the English; in both which they seem to have left a Posterity much unlike them at this day; miserably wasted, without regard had to places hallow'd or profane, they betook them partly to thir Weapons, partly to implore divine Aid; and, as was thought, obtain'd it in thir full avengement upon *Ecfrid*. For he the next year, against the mind and persuasion of his sagest Friends, and especially of *Cudbert* a famous Bishop of that Age, marching unadvisedly against the *Picts*, who long before had bin subject to *Northumberland*, was by them feigning flight, drawn unawares into narrow streights, overtopped with Hills, and cut off with most of his Army. From which time, faith *Beda*, military Valour began among the *Saxons* to decay, nor only the *Picts* till then peaceable, but som part of the *Britans* also recover'd by Arms thir Liberty for many years after. Yet *Aldfrid* elder, but base Brother to *Ecfrid*, a man said to be learned in the Scriptures, recal'd from *Ireland*, to which place in his Brothers Reign he had retir'd, and now succeeding, upheld with much honour, though in narrower bounds, the residue of his Kingdom. *Kedwalla* having now with great disturbance of his Neighbours reign'd over the *West-Saxons* two years, besides what time he spent in gaining it, wearied perhaps with his own turbulence, went to *Rome*, desirous there to receive Baptism, which till then his worldly Affairs had defer'd, and accordingly, on *Easter* Day, 689. he was baptiz'd by *Sergius* the Pope, and his name chang'd to *Peter*. All which notwithstanding, surpris'd with a Disease, he outliv'd not the Ceremony so far sought, much above the space of five Weeks, in the thirtieth year of his Age, and in the Church of St. *Peter* was there buried, with a large Epitaph upon his Tomb. Him succeeded *Ina* of the Royal Family, and from the time of his coming in, for many years oppress'd the Land with like grievances, as *Kedwalla* had don before him, insomuch that in those times there was no Bishop among them. His first Expedition was into *Kent*, to demand satisfaction for the burning of *Mollo*: *Vitred* loth to hazard all for the rash act of a few, deliver'd up 30 of those that could be found Accessory, or as others say, pacifi'd *Ina* with a great sum of Money. Mean while, at the incitement of *Ecbert*, a devout Monk, *Willrod* a Priest eminent for Learning, past over Sea, having 12 others in Company, with intent to preach the Gospel in *Germany*. And coming to *Pepin* Chief Regent of the *Franks*, who a little before had conquer'd the hither *Frisia*, by his Countenance and Protection, promise also of many Benefits to them who should beleeve, they found the work of Conversion much the easier, and *Wilbrod* the first Bishoprick in that Nation. But two Priests, each of them *Hemald* by name, and for distinction surnam'd from the colour of thir Hair, the black and the white, by his example, piously affected to the Souls of thir Countrymen the old *Saxons*, at thir coming thither to convert them met with much worse entertainment. For in the House of a Farmer who had promis'd to convey them, as they desir'd, to the Governour of that Country, discover'd by thir daily Ceremonies to be Christian Priests, and the cause of thir coming suspected, they were by him and his Heathen Neighbours cruelly butcher'd; yet not unaveng'd, for the Governour enrag'd at such violence offer'd to his Strangers, sending armed Men slew all those Inhabitants, and burnt thir Village. After three years in *Mercia*, *Ostred* the Queen, Wife to *Ethelred*, was kill'd by her own Nobles, as *Beda's* Epitome records; *Florence* calls them *Southimbrians*, negligently omitting the cause of so strange a fact. And the year following, *Berthred* a *Northumbrian* General was slain by the *Picts*. *Ethelred* seven years after the violent Death of his Queen, put on the Monk, and resign'd his Kingdom to *Kenred* the Son of *Wulfer* his Brother. The next year, *Alfrid* in *Northumberland* dy'd, leaving *Osred* a Child of 8 years to succeed him. Four years after which, *Kenred* having a while with praise govern'd the *Mercian* Kingdom, went to *Rome* in the time of Pope

689.

Malmf. Sax.
An. Ethel-
werd.

694.

697.

698.

704.

705.

709.

Constantine, and shorn a Monk spent there the residue of his daies. *Kelred* succeeded him, the Son of *Ethelred*, who had reign'd the next before. With *Kenred* went *Offa* the Son of *Siger*, King of *East-Saxons*, and betook him to the same Habit, leaving his Wife and Native Country; a comely Person in the prime of his Youth, much desir'd of the People; and such his Vertue by report, as might have otherwise bin worthy to have reign'd. In the *West-Saxon* one year after fought a Battel, at first doubtful, at last successful, against *Gerent* King of *Wales*. The next year *Bertfrid*, another *Northumbrian* Captain, fought with the *Picts*, and slaughter'd them, saith *Huntingdon*, to the full avengment of *Ecfriids* Death. The fourth year after, *Ina* had another doubtful and cruel Battel at *Wodnesburgh* in *Wiltshire*, with *Kelred* the *Mercian*, who dy'd the year following a lamentable Death: for as he sat one day feasting with his Nobles, suddenly possess'd with an evil Spirit, he expir'd in despair, as *Boniface* Archbishop of *Ments*, an English man, who taxes him for a defiler of Nuns, writes by way of Caution to *Ethelbald* his next of Kin, who succeeded him. *Osfred* also a young *Northumbrian* King, slain by his Kindred in the 11th of his Reign, for his vitious Life and Incest committed with Nuns, was by *Kenred* succeeded and aveng'd; he reigning two years, left *Osfic* in his room. In whose 7th year, if *Beda* calculate right, *Vikfred* King of *Kent* deceas'd, having reign'd 34 years, and som part of them with *Suebbard*, as *Beda* testifies. He left behind him three Sons, *Ethelbert*, *Eadbert*, and *Alric* his Heirs. Three years after which, appear'd two Comets about the Sun, terrible to behold, the one before him in the Morning, the other after him in the Evening, for the space of two Weeks in *January*, bending thir blaze toward the North, at which time the *Saracens* furiously invaded *France*, but were expell'd soon after with great overthrow. The same year in *Northumberland*, *Osfic* dying or slain, adopted *Kelwulf* the Brother of *Kenred* his Successor, to whom *Beda* dedicates his story; but writes this only of him, that the beginning, and the process of his Reign met with many adverse Commotions, wherof the event was then doubtfully expected. Mean while *Ina* seven years before, having slain *Kenwulf*, to whom *Florent* gives the addition of *Clito*, giv'n usually to none but of the Blood Royal, and the fourth year after overthrown and slain *Albright* another *Clito*, driv'n from *Taunton* to the *South-Saxons* for aid; vanquish't also the *East-Angles* in more then one Battel, as *Malmsbury* writes, but not the year; whether to expiate so much Blood, or infected with the contagious humour of those times, *Malmsbury* saith, at the persuation of *Ethelburga* his Wife, went to *Rome*, and there ended his days; yet this praise left behind him, to have made good Laws, the first of *Saxon* that remain extant to this day, and to his Kinsman *Edward* bequeath'd the Crown, no less then the whole Monarchy of *England* and *Wales*. For *Ina*, if we beleieve a digression in the Laws of *Edward* Confessor, was the first King crown'd of English and British, since the *Saxons* entrance; of the British by means of his second Wife, som way related to *Cadwallader* last King of *Wales*, which I had not noted being unlikely, but for the place where I found it. After *Ina*, by a surer Author, *Ethelbald* King of *Mercia* commanded all the Provinces on this side *Humber*, with thir Kings: the *Picts* were in League with the English, the *Scots* peaceable within thir bounds, and of the *Britans* part were in thir own Government, part subject to the English. In which peaceful state of the land, many in *Northumberland*, both Nobles and Commons, laying aside the exercise of Arms, betook them to the Cloister: and not content so to do at home, many in the days of *Ina*, Clerks and Laics, Men and Women, hasting to *Rome* in Herds, thought themselves no where sure of Eternal Life, till they were cloister'd there. Thus representing the state of things in this Iland, *Beda* surceas'd to write. Out of whom chiefly hath bin gather'd since the *Saxons* arrival, such as hath bin deliver'd, a scatterd story pickt out heer and there, with som trouble and tedious work from among his many Legends of Visions and Miracles; toward the latter end so bare of civil matters, as what can be thence collected may seem a Calendar rather then a History, tak'n up for the most part with succession of Kings, and computation of years, yet those hard to be reconcil'd with the *Saxon Annals*. Thir actions we read of, were most commonly Wars, but for what cause wag'd, or by what Councils carried on, no care was had to let us know; wherby thir Strength and Violence we understand,

710.
Sax. Annal.
Huntingd.

711.
Bed. Epit.

715.
Sax. an.
Sax. an.
Huntingd.

716.

718.

I. 5. c. 6.

725.

728.

Bed. l. 5. c. 24.

Bed.

731.

stand, of thir Wisdom, Reason, or Justice, little or nothing, the rest Superstition and monastical Affectation; Kings one after another leaving thir Kingly Charge, to run thir Heads fondly into a Monks Cowle: which leaves us uncertain whether *Beda* was wanting to his matter, or his matter to him. Yet from hence to the *Danish* Invasion it will be worse with us, destitute of *Beda*. Left only to obscure and blockish Chronicles; whom *Malmsbury*, and *Huntingdon* (for neither they nor we had better Authors of those times) ambitious to adorn the History, make no scruple oft-times, I doubt, to interline with conjectures and surmises of thir own; them rather then imitate, I shall choose to represent the truth naked, though as lean as a plain Journal. Yet *William* of *Malmsbury* must be acknowledg'd, both for stile and judgment, to be by far the best Writer of them all: but what labour is to be endur'd turning over Volumes of rubbish in the rest, *Florence* of *Worster*, *Huntingdon*, *Simeon* of *Durham*, *Hoveden*, *Matthew* of *Westminster*, and many others of obscurer note, with all thir Monachisms, is a penance to think. Yet these are our only Registers, transcribers one after another for the most part, and sometimes worthy enough for the things they register. This travail rather then not know at once what may be known of our antient story, sifted from fables and impertinencies, I voluntarily undergo; and to save others, if they please, the like unpleasing labour; except those who take pleasure to be all thir Life time raking in the Foundations of old Abbies and Cathedrals. But to my task now as it befalls. In the year 733, on the 18th Kalends of September, was an Eclipse of the Sun about the third hour of day, obscuring almost his whole Orb as with a black Sheild. *Ethelbald* of *Mercia*, befeig'd and took the Castle or Town of *Somerton*: and two years after *Beda* our Historian dy'd, som say the year before. *Kelwulf* in *Northumberland* three years after became Monk in *Lindisfarne*, yet none of the severest, for he brought those Monks from Milk and Water, to Wine and Ale; in which Doctrin no doubt but they were soon docil, and well might, for *Kelwulf* brought with him good Provision, great Treasure and revenues of Land, recited by *Simeon*, yet all under pretence of following (I use the Authors words) poor *Christ*, by voluntary Poverty: no marvel then if such applause were giv'n by Monkish Writers to Kings turning Monks, and much cunning perhaps us'd to allure them. To *Eadbert* his Uncles Son, he left the Kingdom, whose Brother *Ecbert*, Archbishop of *York*, built a Library there. But two years after, while *Eadbert* was busied in War against the *Picts*, *Ethelbald* the *Mercian*, by foul fraud, assaulted part of *Northumberland* in his absence, as the supplement of *Beda*'s Epitome records. In the *West-Saxons*, *Edelard* who succeeded *Ina*, having bin much molested in the beginning of his Reign, with the Rebellion of *Osmald* his Kinsman, who contended with him for the right of Succession, overcoming at last those troubles, dy'd in Peace 741, leaving *Cuthbred* one of the same Lineage to succede him; who at first had much War with *Ethelbald* the *Mercian*, and various success, but joining with him in League two years after, made War on the *Welch*; *Huntingdon* doubts not to give them a great Victory. And *Simeon* reports another Battel fought between *Britans* and *Picts* the year ensuing. Now was the Kingdom of *East-Saxons* drawing to a Period, for *Sigeard* and *Senfred* the Sons of *Sebbi* having reign'd a while, and after them young *Offa*, who soon quitted his Kingdom to go to *Rome* with *Kenred*, as hath been said, the Government was conferr'd on *Sclred* Son of *Sigebert* the good, who having rul'd 38 years, came to a violent Death; how or wherfore, is not set down. After whom *Smithred* was the last King, driv'n out by *Ecbert* the *West-Saxon*: but *London*, with the Countries adjacent, obey'd the *Mercians* till they also were dissolv'd. *Cuthbred* had now reign'd about nine years, when *Kinric* his Son a valiant young Prince, was in a militarie Tumult slain by his own Souldiers. The same year *Eadbert* dying in *Kent*, his Brother *Edilbert* reign'd in his stead. But after two years, the other *Eadbert* in *Northumberland*, whose War with the *Picts* hath bin above-mention'd, made now such Progress there, as to subdue *Kyle*, so saith the Auctarie of *Bede*, and other Countries therabout, to his Dominion; while *Cuthbred* the *West-Saxon* had a fight with *Ethelhun*, one of his Nobles, a stout Warriar, envi'd by him in som matter of the Commonwealth, as far as by the Latin of *Ethelwerd* can be understood (others interpret it Sedition) and with much ado overcoming, took *Ethelhun* for

733.

Sax. an.

Echelwerd.

735.

738.

Malmsf.

740.

741.

Malmsf.

Sax. an.

743.

Sim. Dun.

744.

Hoved.

Malmsf.

Sax. an.

746.

748.

Sax. an.

Huntingd.

750.

Huntingd.

752.

for

- Camd. fer his Valour into favour, by whom faithfully serv'd in the twelfth or thirteenth of his Reign, he encounter'd in a set Battel with *Ethelbald* the Mercian
753. at *Beorford*, now *Burford* in *Oxfordshire*; one year after against the Welch, which was the last but one of his Life. *Huntingdon*, as his manner is to comment upon the annal Text, makes a terrible description of that Fight between *Cuthred* and *Ethelbald*, and the Prowess of *Ethelbun*, at *Beorford*, but so affectedly, and therefore suspiciously, that I hold it not worth rehearsal; and both in that and the latter Conflict, gives Victory to *Cuthred*; after whom
- Sax. an. 754. *Sigebert*, uncertain by what right, his Kinsman, saith *Florent*, step'd into the
- Malmf. Throne, whom hated for his Cruelty and other evil doings, *Kimmulf* joining with most of the Nobility, dispossest of all but *Hamshire* that Province
755. he lost also within a year, together with the love of all those who till then remain'd his Adherents, by slaying *Cumbran*, one of his chief Captains, who for a long time had faithfully serv'd, and now dissuaded him from incensing the People by such Tyrannical Practices. Thence flying for safety into
- Huntingd. *Andrew's Wood*, forsak'n of all, he was at length slain by the Swineherd
- Huntingd. of *Cumbran* in revenge of his Master, and *Kinwulf* who had undoubted right
756. to the Crown, joyfully saluted King. The next year *Eadbert* the *Northumbrian* joining Forces with *Unust* King of the *Picts*, as *Simcon* writes, besieg'd and took by surrender the City *Alcluth*, now *Dunbritten* in *Lennox*, from the
- Camden. Britans of *Cumberland*; and ten days after, the whole Army perish'd about
- Camd. *Niwanbirig*, but to tell us how, he forgets. In *Mercia*, *Ethelbald* was slain at
757. a place call'd *Secandune*, now *Seckington* in *Warwichire*, the year following, in a bloody fight against *Cuthred*, as *Huntingdon* surmises, but *Cuthred* was
- Sax. an. dead two or three years before; others write him murder'd in the night
- Epit. Bed. by his own Guard, and the Treason, as som say, of *Beornred*, who succeeded
- Sim. Dun. him; but ere many Months, was defeated and slain by *Offa*. Yet *Ethelbald* seems not without cause, after a long and prosperous Reign, to have fall'n by a violent Death; not shaming on the vain confidence of his many Alms, to commit Uncleaness with consecrated Nuns, besides Laic Adulteries, as the Arch-bishop of *Ments* in a Letter taxes him and his Predecessor, and that by his Example most of his Peers did the like; which adulterous doings he foretold him were likely to produce a slothful Off-spring, good for nothing but to be the ruin of that Kingdom, as it fell out not long after. The next Year
758. *Osmund*, according to *Florence*, ruling the *South-Saxons*, and *Smithred* the *East*, *Eadbert* in *Northumberland*, following the steps of his Predecessor, got him into a Monk's Hood; the more to be wonder'd, that having reign'd worthily
- Sim. Dun. 21 Years, with the love and high estimation of all, both at home and abroad, able still to govern, and much entreated by the Kings his Neighbours, not to lay down his Charge, with offer on that condition to yeild up to him part of thir own Dominion, he could not be mov'd from his Resolution, but relinquish'd his Regal Office to *Oswulf* his Son; who at the years end, though
759. without just cause, was slain by his own Servants. And the year after dy'd *Ethelbert*, Son of *Vitfred*, the second of that name in *Kent*. After *Oswulf*, *Ethelwald*, otherwise call'd *Mallo*, was set up King; who in his third Year had a great
762. Battel at *Eldune*, by *Melros*, slew *Oswin* a great Lord, rebelling, and gain'd
- Sim. Dun. the Victory. But the third year after, fell by the treachery of *Alcred*, who
- Mat. West. assum'd his place. The fourth Year after which, *Catarafta* an antient and
765. fair City in *Yorkshire*, was burnt by *Arnred* a certain Tyrant, who the same
- Sim. Dun. year came to like end. And after five years more, *Alcred* the King, depos'd
769. and forsak'n of all his People, fled with a few, first to *Bebba*, a strong City of those parts, thence to *Kinot* King of the *Picts*. *Ethelred* the Son of *Atollo*, was crown'd in his stead. Mean while *Offa* the *Mercian*, growing powerful, had subdu'd a neighbouring People by *Simcon*, call'd *Hestings*; and fought
774. succesfully this year with *Alric* King of *Kent*, at a place call'd *Ottanford*: the
- Sim. Dun. Annals also speak of wondrous Serpents then seen in *Sussex*. Nor had *Kinwulf* the *West-Saxon* giv'n small proof of his Valour in several Battels against the Welch heretofore; but this year 775, meeting with *Offa*, at a place call'd
775. *Besington*, was put to the worfe, and *Offa* won the Town for which they contended. In *Northumberland*, *Ethelred* having caus'd three of his Nobles,
- Sax. an. 778. *Aldwulf*, *Kimmulf* and *Ecce*, treacherously to be slain by two other Peers, was himself the next year driv'n into Banishment, *Elfwald* the Son of *Oswulf*
- Sim. Dun. succeeding

succeeding in his place, yet not without civil Broils; for in his second year *Osbal* and *Athelheard*, two Noblemen, raising Forces against him, routed *Sim. Dun.* *Bearne* his General, and pursuing, burnt him at a place call'd *Seletune*. I am sensible how wearisom it may likely be to read of so many bare and reasonless Actions, so many names of Kings one after another, acting little more then mute Persons in a Scene: what would it be to have inserted the long Bead-roll of Arch-bishops, Bishops, Abbots, Abbesses, and thir doings, neither to Religion profitable, nor to Morality, swelling my Authors each to a voluminous Body, by me studiously omitted; and left as thir Propriety, who have a mind to write the Ecclesiastical matters of those Ages; neither do I care to wrinkle the smoothness of History with rugged names of places unknown, better harp'd at in *Camden*, and other Chorographers. Six years therefore pass'd over in silence, as wholly of such Argument, bring us to relate next the unfortunate end of *Kinwulf* the *West-Saxon*; who having laudably reign'd about 31 years, yet suspecting that *Kineard* Brother of *Sigebert* the former King, intended to usurp the Crown after his Decease, or revenge his Brother's Expulsion, had companded him into Banishment; but he lurk-*Sax. an.* ing here and there on the Borders with a small Company, having had intelligence that *Kinwulf* was in the Country therabout, at *Merantum*, or *Merton* *Camd.* in *Surrey*, at the House of a Woman whom he lov'd, went by night and beset the place. *Kinwulf* over-confident either of his Royal Prefence, or personal Valour, issuing forth with the few about him, runs feirly at *Kineard*, and wounds him fore, but by his Followers hem'd in, is kill'd among them. The report of so great an Accident soon running to a place not far off, where many more Attendants awaited the King's return, *Osric* and *Wiwert*, two Earls, hasted with a great number to the House, where *Kineard* and his Fellows yet remain'd. He seeing himself surrounded, with fair words and promise of great Gifts, attempted to appease them; but those rejected with disdain, fights it out to the last, and is slain with all but one or two of his Retinue, which were nigh a hundred. *Kinwulf* was succeeded by *Birhtric*, being both descended of *Kerdic* the Founder of that Kingdom. Not better was the end of *Elfwald* in *Northumberland*, two years after slain miserably by *Sim. Dun.* the Conspiracy of *Siggan*, one of his Nobles, others say of the whole People *Malmf.* at *Scilcester* by the Roman Wall; yet undeservedly, as his Sepulchre at *Hagustald*, now *Hexam* upon *Tine*, and som Miracles there said to be don, are alleg'd to witness; and *Siggan* five years after laid violent hands on himself. *Osred* Son of *Alered* advanc't into the room of *Elfwald*, and within one year driv'n out, left his Seat vacant to *Ethelred* Son of *Mollo*, who after ten years of Banishment (Imprisonment, saith *Alcuin*) had the Scepter put again *Sim. Dun.* into his hand. The third year of *Birhtric* King of *West-Saxons*, gave begin-
ning from abroad to a new and fatal revolution of Calamity on this Land. For three Danish Ships, the first that had bin seen here of that Nation arriving in the West, to visit these, as was suppos'd, Foren Merchants, the Kings Gatherer of Customs taking Horse from *Dorchester*, found them Spies and Enemies. For being commanded to come and give account of thir lading at the King's Custom House, they slew him and all who came with him; as an earnest of the many Slaughters, Rapines, and Hostilities, which they return'd not long after to commit over all the Iland. Of this Danish first arrival, and on a sudden worse then hostile Aggression, the Danish History far otherwise relates, as if thir landing had bin at the mouth of *Humber*, and thir spoilful march far into the Country; though soon repell'd by the inhabitants, they hasted back as fast to thir Ships: But from what Cause, what Reason of State, what Authority or publick Council the Invasion proceeded, makes not mention, and our wonder yet the more, by telling us that *Sigefrid* then King in *Denmark*, and long after, was a Man studious more of Peace and Quiet then of warlike Matters. These therefore seem rather to have bin som Wanderers at Sea, who with public Commission, or without, through love of Spoil, or hatred of Christianity, seeking Booties on any Land of Christians, came by chance or weather on this shore. The next year *Osred* in *Northumberland*, who driv'n out by his Nobles had giv'n place to *Ethelred*, was tak'n and forcibly shav'n a Monk at *York*. And the year after, *Oelf*, and *Oelfwin*, Sons of *Elfwald*, formerly King, were drawn by fair promises from *Sim. Dun.* the

780.

Sim. Dun.

786.

Ethelwerd.
Malmf.

Sax. an.

Camd.

788.

Sim. Dun.
Malmf.

Camd.

Malmf.

Sim. Dun.

789.

Pontan. l. 3.

Pontan. l. 4.

790.

Sim. Dun.

791.

Sim. Dun.

Camden.

792.

Sim. Dun.

Sim. Dun.

Ecclesi. l. 2.

the principal Church of *York*, and after by command of *Ethelred*, cruelly put to death at *Wonwaldremere*, a Village by the great Pool in *Lancashire*, now call'd *Winandermere*. Nor was the third year less bloody; for *Osred*, who not liking a shav'n Crown, had desir'd Banishment and obtain'd it, returning from the Ile of *Man* with small Forces, at the secret but deceitful call of certain Nobles, who by Oath had promis'd to assist him, was also tak'n, and by *Ethelred* dealt with in the same manner; who the better to avouch his Cruelties, therupon married *Elfred* the Daughter of *Offa*: for in *Offa* was found as little Faith or Mercy. He the same Year having drawn to his Palace *Ethelbrite* King of *East-Angles*, with fair Invitations to marry his Daughter, caus'd him to be there inhospitably beheaded, and his Kingdom wrongfully seis'd, by the wicked Counsel of his Wife, saith *Mat. West.* annexing thereto a long unlikely Tale. For which violence and bloodshed to make Atonement, with Friars at least, he bestows the Reliques of *St. Alban*, in a shrine of Pearl and Gold. Far worse it far'd the next year with Reliques in *Lindisfarne*; where the *Danes* landing, pillag'd that Monastery, and of Fryers kill'd som, carried away others Captive, sparing neither Priest nor Lay: which many strange Thunders and fry Dragons, with other impressions in the Air seen frequently before, were judg'd to fore signify. This year *Alric* third Son of *Vitfred* ended in *Kent* his long Reign of 34 years: with him ended the Race of *Hengist*: thenceforth whomsoever Wealth or Faction advanc'd, took on him the name and state of a King. The *Saxon Annals* of 784. name *Ealmond* then reigning in *Kent*; but that consists not with the time of *Alric*, and I find him no where else mention'd. The year following was remarkable for the Death of *Offa* the *Mercian*, a strenuous and subtle King; he had much intercourse with *Charles* the Great, at first Enmity, to the interdicting of Commerce on either side, at length much Amity and firm League, as appears by the Letter of *Charles* himself yet extant, procur'd by *Alcuin* a learned and prudent Man, though a Monk, whom the Kings of *England* in those days had sent Orator into *France*, to maintain good Correspondence between them and *Charles* the Great. He granted, saith *Huntingdon*, a perpetual Tribute to the Pope out of every House in his Kingdom, for yeilding perhaps to translate the Primacy of *Canterbury* to *Lichfield* in his own Dominion. He drew a Trench of wondrous length between *Mercia* and the *British* Confines, from Sea to Sea. *Egferth* the Son of *Offa*, a Prince of great hope, who also had bin crown'd nine years before his Father's Decease, restoring to the Church what his Father had seis'd on, yet within four Months by a Sickness ended his Reign; and to *Kenulf* next in right of the same Progeny bequeath'd his Kingdom. Mean while the *Danish* Pirats who still wasted *Northumberland*, ventring on shoar to spoil another Monastery at the mouth of the River *Don*, were assail'd by the English, thir chief Captain slain on the place; then returning to Sea, were most of them ship-wrack'd; others driv'n again on shoar, were put all to the Sword. *Simcon* attributes this thir Punishment to the power of *St. Cudbert*, offended with them for the rising of his Convent. Two years after this, dy'd *Ethelred* twice King, but not exempted at last from the fate of many his Predecessors, miserably slain by his People, some say deservedly, as not unconscious with them who train'd *Osred* to his ruin. *Osbold* a Nobleman exalted to the Throne, and in less then a Month, deserted and expell'd, was forc'd to fly at last from *Lindisfarne* by Sea to the *Pictish* King, and dy'd an Abbot. *Eardulf*, whom *Ethelred* six years before had commanded to be put to death at *Ripon*, before the Abbey-Gate, dead as was suppos'd, and with solemn Dirge carried into the Church, after midnight found there alive, I read not how, then banish'd, now recal'd, was in *York* created King. In *Kent*, *Ethelbert* or *Pren*, whom the *Annals* call *Eadbright* (so different they often are one from another, both in timing and in naming) by som means having usurp'd Regal Power, after two years Reign contending with *Kenulf* the *Mercian*, was by him tak'n Pris'ner, and soon after out of pious Commiseration let go: but not receav'd of his own, what became of him, *Malmsbury* leaves in doubt. *Simcon* writes, that *Kenulf* commanded to put out his Eyes, and lop off his hands; but whether the Sentence were executed or not, is left as much in doubt by his want of Expression. The second

Year

793.

Sim. Dun.

794.

Malmf.

Affer. Men.

Sim. Dun.

796.

Sim. Dun.

Year after this, they in *Northumberland* who had conspir'd against *Ethelred*, now also raising War against *Eardulf*, under *Wada* thir Chief Captain, after much havock on either side at *Langbo*, by *Whaley* in *Lancashire*, the Conspirators at last flying, *Eardulf* return'd with Victory. The same year *London*, with a great multitude of her Inhabitants, by a sudden Fire was consum'd. The year 800 made way for great Alteration in *England*, uniting her seven Kingdoms into one, by *Ecbert* the famous *West-Saxon*; him *Birhtric* dying childless left next to reign, the only Survivor of that Linage, descended from *Inegild* the Brother of King *Ina*. And according to his Birth liberally bred, he began early from his Youth to give signal hopes of more then ordinary worth growing up in him; which *Birhtric* fearing, and with all his juster Title to the Crown, secretly sought his Life, and *Ecbert* perceiving, fled to *Offa* the *Mercian*: but he having married *Eadburg* his Daughter to *Birhtric*, easily gave ear to his Embassadors coming to require *Ecbert*: He again put to his shifts, escap'd thence into *France*; but after three years Banishment there, which perhaps contributed much to his Education, *Charles* the Great then reigning, he was call'd over by the publick Voice (for *Birhtric* was newly dead) and with general Applause created King of *West-Saxons*. The same day *Ethelmund* at *Kimmeresford* passing over with the *Worcestershire* Men, was met by *Weolstan* another Nobleman with those of *Wiltshire*, between whom happ'nd a great fray, wherein the *Wiltshire* Men overcame, but both Dukes were slain, no reason of thir Quarrel writt'n; such bickerings to recount met oft'n in these our Writers, what more worth is it then to chronicle the Wars of Kites or Crows flocking and fighting in the Air? The Year following *Eardulf* the *Northumbrian* leading forth an Army against *Kenulf* the *Mercian* for harboring certain of his Enemies, by the diligent Mediation of other Princes and Prelats, Arms were laid aside, and Amity soon sworn between them. But *Eadburga* the Wife of *Birhtric*, a Woman every way wicked, in Malice especially cruel, could not or car'd not to appease the general Hatred justly conceiv'd against her; accusom'd in her Husband's days to accuse any whom she sprighted; and not prevailing to his Ruin, her practice was by Poison secretly to contrive his Death. It fortun'd that the King her Husband lighting on a Cup which she had temper'd, not for him, but for one of his great Favourites, whom she could not harm by accusing, sip'd therof only, and in a while after still pining away, ended his days; the Favourite drinking deeper, found speedier the Operation. She fearing to be question'd for these Facts, with what Treasure she had, pass'd over Sea to *Charles* the Great, whom with rich Gifts coming to his Presence, the Emperor courtly receav'd with this pleasant Proposal: Choose *Eadburga*, which of us two thou wilt, me or my Son (for his Son stood by him) to be thy Husband. She no Dissembler of what she lik'd best, made easy Answer: Were it in my choice, I should choose of the two your Son rather, as the younger Man. To whom the Emperour, between jest and earnest, Hadst thou chosen me, I had bestow'd on thee my Son; but since thou hast chos'n him, thou shalt have neither him nor me. Nevertheless he assign'd her a rich Monastery to dwell in as Abbess; for that Life it may seem she chose next to profess: but being a while after detected of Unchastity with one of her Followers, she was comanded to depart thence; from that time wandring poorly up and down with one Servant, in *Pavia* a City of *Italy*, she finish'd at last in beggery her shameful Life. In the year 805 *Cuthred*, whom *Kenulf* the *Mercian* had, instead of *Pren*, made King in *Kent*, having obscurely reign'd 8 years, deceas'd. In *Northumberland*, *Eardulf* the year following was driv'n out of his Realm by *Alfwold*, who reign'd two years in his room; after whom *Eandred* Son of *Eardulf* 33 years; but I see not how this can stand with the Sequel of Story out of better Authors: Much less that which *Buchanan* relates, the year following, of *Achais* King of *Scots*, who having reign'd 32 years, and dying in 809, had formerly aided (but in what year of his Reign tells not) *Hungus* King of *Picts* with 10000 *Scots*, against *Athelstan* a Saxon or English-man, then wasting the *Pictish* Borders; that *Hungus* by the aid of those *Scots*, and the help of *St. Andrew* thir Patron, in a Vision by night, and the appearance of his Cross by day, routed the astonish'd English, and slew *Athelstan* in fight. Who this *Athelstan* was, I believe no Man knows; *Buchanan* supposes him to have been som Danish Commander,

Sim. Dun.
813.
Sax. Annal.

819.
Sax. an.
Malmf.

on whom King *Alured* or *Alfred* had bestow'd *Northumberland*; but of this I find no Footstep in our antient Writers; and if any such thing were done in the time of *Alfred*, it must be little less than 100 years after: this *Athelstan* therefore, and this great Overthrow, seems rather to have bin the fancy of som Legend than any warrantable Record. Mean while *Ecbert* having with much Prudence, Justice and Clemency, a work of more then one year, establish'd his Kingdom and himself in the Affections of his People, turns his first Enterprize against the *Britans*, both them of *Cornwal* and those beyond *Severn*, subduing both. In *Mercia*, *Kenulf* the 6th year after having reign'd with great Praise of his religious Mind and Vertues both in Peace and War, deceas'd. His Son *Kenelm*, a Child of seven Years, was committed to the care of his elder Sister *Quendrid*; who with a female Ambition aspiring to the Crown, hir'd one who had the charge of his Nuture to murder him, led into a woody place upon pretence of hunting. The Murder, as is reported, was miraculously reveal'd; but to tell how, by a Dove dropping a writt'n Note on the Altar at *Rome*, is a long Story, told, though out of order, by *Malmsbury*, and under the year 821 by *Mat. West.* where I leave it to be sought by such as are more credulous then I wish my Readers. Only the Note was to this purpose:

*Low in a Mead of Kine under a Thorn,
Of Head bereft, li'th poor Kenelm King-born.*

820.
Ingulf.
823.
Sax. an.

Florent.
Genealog.
Bed. l. 2. c. 15.

Camd.
825.
Ingulf.

Keolwulf the Brother of *Kenulf*, after one Year's Reign was driv'n out by one *Bernulf* an Usurper: who in his third Year, uncertain whether invading or invaded, was by *Ecbert*, though with great Loss on both sides, overthrown and put to flight at *Ellandune* or *Wilton*: yet *Malmsbury* accounts this Battel fought in 806, a wide difference, but frequently found in thir Computations. *Bernulf* thence retiring to the *East-Angles*, as part of his Dominion by the late seizure of *Offa*, was by them met in the Field and slain: but they doubting what the *Mercians* might do in revenge hereof, forthwith yielded themselves both King and People to the Sovrantic of *Ecbert*. As for the Kings of *East-Angles*, our Annals mention them not since *Ethelwald*; him succeeded his Brother's Sons, as we find in *Malmsbury*, *Aldulf* (a good King, well acquainted with *Bede*) and *Elwold* who left the Kingdom to *Beorn*; he to *Ethelred* the Father of *Ethelbrite*, whom *Offa* perfidiously put to Death. *Simeon* and *Hoveden*, in the Year 749, write that *Elfwald* King of *East-Angles* dying, *Humbearna* and *Albert* shar'd the Kingdom between them; but where to insert this among the former Successions is not easy, nor much material: after *Ethelbrite*, none is nam'd of that Kingdom till thir submitting now to *Ecbert*: he from this Victory against *Bernulf* sent part of his Army under *Ethelwulf* his Son, with *Alstan* Bishop of *Shirburn*, and *Wulferd* a Chief Commander, into *Kent*. Who finding *Baldred* there reigning in his 18th Year, overcame and drove him over the *Thames*; wherupon all *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Sussex*, and lastly *Essex*, with her King *Switbred*, became subject to the Dominion of *Ecbert*. Neither were these all his Exploits of this Year, the first in order set down in *Saxon Annals*, being his Fight against the *Devonshire Welch*, at a place call'd *Gasulford*, now *Camelford* in *Cornwal*. *Ludiken* the *Mercian*, after two years preparing to avenge *Bernulf* his Kinsman on the *East-Angles*, was by them with his five Consuls, as the Annals call them, surpris'd and put to the Sword: and *Witblaf* his Successor first vanquish'd, then upon Submission with all *Mercia*, made tributary to *Ecbert*. Mean while the *Northumbrian* Kingdom of it self was fall'n to shivers; thir Kings one after another so oft'n slain by the People, no Man daring, though never so ambitious, to take up the Scepter which many had found so hot, (the only effectual cure of Ambition that I have read) for the space of 33 Years after the Death of *Ethelred* Son of *Mollo*, as *Malmsbury* writes, there was no King: many Noblemen and Prelats were fled the Country. Which Mis-rule among them the *Danes* having understood, oft-times from thir Ships entring far into the Land, infested those Parts with wide Depopulation, wasting Towns, Churches, and Monasteries, for they were yet Heathen: The *Lent* before whose coming, on the North-side of *St. Peter's* Church in *York*, was seen from the Roof to rain Blood. The Causes of these Calamities, and the Ruin of that Kingdom, *Alcuin*, a learned Monk living in those

those days, attributes in several Epistles, and well may, to the general Ignorance and Decay of Learning, which crept in among them after the Death of *Beda*, and of *Ecbert* the Archbishop; thir neglect of breeding up Youth in the Scriptures, the spruce and gay Apparel of thir Preists and Nuns, discovering thir vain and wanton minds: examples are also read, ev'n in *Beda's* days, of thir wanton deeds: thence Altars defil'd with Perjuries, Cloisters violated with Adulteries, the Land polluted with Blood of thir Princes, civil Dissentions among the People, and finally all the same Vices which *Gildas* alleg'd of old to have ruin'd the *Britans*. In this estate *Ecbert*, who had now conquer'd all the South, finding them in the year 827, (for he was march'd thither with an Army to compleat his Conquest of the whole Iland) no wonder if they submitted themselves to the Yoke without Resistance, *Eandred* thir King becoming tributary. Thence turning his Forces the Year following, he subdu'd more throughly what remain'd of *North-Wales*.

827.

828.

Mat. West.

The End of the Fourth Book.

THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

The Fifth Book.

THE sum of things in this Iland, or the best part therof, reduc't now under the Power of one man, and him one of the worthiest, which as far as can be found in good Authors, was by none attain'd at any time heer before unless in Fables, men might with some reason have expected, from such union, peace and plenty, greatness, and the flourishing of all estates and degrees: but far the contrary fell out soon after, invasion, spoil, desolation, slaughter of many, slavery of the rest, by the forcible landing of a fierce Nation; *Danes* commonly call'd, and sometimes *Dacians* by others, the same with *Normans*; as barbarous as the *Saxons* themselves were at first reputed, and much more, for the *Saxons* first invited came hither to dwell; these unsent for, unprovok'd, came only to destroy. But if the *Saxons*, as is above related, came most of them from *Jutland* and *Anglen*, a part of *Denmark*, as *Danish* writers affirm, and that *Danes* and *Normans* are the same; then in this Invasion, *Danes* drove out *Danes*, thir own Posterity. And *Normans* afterwards, none but antienter *Normans*. Which invasion perhaps, had the Heptarchie stood divided as it was, had either not bin attempted, or not uneasily resisted; while each Prince and People, excited by thir neereft concerns, had more industriously defended thir own bounds, then depending on the neglect of a deputed Governour, sent oft-times from the remote residence of a secure Monarch. Though as it fell out in those troubles, the lesser Kingdoms revolting from the *West-Saxon* yoke, and not aiding each other, too much concern'd with thir own safety, it came to no better pass; while severally they fought to repel the danger nigh at hand, rather then jointly to prevent it far off. But when God hath decreed servitude on a sinful Nation, fitted by thir own Vices for no condition but servile, all Estates of Government are alike unable to avoid it. God had purpos'd to punish our instrumental punishers, though now Christians, by other Heathen, according to his Divine retaliation; Invasion for invasion, spoil for spoil, destruction for destruction. The *Saxons* were now full as wicked as the *Britans* were at thir arrival, brok'n with Luxury and Sloth, either secular or superstitious; for laying aside the exercise of Arms, and the study of all vertuous Knowledg, som betook them to over-worldly or vitious practice, others to religious idleness and solitude, which brought forth nothing but vain and delusive Visions; easily perceav'd such by thir commanding of things, either not belonging to the Gospel, or utterly forbidden, Ceremonies, Reliques, Monasteries, Masses, Idols, add to these ostentation of Alms, got oft-times by rapine and oppression, or intermixt with violent and lustful deeds, sometimes prodigally bestow'd as the expiation of Cruelty and Bloodshed. What longer suffering could there be, when Religion it self grew so void of sincerity, and the greatest shews of Purity were impur'd?

Calvinius.

Pontan.
Hist. Dan.

ECBERT.

E C B E R T.

Ecbert in full hight of Glory, having now enjoy'd his Conquest seven peaceful years, his victorious Army long since disbanded, and the exercise of Arms perhaps laid aside, the more was found unprovided against a sudden storm of *Danes* from the Sea, who landing in the 32^d of his Reign, wasted *Shepey* in *Kent*. Ecbert the next Year, gathering an Army, for he had heard of thir arrivall in 35 Ships, gave them Battel by the River *Carr* in *Dorsetshire*; the event wherof was, that the *Danes* kept thir Ground, and encamp'd where the Field was fought; two *Saxon* Leaders, *Dudda* and *Osmund*, and two Bishops, as som say, were there slain. This was the only check of Fortune we read of, that Ecbert in all his time receav'd. For the *Danes* returning two years after with a great Navy, and joining Forces with the *Cornish*, who had enter'd League with them, were overthrowen and put to flight. Of these Invasions against Ecbert, the *Danish* History is not silent; whether out of thir own Records or ours, may be justly doubted: for of these times at home, I find them in much uncertainty, and beholden rather to Out-landish Chronicles then any Records of thir own. The Victor Ecbert, as one who had done enough, seasonably now, after prosperous success, the next year with glory ended his daies, and was buried at *Winchester*.

832.

Sax. an.

833.

Sax. an.

835.

Sax. an.

Pontan. Hist.

Dan. l. 4.

836

Sax. an.

E T H E L W O L F.

Ethelwolf the Son of Ecbert succeeded, by *Atalmsbury* describ'd a man of mild Nature, not inclin'd to War, or delighted with much Dominion; that therefore contented with the antient *West-Saxon* bounds, he gave to *Ethelstan* his Brother, or Son, as som write, the Kingdom of *Kent* and *Essex*. But the *Saxon* Annalist, whose Auctority is elder, saith plainly, that both these Countries and *Sussex*, were bequeath'd to *Ethelstan* by Ecbert his Father. The unwarlike disposition of *Ethelwolf* gave encouragement no doubt, and easier entrance to the *Danes*, who came again the next year with 33 Ships; but *Wulfheard*, one of the Kings chief Captains, drove them back at *Southampton* with great slaughter; himself dying the same year, of Age, as I suppose, for he seems to have bin one of Ecberts old Commanders, who was sent with *Ethelwolf* to subdue *Kent*. *Ethelhelm* another of the King's Captains, with the *Dorsetshire* men, had at first like success against the *Danes* at *Portsmouth*; but they reinforcing stood thir Ground, and put the English to rout. Worse was the success of Earl *Herebert* at a place call'd *Merefwar*, slain with the most part of his Army. The year following in *Lindsey* also, *East-Angles*, and *Kent*, much mischief was don by thir landing; where the next year, embold'nd by success, they came on as far as *Canterbury*, *Rocheſter*, and *London* it self, with no less cruel Hostility: and giving no respite to the peaceable mind of *Ethelwolf*, they yet return'd with the next year in 35 Ships, fought with him, as before with his Father, at the River *Carr*, and made good thir Ground. In *Northumberland*, *Eandred* the Tributary King deceasing, left the same Tenure to his Son *Ethelred* driv'n out in his fourth year, and succeeded by *Readwulf*, who soon after his Coronation hasting forth to Battel against the *Danes* at *Alvetheli*, fell with the most part of his Army; and *Ethelred* like in fortune to the former *Ethelred*, was re-exalted to his Seat. And to be yet further like him in Fate, was slain the fourth year after. *Osbert* succeeded in his room. But more southerly, the *Danes* next year after met with som stop in the full course of thir outrageous insolences. For *Earnulf* with the men of *Somerset*, *Alstan* the Bishop, and *Osfic* with those of *Dorsetshire*, setting upon them at the Rivers mouth of *Pedridan*, slaughter'd them in great numbers, and obtain'd a just Victory. This repulse quell'd them, for ought we hear, the space of six years; then also renewing thir Invasion with little better success. For *Keorle* an Earl, aided with the Forces of *Devonshire*, assaulted and overthrowen them at *Wigganbeorch* with great Destruction; as prosperously were they fought with the same Year at *Sandwich*, by King *Ethelstan*, and *Ealker* his General, thir great Army defeated, and nine of thir Ships tak'n, the rest driv'n off; however to ride out the Winter on that shoar, *Affer* saith, they then first winter'd in *Shepey* Ile.

Matt. West.

837.

Sax. an.

838.

Sax. an.

839.

Sax. an.

840.

Sax. an.

Sim. Dun.

Mat. West.

844.

845.

Sax. an.

851.

Sax. an.

Alier.

Hard

Huntingd.
Mat. West.

853.
Sax. an.
After.

Malmf.
854.
Sax. an.

855.
After.

After.

857.

Hard it is, through the bad expression of these Writers, to define this Fight, whether by Sea or Land; *Hoveden* terms it a Sea-fight. Nevertheless with 50 Ships (*Asser* and others add 300) they enter'd the mouth of *Thames*, and made Excursions as far as *Canterbury* and *London*, and as *Ethelwerd* writes, destroy'd both; of *London*, *Asser* signifies only that they pillag'd it. *Bertulf* also the *Mercian*, Successor of *Witlaf*, with all his Army they forc'd to fly, and him beyond the Sea. Then passing over *Thames* with thir Powers into *Surrey*, and the *West-Saxons*, and meeting there with King *Ethelwolf* and *Ethelbald* his Son, at a place call'd *Ak-Lea*, or *Oke-Lea*, they receav'd a total Defeat with memorable Slaughter. This was counted a lucky Year to *England*, and brought to *Ethelwolf* great Reputation. *Burhed* therfore, who after *Bertulf* held of him the *Mercian* Kingdom, two years after this, imploring his Aid against the *North-Welch*, as then troublesom to his Confines, obtain'd it of him in Person, and therby reduc'd them to Obedience. This don, *Ethelwolf* sent his Son *Alfrid* a Child of five years, well accompanied to *Rome*, whom *Leo* the Pope both consecrated to be King afterwards, and adopted to be his Son; at home *Ealder* with the Forces of *Kent*, and *Huda* with those of *Surrey*, fell on the *Danes* at thir landing in *Tanet*, and at first put them back; but the slain and drown'd were at length so many on either side, as left the loss equal on both: which yet hinder'd not the Solemnity of a Marriage at the Feast of *Easter*, between *Burhed* the *Mercian*, and *Ethelwida* King *Ethelwolf*'s Daughter. Howbeit the *Danes* next year winter'd again in *Shepey*. Whom *Ethelwolf*, not finding Human Health sufficient to resist, growing daily upon him, in hope of Divine Aid, register'd in a Book, and dedicated to God the tenth part of his own Lands, and of his whole Kingdom, eas'd of all Impositions, but converted to the maintenance of Masses and Psalms weekly to be sung for the prospering of *Ethelwolf* and his Captains, as appears at large by the Patent it self, in *William* of *Malmesbury*. *Asser* saith, he did it for the redemption of his Soul, and the Soul of his Ancestors. After which, as having don som great matter to shew himself at *Rome*, and be applauded of the Pope, he takes a long and cumberfom Journey thether with young *Alfrid* again, and there stays a Year, when his place requir'd him rather here in the field against Pagan Enemies left wintring in his Land. Yet so much Manhood he had, as to return thence no Monk; and in his way home took to Wife *Judith* Daughter of *Charles* the bald, King of *France*. But ere his return, *Ethelbald* his eldest Son, *Alstan* his trusty Bishop, and *Emulf* Earl of *Somerfet* conspir'd against him; thir Complaints were, that he had tak'n with him *Alfrid* his youngest Son to be there inaugurated King, and brought home with him an out-landish Wife; for which they endeavour'd to deprive him of his Kingdom. The disturbance was expected to bring forth nothing less then War: but the King abhorring civil Discord, after many Conferences tending to Peace, condescended to divide the Kingdom with his Son; Division was made, but the matter so carried, that the Eastern and worst part was malignly afforded to the Father: The Western and best giv'n to the Son, at which many of the Nobles had great Indignation, offering to the King thir utmost Assistance for the recovery of all; whom he peacefully dissuading, sat down contented with his Portion assign'd. In the *East-Angles*, *Edmund* lineal from the antient stock of those Kings, a Youth of 14 Years only, but of great hopes, was with consent of all but his own crown'd at *Burie*. About this time, as *Buchanan* relates, the *Picts*, who not long before had by the *Scots* bin driv'n out of thir Country, part of them coming to *Osbert* and *Ella*, then Kings of *Northumberland*, obtain'd Aid against *Donaldus* the *Scotish* King, to recover thir antient Possession. *Osbert*, who in Person undertook the Expedition, marching into *Scotland*, was at first put to a Retreat; but returning soon after on the *Scots*, over-secure of thir suppos'd Victory, put them to flight with great slaughter, took Prisoner thir King, and pursu'd his Victory beyond *Sterlin-bridg*. The *Scots* unable to resist longer, and by Embassadors entreating Peace, had it granted them on these conditions: the *Scots* were to quit all they had possess'd within the Wall of *Severus*: the limits of *Scotland* were beneath *Sterlin-bridg* to be the River *Forth*, and on the other side, *Dunbritton Frith*; from that time so call'd of the *British* then seated in *Cumberland*, who had join'd with *Osbert* in this

Action

Action, and so far extended on that side the *British* Limits. If this be true, as the *Scotch* Writers themselves witness (and who would think them fabulous to the disparagement of thir own Country?) how much wanting have bin our Historians to thir Country's Honour, in letting pass unmention'd an Exploit so memorable, by them remembred and attested, who are wont offer to extenuate then to amplify aught don in *Scotland* by the English? *Donaldus* on these conditions releas'd, soon after dies; according to *Buchanan*, in 858. *Ethelwolf* Chief King in *England*, had the year before ended his Life, and was buried as his Father at *Winchester*. He was from his Youth ^{Mat. West.} much addicted to Devotion; so that in his Father's time he was ordain'd Bishop of *Winchester*; and unwillingly, for want of other legitimate Issue, succeeded him in the Throne; managing therefore his greatest Affairs by the Activity of two Bishops, *Alstan* of *Sherburne*, and *Swithine* of *Winchester*. But *Alstan* is noted of Covetousness and Oppression, by *William* of *Malm-* ^{Malmf.} *bury*; the more vehemently no doubt for doing som notable damage to that ^{Swithune.} Monastery. The same Author writes, that *Ethelwolf* at *Rome*, paid a Tri- ^{Sigon. de} bute to the Pope, continu'd to his days. However he were facit to his Son, ^{regn. Ital. l. 5} and seditious Nobles, in yeilding up part of his Kingdom, yet his Queen he treated not the less honourably, for whomsoever it displeas'd. The *West-* ^{Asser.} *Saxons* had decreed ever since the time of *Eadburga*, the infamous Wife of *Birchric*, that no Queen should sit in State with the King, or be dignifi'd with the Title of Queen. But *Ethelwolf* permitted not that *Judith* his Queen should lose any point of Regal State by that Law. At his Death, he divided the Kingdom between his two Sons, *Ethelbald*, and *Ethelbert*; to the younger *Kent*, *Essex*, *Surrey*, *Sussex*, to the elder all the rest; to *Peter* and *Paul* certain Revenues yearly, for what uses let others relate, who write also his Pedigree, from Son to Father, up to *Adam*.

ETHEL BALD, and ETHEL BERT.

Ethelbald, unnatural and disloyal to his Father, fell justly into another, ^{Asser.} *though* contrary Sin, of too much love to his Father's Wife; and whom at ^{Malmf.} first he oppos'd coming into the Land, her now unlawfully marrying, he takes ^{Sim. Dun} into his Bed; but not long enjoying, dy'd at three years end, without do- ^{860.} ing aught more worthy to be remember'd; having reign'd two Years with ^{Sax. an.} his Father, impiously usurping, and three after him, as unworthily inheriting. And his hap was all that while to be unmolested by the *Danes*; not of Divine Favour doubtless, but to his greater Condemnation, living the more securely his incestuous Life. *Huntingdon* on the other side much praises *Ethelbald*, and writes him buried at *Sherburn*, with great sorrow of the People, who miss'd him long after. *Mat. West.* saith, that he repented of his Incest with *Judith*, and dismiss'd her: but *Asser* an Eye-witness, of those times, mentions no such thing.

ETHEL BERT alone.

Ethelbald by Death remov'd, the whole Kingdom came rightfully to *Ethel-* ^{855.} *bert* his next Brother. Who though a Prince of great Vertue and no blame, had as short a Reign allotted him as his faulty Brother, nor that so peaceful; once or twice invaded by the *Danes*. But they having landed in the West with a great Army, and sack't *Winchester*, were met by *Osfic* Earl of *Southampton*, and *Ethelwolf* of *Barkshire*, beat'n to thir Ships, and forc't to leave thir Booty. Five Years after, about the time of his Death, they set foot ^{Sax. an.} again in *Tanet*; the Kentishmen wearied out with so frequent Alarms, came to agreement with them for a certain Sum of Money; but ere the Peace could be ratifi'd, and the Money gather'd, the *Danes* impatient of delay by a sudden Eruption in the night, soon wast'd all the *East* of *Kent*. Mean while or something before, *Ethelbert* deceasing was buried as his Brother at *Sherburn*.

ETHELRED.

ETHELRED.

866.
Sax. an.
Huntingd.
867.
Sax. an.
- After.
- 868.
- After.
869.
Sim. Dun.
870.
Ingulf.
871.
Sax. an.
- After.
- E**thelred the third, Son of Ethelwolf, at his first coming to the Crown was entertain'd with a fresh Invasion of *Danes*, led by *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, two Brothers, who now had got footing among the *East-Angles*; there they winter'd, and coming to terms of Peace with the Inhabitants, furnish'd themselves of Horses, forming by that means many Troops with Riders of thir own: These Pagans, *Affer* saith, came from the River *Danubius*. Fitted thus for a long Expedition, they ventur'd the next Year to make thir way over Land and over *Humber*, as far as *York*, then they found to thir hands imbroil'd in civil Dissentions; thir King *Osbert* they had thrown out, and *Ella* Leader of another Faction chosen in his room; who both, though late, admonish'd by thir common danger, towards the years end with united Powers made head against the *Danes* and prevail'd; but persuing them over-eagerly into *York*, then but slenderly wall'd, the *Northumbrians* were every where slaughter'd, both within and without; thir Kings also both slain, thir City burnt, saith *Malmstury*, the rest as they could made thir Peace, over-run and vanquish'd as far as the River *Tine*, and *Egbert* of English Race appointed King over them. *Bromton* no antient Author (for he wrote since *Mat. West.*) nor of much credit, writes a particular cause of the *Danes* coming to *York*: that *Bruern* a Nobleman, whose Wife King *Osbert* had ravish'd, call'd in *Hinguar* and *Hubba* to revenge him. The Example is remarkable if the Truth were as evident. Thence victorious, the *Danes* next year enter'd into *Mercia* towards *Nottingham*, where they spent the Winter. *Burhed* then King of that Country, unable to resist, implores the Aid of *Ethelred* and young *Alfred* his Brother; they assembling thir Forces and joining with the *Mercians* about *Nottingham*, offer Battel: the *Danes* not daring to come forth, kept themselves within that Town and Castle, so that no great Fight was hazarded there; at length the *Mercians* weary of long Suspence, enter'd into Conditions of Peace with thir Enemies: After which the *Danes* returning back to *York*, made thir Abode there the space of one Year, committing, som say, many Cruelties. Thence imbarcking to *Lindsey*, and all the Summer destroying that Country, about *September* they came with like Fury into *Kesteven*, another part of *Lincolnshire*, where *Algar* the Earl of *Howland*, now *Holland*, with his Forces, and two hunderd stout Souldiers belonging to the Abbey of *Croiland*, three hunderd from about *Boston*, *Morcard* Lord of *Brunne*, with his numerous Family, well train'd and arm'd: *Osgot* Governour of *Lincoln* with 500 of that City, all joining together, gave Battel to the *Danes*, slew of them a great multitude, with three of thir Kings, and persu'd the rest to thir Tents; but the Night following *Gothbrun*, *Baseg*, *Osketil*, *Halfden*, and *Hamond*, five Kings, and as many Earls, *Frena*, *Hinguar*, *Hubba*, *Sidroc* the elder and younger, coming in from several parts with great Forces and Spoils, great part of the English began to flink home. Nevertheless *Algar* with such as forfook him not, all next day in order of Battel facing the *Danes*, and sustaining unmov'd the brunt of thir Assaults, could not with-hold his Men at last from persuing their counterfited Fight; wherby op'nd and disorder'd, they fell into the Snare of thir Enemies, rushing back upon them. *Algar* and those Captains fore-nam'd with him, all resolute Men, retreating to a Hill side, and slaying of such as follow'd them, manifold thir own number, dy'd at length upon heaps of dead which they had made round about them. The *Danes* thence passing on into the Country of *East-Angles*, rifl'd and burnt the Monastery of *Elie*, overthrew Earl *Wulketul* with his whole Army, and lodg'd out the Winter at *Thetford*; where King *Edmund* assailing them, was with his whole Army put to flight, himself tak'n, bound to a stake, and shot to Death with Arrows, his whole Country subdu'd. The next year with great Supplies, saith *Huntingdon*, bending thir march toward the *West-Saxons*, the only People now left in whom might seem yet to remain Strength or Courage likely to oppose them, they came to *Reading*, fortify'd there between the two Rivers of *Thames* and *Kenet*, and about three days after sent out Wings of Horse under two Earls to forage the Country; but *Ethelwulf* Earl of *Barkshire*, at *Englefeld* a Village nigh, encounter'd them, slew one of thir Earls,

and

and obtain'd a great Victory. Four days after came the King himself and his Brother *Alfred* with the main Battail; and the *Danes* issuing forth, a bloody Fight began, on either side great Slaughter, in which Earl *Ethelwulf* lost his Life; but the *Danes* losing no ground, kept thir place of standing to the end. Neither did the English for this make less hast to another Conflict at *Esceldune* or *Ashdown*, four days after, where both Armies with thir whole Force on either side met. The *Danes* were imbattail'd in two great Bodies, the one led by *Bascai* and *Halfden*, thir two Kings, the other by such Earls as were appointed; in like manner the English divided thir Powers, *Ethelred* the King stood against thir Kings; and though on the lower ground, and coming later into the Battail from his Orisons, gave a fierce Onset, wherin *Bascai* (the *Danish* History names him *Ivarus* the Son of *Regnerus*) was slain. *Alfred* was plac'd against the Earls, and beginning the Battail ere his Brother came into the Field, with such Resolution charg'd them, that in the shock most of them were slain; they are nam'd *Sidroc* elder and younger, *Osbern*, *Frean*, *Harald*; at length in both Divisions, the *Danes* turn thir backs; many thousands of them cut off, the rest persud till night. So much the more it may be wonder'd to hear next in the Annals, that the *Danes* 14 days after such an Overthrow fighting again with *Ethelred* and his Brother *Alfred* at *Basing*, under Conduct, saith the *Danish* History, of *Agnerus* and *Hubbo*, Brothers of the slain *Ivarus*, should obtain the Victory; especially since the new Supply of *Danes* mention'd by *Asser*, arriv'd after this Action. But after two Months the King and his Brother fought with them again at *Merton*, in two Squadrons as before; in which Fight hard it is to understand who had the better; so darkly do the *Saxon Annals* deliver thir meaning with more then wonted Infancy. Yet these I take (for *Asser* is heer silent) to be the Chief Fountain of our Story, the Ground and Basis upon which the Monks later in time gloss and comment at thir pleasure. Nevertheless it appears, that on the *Saxon* part, not *Heamund* the Bishop only, but many valiant Men lost thir Lives. This Fight was follow'd by a heavy Summer Plague; wherof, as is thought, King *Ethelred* dy'd in the fifth of his Reign, and was buried at *Winburne*, where his Epitaph inscribes that he had his Deaths Wound by the *Danes*, according to the *Danish* History 872. Of all these terrible Landings and Devastations by the *Danes*, from the days of *Ethelwulf* till thir two last Battels with *Ethelred*, or of thir Leaders, whether Kings, Dukes, or Earls, the *Danish* History of best credit saith nothing; so little Wit or Conscience it seems they had to leave any Memory of thir brutish rather then manly Actions; unless we shall suppose them to have com, as above was cited out of *Asser*, from *Danubius*, rather then from *Denmark*, more probably some barbarous Nation of *Prussia*, or *Livonia*, not long before seated more Northward on the *Baltic* Sea.

Pontan. Hist.
Dan. l. 4.

Camden.

A L F R E D.

Alfred the fourth Son of *Ethelwulf*, had scarce perform'd his Brothers Obsequies, and the Solemnity of his own Crowning, when at the Months end in hast with a small Power he encounter'd the whole Army of *Danes* at *Wilton*, and most part of the day foil'd them; but unwarily following the Chase, gave others of them the advantage to rally; who returning upon him now weary, remain'd Masters of the Field. This year, as is affirm'd in the Annals, nine Battels had bin fought against the *Danes* on the South-side of *Thames*, besides innumerable Excursions made by *Alfred* and other Leaders; one King, nine Earls were fall'n in fight, so that weary on both sides at the years end, League or Truce was concluded. Yet next year the *Danes* took thir March to *London*, now expos'd to thir Prey, there they winter'd, and thether came the *Mercians* to renue Peace with them. The year following they rov'd back to the parts beyond *Humber*, but winter'd at *Torksey* in *Lincolnshire*, where the *Mercians* now the third time made Peace with them. Notwithstanding which, removing thir Camp to *Rependune* in *Mercia*, now *Repton* upon *Trent* in *Darbyshire*, and there wintring, they constrain'd *Burhed* the King to fly into foren parts, making seisure of his Kingdom, he running the direct way to *Rome*; with better reason then his Ancestors, dy'd there,

872.
Sax. an.

873.
Sax. an.

874.
Sax. an.

and was buried in a Church by the English School. His Kingdom the *Danes* farm'd out to *Kelwulf*, one of his Household Servants or Officers, with condition to be resign'd them when they commanded. From *Rependune* they dislodg'd, *Hafden* thir King leading part of his Army Northward, winter'd by the River *Tine*, and subjecting all those quarters, wasted also the *Picts* and *British* beyond: but *Guthrun*, *Oskitell*, and *Anwynd*, other three of thir Kings, moving from *Rependune*, came with a great Army to *Grantbrig*, and remain'd there a whole year. But *Alfred* that Summer purposing to try his Fortune with a Fleet at Sea (for he had found that the want of Shipping and neglect of Navigation had expos'd the Land to these Piracies) met with seven *Danish* Rovers, took one, the rest escaping; an acceptable Success from so small a beginning: for the English at that time were but little experienc'd in Sea-Affairs. The next years first motion of the *Danes* was towards *Warham-Castle*, where *Alfred* meeting them, either by Policy, or thir doubt of his Power; *Ethelwerd* saith, by Money brought them to such terms of Peace, as that they swore to him upon a hallow'd Bracelet, others say upon certain Reliques (a solemn Oath it seems which they never voutsaf'd before to any other Nation) forthwith to depart the Land: but falsifying that Oath, by night with all the Horse they had (*Affer* saith, slaying all the Horsemen he had) stole to *Exeter*, and there winter'd. In *Northumberland* *Hafden* thir King began to settle, to divide the Land, to till, and to inhabit. Mean while they in the West who were march'd to *Exeter*, enter'd the City, courting now and then to *Warham*; but thir Fleet the next year failing or rowing about the West, met with such a Tempest neer to *Swanwich* or *Gnavewic*, as wrack'd 120 of thir Ships, and left the rest easy to be master'd by those Gallies which *Alfred* had set there to guard the Seas, and streit'n *Exeter* of Provision. He the while beleaguering them in the City, now humbl'd with the loss of thir Navy, (two Navies, saith *Affer*, the one at *Gnavewic*, the other at *Swanwine*) distress'd them so, as that they gave him as many Hostages as he requir'd, and as many Oaths, to keep thir covenanted Peace, and kept it. For the Summer coming on, they departed into *Mercia*, wherof part they divided amongst themselves, part left to *Kelwulf* thir substituted King. The Twelftide following, all Oaths forgott'n, they came to *Chippenham* in *Wiltshire*, dispeopling the Countries round, dispossessing som, driving others beyond the Sea; *Alfred* himself with a small Company was forc'd to keep within Woods and Fenny Places, and for som time all alone, as *Florent* saith, sojourn'd with *Dunwulf* a Swine-herd; made afterwards for his Devotion and Aptness to Learning Bishop of *Winchester*. *Hafden* and the Brother of *Hinguar* coming with 23 Ships from *North-Wales*, where they had made great spoil, landed in *Devonshire*, nigh to a strong Castle nam'd *Kimwith*; where by the Garison issuing forth unexpectedly, they were slain with 12 hunderd of thir Men. Mean while the King about *Easter*, not despairing of his Affairs, built a Fortress at a place call'd *Athelney* in *Somersetshire*, therin valiantly defending himself and his Followers, frequently fallyng forth. The 7th Week after he rode out to a place call'd *Ec-bryt-stone* in the East part of *Selwood*: thether resorted to him with much Gratulation the *Somerset* and *Wiltshire* Men, with many out of *Hampshire*, som of whom a little before had fled thir Country; with these marching to *Ethandune*, now *Edindon* in *Wiltshire*, he gave Battel to the whole *Danish* Power, and put them to flight. Then beseiging thir Castle, within fourteen days took it. *Malmsbury* writes, that in this time of his Recess, to go a Spy into the *Danish* Camp, he took upon him with one Servant the Habit of a Fidler; by this means gaining access to the King's Table, and somtimes to his Bed-Chamber, got knowledg of thir Secrets, thir careless encamping, and therby this opportunity of assailing them on a sudden. The *Danes* by this Misfortune brok'n, gave him more Hostages, and renu'd thir Oaths to depart out of his Kingdom. Thir King *Gytro* or *Gothrun* offer'd willingly to receive Baptism, and accordingly came with 30 of his Friends to a place call'd *Aldra* or *Aulre*, neer to *Athelney*, and were baptiz'd at *Wedmore*; where *Alfred* receav'd him out of the Font, and nam'd him *Athelstan*. After which they abode with him 12 days, and were dismiss'd with rich Presents. Wherupon the *Danes* remov'd next year to *Cirencester*, thence peaceably to the *East-Angles*; which *Alfred*, as som write, had bestow'd on *Gothrun* to hold of him; the Dounds wherof

875.
Sax. an.876.
Sax. an.

Florent.

Florent.

877.
Sax. an.

Affer.

878.
Sax. an.

Sim. Dan.

Affer.

Camden.

Camd.

879.
Sax. an.

whereof may be read among the Laws of *Alfred*. Others of them went to *Fulham* on the *Thames*, and joining there with a great Fleet newly com into the River, thence pass'd over into *France* and *Flanders*, both which they enter'd so far conquering or wasting, as witness'd sufficiently, that the *French* and *Flemish* were no more able then the *English*, by Policy or Prowess, to keep off that *Danish* Inundation from thir Land. *Alfred* thus rid of them, and intending for the future to prevent thir landing; three years after (quiet the mean while) with more Ships and better provided, puts to Sea, and at first met with four of theirs, wherof two he took, 882: Sax. an: throwing the men over-board, then with two others, wherein were two of thir Princes, and took them also, but not without som loss of his own. After three years another Fleet of them appear'd on these Seas, so huge that one part 885: Sax. an: thought themselves sufficient to enter upon *East-France*, the other came to *Roche-ster*, and beleaguerr'd it, they within stoutly defending themselves till *Alfred* with great Forces, coming down upon the *Danes*, drove them to thir Ships, leaving for hast all thir Horses behind them. The same year *Alfred* sent a Fleet toward the *East-Angles*, then inhabited by the *Danes*, which at the mouth of *Stour*, meeting with 16 *Danish* Ships, after som fight took them all, and slew all the Souldiers aboard; but in thir way home lying careles, were overtak'n by another part of that Fleet, and came off with loss: wherupon perhaps those *Danes* who were settl'd among the *East-Angles*, erected with new hopes, violated the Peace which they had sworn to *Alfred*, who spent the next year in repairing *London*, (beseiging, faith *Huntingdon*) much ruin'd and un- 886: Sax. an: peopl'd by the *Danes*; the *Londoners*, all but those who had bin led away Captive, soon return'd to thir Dwellings; and *Ethred* Duke of *Mercia*, was by the King appointed thir Governour. But after 13 years respite of Peace, another 893: Sax. an: *Danish* Fleet of 250 Sail, from the *East* part of *France* arriv'd at the mouth of a River in *East Kent*, call'd *Limn*, nigh to the great Wood *Andred*, famous for length and bredth; into that Wood they drew up thir Ships four mile from the Rivers mouth, and built a Fortres. After whom *Haesten* with another *Danish* Fleet of 80 Ships, entring the mouth of *Thames*, built a Fort at *Middleton*, the former Army remaining at a place call'd *Apeltre*. *Alfred* perceaving this, took of those *Danes* who dwelt in *Northumberland*, a new Oath of Fidelity, and of those in *Essex* Hostages, lest they should join, as they were wont, with thir Countrymen newly arriv'd. And by the next year having 894: Sax. an: got together his Forces, between either Army of the *Danes* encamp'd so as to be ready for either of them, who first should happ'n to stir forth; Troops of Horse also he sent continually abroad, assisted by such as could be spar'd from strong places, wherever the Countries wanted them, to encounter foraging parties of the Enemy. The King also divided sometimes his whole Army, marching out with one part by turns, the other keeping intrencht. In conclusion rowling up and down, both sides met at *Farnham* in *Surrey*; where the *Danes* by *Alfreds* Horse Troops were put to flight, and crossing the *Thames* to a certain Island neer *Coln* in *Essex*, or as *Camden* thinks, by *Colebrook*, were beseig'd there by *Alfred* till Provision fail'd the beseigers, another part staid behind with thir King wounded. Mean while *Alfred* preparing to reinforce the seige in *Colney*, the *Danes* of *Northumberland* breaking Faith, came by Sea to the *East-Angles*, and with a hundred Ships coasting Southward, landed in *Devonshire*, and beseig'd *Exeter*; thether *Alfred* hasten'd with his Powers, except a Squadron of *Welch* that came to *London*: with whom the Citizens marching forth to *Beamflet*, where *Haesten* the Dane had built a strong Fort, and left a Garison, while he himself with the main of his Army was enter'd far into the Country, luckily surpris'd the Fort, master the Garison, make prey of all they find there; thir Ships also they burnt or brought away with good Booty, and many Prisoners, among whom the Wife and two Sons of *Haesten* were sent to the King, who forthwith set them at liberty. Wherupon *Haesten* gave Oath of Amity and Hostages to the King; he in requital, whether freely or by agreement, a sum of Money. Nevertheless without regard of Faith giv'n, while *Alfred* was busied about *Exeter*, joining with the other *Danish* Army, he built another Castle in *Essex* at *Shoberie*, thence marching Westward by the *Thames*, aided with the *Northumbrian* and *East-English* *Danes*, they came at length to *Severn*, pillaging all in thir way. But, *Ethred*, *Ethelii*, and

Camden.

85.
Sax. an.Sim. Dun.
Florent.86.
Sax. an.87.
Sax. an.88.
Sax. an.

Ethelnoth, the Kings Captains, with united Forces pitch'd nigh to them at *Buttington*, on the *Severn* Bank in *Montgomery-shire*, the River running between, and there many Weeks attended; the King mean while blocking up the *Danes* who besieg'd *Exeter*, having eat'n part of thir Horses, the rest urg'd with Hunger broke forth to thir fellows, who lay encamp't on the East-side of the River, and were all there discomfited with som loss of valiant men on the Kings party; the rest fled back to *Essex* and thir Fortrefs there. Then *Laf*, one of thir Leaders, gather'd before Winter a great Army of *Northumbrian* and *East-Englisch Danes*, who leaving thir Money, Ships, and Wives with the *East-Angles*, and marching day and night, sat down before a City in the West call'd *Wirbeal* neer to *Chester*, and took it ere they could be overtak'n. The English after two daies Seige, hopeles to dislodg them, wasted the Country round to cut off from them all Provision, and departed. Soon after which, next year, the *Danes* no longer able to hold *Wirbeal*, destitute of Vittles, enter'd *North-Wales*; thence lad'n with Spoils, part return'd into *Northumberland*, others to the *East-Angles* as far as *Essex*, where they seiz'd on a small lland call'd *Mercsig*. And heer again the Annals record them to besiege *Exeter*, but without coherence of sense or story. Others relate to this purpose, that returning by Sea from the Seige of *Exeter*, and in thir way landing on the Coast of *Sussex*, they of *Chichester* sallied out and slew of them many hundreds, taking also some of thir Ships. The same year they who possess'd *Mercsig*, intending to winter therabout, drew up thir Ships, som into the *Thames*, others into the River *Lee*, and on the Bank therof built a Castle twenty miles from *London*; to assault which the *Londoners* aided with other Forces march'd out the Summer following, but were soon put to flight, losing four of the Kings Captains. *Huntingdon* writes quite the contrary, that these four were *Danish* Captains, and the overthrow theirs: but little Credit is to be plac'd in *Huntingdon* single. For the King therupon with his Forces, lay encamp't neerer the City, that the *Danes* might not infest them in time of Harvest; in the mean time, suttleyly deviding to turn *Lee*-stream severall waies, wherby the *Danish* Bottoms were left on dry Ground: which they soon perceaving, march'd over Land to *Quatbrig* on the *Severn*, built a Fortrefs, and winter'd there; while thir Ships left in *Lee*, were either brok'n or brought away by the *Londoners*; but thir Wives and Children they had left in safety with the *East-Angles*. The next year was Pestilent, and besides the common fort took away many great Earls, *Kelmond* in *Kent*, *Britbulf* in *Essex*, *Wulfred* in *Hampshire*, with many others; and to this evil the *Danes* of *Northumberland* and *East-Angles* ceas'd not to endamage the *West-Saxons*, especially by stealth, robbing on the South-shoar in certain long Gallies. But the King causing to be built others twice as long as usually were built, and some of 60 or 70 Oars higher, swifter and steddier then such as were in use before either with *Danes* or *Frisons*, his own Invention, som of these he sent out against six *Danish* Pirats, who had don much harm in the Ile of *Wight*, and parts adjoining. The bickering was doubtful and intricate, part on the Water, part on the Sands; not without loss of som eminent men on the English side. The Pirats at length were either slain or taken, two of them stranded; the men brought to *Winchester*, where the King then was, were executed by his command; one of them escap'd to the *East-Angles*, her men much wounded: the same year not fewer then twenty of thir Ships perish'd on the South Coast with all thir men. And *Rollo* the *Dane* or *Norman* landing heer, as *Matt. West.* writes, though not in what part of the lland, after an unsuccessful fight against those Forces which first oppos'd him, sail'd into *France* and conquer'd the Country, since that time call'd *Normandy*. This is the sum of what pass'd in three years against the *Danes*, returning out of *France*, set down so perplexly by the *Saxon* Annalist, ill-gifted with utterance, as with much ado can be understood somtimes what is spok'n, whether meant of the *Danes*, or of the *Saxons*. After which troublesom time, *Alfred* enjoying three years of Peace, by him spent, as his manner was, not idely or voluptuously, but in all vertuous employments both of Mind and Body, becoming a Prince of his Renown, ended his daies in the year 900, the 51st of his Age, the 30th of his Reign, and was buried regally at *Winchester*; he was born at a place call'd *Wanading* in *Barkshire*, his Mother *Osburga* the Daughter of *Oslac* the Kings

Cup-bearer, a Goth by Nation, and of noble Descent. He was of Person comlier then all his Brethren, of pleasing Tongue and graceful Behaviour, ready Wit and Memory; yet through the fondness of his Parents towards him, had not bin taught to read till the twelfth year of his Age; but the great desire of Learning which was in him, soon appear'd by his conning of *Saxon* Poems day and night, which with great attention he heard by others repeated. He was besides excellent at Hunting, and the new Art then of Hawking, but more exemplary in Devotion, having collected into a Book certain Prayers and Psalms, which he carried ever with him in his Bosom to use on all occasions. He thirsted after all liberal Knowledge, and oft complain'd that in his Youth he had no Teachers, in his middle Age so little vacancy from Wars and the cares of his Kingdom; yet leisure he found sometimes, not only to learn much himself, but to communicate therof what he could to his People, by translating Books out of Latin into English, *Orosius*, *Boethius*, *Beda's* History and others; permitted none unlearn'd to bear Office, either in Court or Common-wealth. At twenty years of Age not yet reigning, he took to Wife *Egelfwitha* the Daughter of *Ethelred* a *Mercian* Earl. The extremities which beset him in the first of his Reign, *Neothan* Abbot told him, were justly com upon him for neglecting in his younger days the Complaints of such as injur'd and oppress'd repair'd to him, as then second Person in the Kingdom, for Redress; which neglect were it such indeed, were yet excusable in a Youth, through jollity of mind unwilling perhaps to be detain'd long with sad and sorrowful Narrations; but from the time of his undertaking Regal charge, no man more patient in hearing causes, more inquisitive in examining, more exact in doing Justice, and providing good Laws, which are yet extant; more severe in punishing unjust Judges or obstinate Offenders. Theeves especially and Robbers, to the terror of whom in cross waies were hung upon a high Post certain Chains of Gold, as it were daring any one to take them thence; so that Justice seem'd in his daies not to flourish only, but to triumph: no man then he more frugal of two pretious things in mans life, his Time and his Revenue; no man wiser in the disposal of both. His time, the day, and night, he distributed by the burning of certain Tapours into three equal Portions; the one was for Devotion, the other for public or private Affairs, the third for bodily refreshment; how each hour past, he was put in mind by one who had that Office. His whole annual Revenue, which his first care was should be justly his own, he divided into two equal parts; the first he imploid to secular uses, and subdivided those into three, the first to pay his Souldiers, Household-Servants and Guard, of which divided into three Bands, one attended monthly by turn; the second was to pay his Architects and Workmen, whom he had got together of several Nations; for he was also an elegant Builder, above the Custom and conceit of Englishmen in those days; the third he had in readines to releive or honour Strangers according to thir worth, who came from all parts to see him, and to live under him. The other equal part of his yearly Wealth he dedicated to religious uses, those of four sorts; the first to releive the Poor, the second to the building and maintenance of two Monasteries, the third of a School, where he had perswaded the Sons of many Noblemen to study sacred Knowledge and liberal Arts, som say at *Oxford*; the fourth was for the relief of Foren Churches, as far as *India* to *Malmesbury* the shrine of *St. Thomas*, sending thether *Sigelm* Bishop of *Sherburn*, who both return'd safe, and brought with him many rich Gems and Spices; gifts also and a Letter he receav'd from the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*; sent many to *Rome*, and for them receav'd reliques. Thus far, and much more might be said of his noble mind which render'd him the mirror of Princes; his Body was diseas'd in his Youth with a great forenens in the Seige; and that ceasing of it self, with another inward pain of unknown cause, which held him by frequent fits to his dying day; yet not disinabl'd to sustain those many glorious Labours of his Life both in Peace and War.

EDWARD the Elder.

Malmf.

Huntingd.

901.

Sax. an.

902.

905.

Sax. an.

907.

Sax. an.

910.

Sax. an.

911.

Sax. an.

Ethelwerd.

912.

Sax. an.

913.

Sax. an.

917.

Sax. an.

Edward the Son of *Alfred* succeeded, in Learning not equal, in Power and extent of Dominion surpassing his Father. The beginning of his Reign had much disturbance by *Ethelwald* an ambitious young Man, Son of the King's Uncle, or Cousin German, or Brother, for his Genealogy is variously deliver'd. He vainly avouching to have equal right with *Edward* of Succession to the Crown, possess'd himself of *Winburn* in *Dorset*, and another Town diversly nam'd, giving out that there he would live or die; but encompass'd with the King's Forces at *Badbury* a place nigh, his Heart failing him, he stole out by night, and fled to the *Danish* Army beyond *Humber*. The King sent after him, but not overtaking, found his Wife in the Town, whom he had married out of a Nunnery, and commanded her to be sent back thither. About this time the *Kentish* Men, against a multitude of *Danish* Pirats, fought prosperously at a place call'd *Holme*, as *Hoveden* records. *Ethelwald* aided by *Northumbrians* with Shipping, three Years after, sailing to the *East-Angles*, perswaded the *Danes* there to fall into the King's Territory, who marching with him as far as *Crecklad*, and passing the *Thames* there, wasted as far beyond as they durst venture, and lad'n with Spoils return'd home. The King with his Powers making speed after them, between the *Dike* and *Ouse*, suppos'd to be *Suffolk* and *Cambridgeshire*, as far as the Fens Northward, laid waist all before him. Thence intending to return, he commanded that all his Army should follow him close without delay; but the *Kentish* Men, though oft'n call'd upon, lagging behind, the *Danish* Army prevented them, and join'd Battel with the King: where Duke *Sigulf* and Earl *Sigelm*, with many other of the Nobles were slain; on the *Danes* part, *Eoric* thir King, and *Ethelwald* the Author of this War, with others of high note, and of them greater number, but with great ruin on both sides; yet the *Danes* kept in thir Power the burying of thir slain. Whatever follow'd upon this Conflict, which we read not, the King two years after with the *Danes*, both of *East-Angles* and *Northumberland*, concluded Peace, which continu'd three Years, by whomsoever brok'n: for at the end therof King *Edward* raising great Forces out of *West-Sex* and *Mercia*, sent them against the *Danes* beyond *Humber*; where staying five weeks, they made great spoil and slaughter. The King offer'd them terms of Peace, but they rejecting all, enter'd with the next year into *Mercia*, rendring no less Hostility then they had suffer'd; but at *Tetnal* in *Staffordshire*, saith *Florent*, were by the English in a set Battel overthrown. King *Edward* then in *Kent*, had got together of Ships about a hundred Sail, others gon Southward came back and met him. The *Danes* now supposing that his main Forces were upon the Sea, took liberty to rove and plunder up and down, as hope of prey led them, beyond *Severn*. The King guessing what might imbold'n them, sent before him the lightest of his Army to entertain them; then following with the rest, set upon them in thir return over *Cantbrig* in *Glostershire*, and slew many thousands, among whom *Ecwils*, *Hafden*, and *Hinguar* thir Kings, and many other harsh Names in *Huntingdon*; the place also of this fight is variously writt'n by *Ethelwerd* and *Florent*, call'd *Wodensfeild*. The year following *Ethred* Duke of *Mercia*, to whom *Alfred* had giv'n *London*, with his Daughter in Marriage; now dying, King *Edward* resum'd that City, and *Oxford*, with the Countries adjoining, into his own hands, and the year after, built, or much repair'd by his Souldiers, the Town of *Hertford* on either side *Lee*; and leaving a sufficient number at the work, march'd about middle Summer, with the other part of his Forces into *Essex*, and encamp'd at *Maldon*, while his Souldiers built *Witham*; where a good part of the Country, subject formerly to the *Danes*, yeilded themselves to his Protection. Four years after (*Florent* allows but one year) the *Danes* from *Leister* and *Northampton*, falling into *Oxfordshire*, committed much Rapine, and in som Towns therof great slaughter; while another party wasting *Hertfordshire*, met with other Fortune; for the Country-People inur'd now to such kind of Incurfions, joining stoutly together, fell upon the Spoilers, and recover'd thir own Goods, with som Booty from thir Enemies. About the same time *Elfred* the King's Sister sent her Army of *Mercians* into

Wales,

Wales, who routed the *Welch*, took the Castle of *Brecon-mere* by *Brecknock*, Ham. in d. Camden. and brought away the King's Wife of that Country with other Pris'ners. Not long after she took *Derby* from the *Danes*, and the Castle by a sharp Assault. But the year ensuing brought a new Fleet of *Danes* to *Lidwic* in *Devonshire*, under two Leaders, *Otter* and *Roald*; who sailing thence Westward about the Land's end, came up to the mouth of *Severn*; there landing wasted the *Welch* Coast, and *Irchenfeild* part of *Herefordshire*; where they took *Kuneleac* a *British* Bishop, for whose Ransom King *Edward* gave forty Pound: but the Men of *Hereford* and *Glostershire* assembling, put them to flight; slaying *Roald* and the Brother of *Otter*, with many more, persü'd them to a Wood, and there beset compell'd them to give Hostages of present departure. The King with his Army sat not far off, securing from the South of *Severn* to *Avon*; so that op'nly they durst not, by night they twice ventur'd to land; but found such welcom, that few of them came back; the rest anchor'd by a small Island where many of them famish'd; then sailing to a place call'd *Deomed*, they cross'd into *Ireland*. The King with his Army went to *Buckingham*, staid there a month, and built two Castles or Forts on either Bank of *Ouse* ere his departing; and *Turkitel* a *Danish* Leader, with those of *Bedford* and *Northampton*, yeilded him subjection. Wherupon the next year he came with his Army to the Town of *Bedford*, took possession therof, 918. Sax. an. staid there a month, and gave order to build another part of the Town, on the South-side of *Ouse*. Thence the year following went again to *Maldon*, repair'd and fortifi'd the Town. *Turkitel* the *Dane* having small hope to thrive heer, where things with such prudence were manag'd against his Interest, got leave of the King, with as many Voluntaries as would follow him, to pass into *France*. Early the next year King *Edward* re-edifi'd *Toucester*, now *Torchester*; and another City in the Annals call'd *Wigingmere*. 919. Sax. an. Mean while the *Danes* of *Leister* and *Northamptonshire*, not liking perhaps to be neighbour'd with strong Towns, laid siege to *Torchester*; [but they within repelling the Assault one whole day till Supplies came] quitted the Siege by night; and persü'd close by the besieg'd, between *Birnmud* and *Ailsbury* were surpriz'd, many of them made Pris'ners, and much of thir Baggage lost. Other of the *Danes* at *Huntingdon*, aided from the *East-Angles*, finding that Castle not commodious, left it, and built another at *Temsford*, judging that place more opportune from whence to make thir Excursions; and soon after went forth with design to assail *Bedford*: but the Garison issuing out, slew a great part of them, the rest fled. After this a greater Army of them gather'd out of *Mercia* and the *East-Angles*, came and besieg'd the City call'd *Wigingmere* a whole day; but finding it defended stoutly by them within, thence also departed, driving away much of thir Cattel: wherupon the English from Towns and Cities round about joining Forces, laid Siege to the Town and Castle of *Temsford*, and by assault took both; slew thir King with *Toglea* a Duke, and *Mannan* his Son an Earl, with all the rest there found; who chose to die rather then yeild. Encourag'd by this, the Men of *Kent*, *Surrey*, and part of *Essex*, enterprize the Siege of *Colchester*, nor gave over till they won it, sacking the Town and putting to Sword all the *Danes* thierin, except som who escap'd over the Wall. To the succour of these, a great number of *Danes* inhabiting Ports and other Towns in the *East-Angles*, united thir Force; but coming too late, as in revenge beleagured *Maldon*; but that Town also timely reliev'd, they departed, not only frustrate of thir Design, but so hotly persü'd, that many thousands of them lost thir Lives in the flight. Forthwith King *Edward* with his *West-Saxons* went to *Passham* upon *Ouse*, there to guard the Passage, while others were building a Stone Wall about *Torchester*; to him there Earl *Thurfert*, and other Lord *Danes*, with thir Army thierabout as far as *Weolud*, came and submitted. Wherat the King's Souldiers joyfully cry'd out to be dismiss't home: therefore with another part of them he enter'd *Huntingdon*, and repair'd it, where Breaches had bin made; all the People thierabout returning to Obedience. The like was don at *Colnchester* by the next remove of his Army; after which both *East* and *West-Angles*, and the *Danish* Forces among them, yeilded to the King, swearing Allegiance to him both by Sea and Land: the Army also of *Danes* at *Grantbrig*, surrendring themselves, took the same Oath. The Summer

922.
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mer following he came with his Army to *Stamford*, built a Castle there on the South-side of the River, where all the People of those quarters acknowledged him Supreme. During his Abode there, *Elfred* his Sister, a martial Woman, who after her Husband's Death would no more marry, but gave herself to public Affairs, repairing and fortifying many Towns, warring sometimes, dy'd at *Tamworth* the cheif Seat of *Mercia*, wherof by Gift of *Alfred* her Father, she was Lady or Queen; wherby that whole Nation became obedient to King *Edward*, as did also *North-Wales*, with *Howel*, *Cledaucus*, and *Jeothwell*, thir Kings. Thence passing to *Nottingham*, he enter'd and repair'd the Town, plac'd there part English, part Danes, and receav'd Fealty from all in *Mercia* of either Nation. The next Autumn, coming with his Army into *Cheeshire*, he built and fortify'd *Thelwel*; and while he staid there, call'd another Army out of *Mercia*, which he sent to repair and fortify *Manchester*. About Midsummer following he march'd again to *Nottingham*, built a Town over against it on the South-side of that River, and with a Bridg join'd them both; thence journied to a place call'd *Bedecanwillan* in *Pitland*; there also built and fenc'd a City on the Borders, where the King of *Scots* did him honour as to his Sovran, together with the whole *Scotish* Nation; the like did *Reginald* and the Son of *Eadulf*, Danish Princes, with all the *Northumbrians*, both English and Danes. The King also of a People therabout call'd *Streagledwalli*, (the *North-Welch*, as *Camden* thinks, of *Strat-Cluid* in *Denbighshire*, perhaps rather the *British* of *Cumberland*) did him homage, and not underserv'd. For *Buchanan* himself confesses, that this King *Edward* with a small number of Men compar'd to his Enemies, overthrew in a great Battel the whole united Power both of *Scots* and *Danes*, slew most of the *Scotish* Nobility, and forc'd *Malcolm*, whom *Constantine* the Scotch King had made General, and design'd Heir of his Crown, to save himself by flight sore wounded. Of the English he makes *Athelstan* the Son of *Edward* chief Leader; and so far seems to confound Times and Actions, as to make this Battel the same with that fought by *Athelstan* about 24 years after at *Brunesford*, against *Anlaf* and *Constantine*, wherof hereafter. But here *Buchanan* takes occasion to inveigh against the English Writers, upbraiding them with Ignorance, who affirm *Athelstan* to have bin supreme King of *Britain*, *Constantine* the *Scotish* King with others to have held of him: and denies that in the *Annals* of *Marianus Scotus*, any mention is to be found therof; which I shall not stand much to contradict, for in *Marianus*, whether by Surname or by Nation *Scotus*, will be found as little mention of any other *Scotish* Affairs, till the time of King *Dunchad* slain by *Machetad*, or *Mackbeth*, in the year 1040. which gives cause of suspicion, that the Affairs of *Scotland* before that time were so obscure as to be unknown to thir own Countryman, who liv'd and wrote his Chronicle not long after. But King *Edward* thus nobly doing, and thus honour'd, the year following dy'd at *Farendon*; a Builder and Restorer ev'n in War, not a Destroyer of his Land. He had by several Wives many Children; his eldest Daughter *Edgith* he gave in Marriage to *Charles* King of *France*, Grandchild of *Charles* the Bald above-mention'd; of the rest in place convenient. His Laws are yet to be seen. He was buried at *Winchester*, in the Monastery by *Alfred* his Father. And a few days after him dy'd *Ethelwerd* his eldest Son, the Heir of his Crown. He had the whole Iland in subjection, yet so as petty Kings reign'd under him. In *Northumberland*, after *Ecbert* whom the Danes had set up, and the *Northumbrians* yet unruly under thir Yoke, at the end of six years had expell'd, one *Ricsig* was set up King, and bore the name three years; then another *Ecbert*, and *Guthred*; the latter, if we beleieve Legends, of a Servant made King by command of St. *Cudbert*, in a Vision; and enjoyn'd by another Vision of the same Saint, to pay well for his Royalty many Lands and Privileges to his Church and Monastery. But now to the Storie.

ATHELSTAN.

Athelstan, next in Age to Ethelward his Brother, who deceas'd untimely a few days before, though born of a Concubin, yet for the great appearance of many Vertues in him, and his Brethren being yet under Age, was exalted to the Throne at *Kingston upon Thames*, and by his Father's last Will, faith *Malmsbury*, yet not without som opposition of one *Alfred* and his Accomplices; who not liking he should reign, had conspir'd to seise on him after his Father's Death, and to put out his Eyes. But the Conspirators discover'd, and *Alfred* denying the Plot, was sent to *Rome*, to assert his Innocence before the Pope; where taking his Oath on the Altar, he fell down immediately, and carry'd out by his Servants, three days after dy'd. Mean while beyond *Humber* the *Danes*, though much aw'd, were not idle. *Inguald*, one of thir Kings, took possession of *York*; *Sitric*, who som years before had slain *Niel* his Brother, by force took *Davenport* in *Cheshire*; and however he defended these doings, grew so considerable, that *Athelstan* with great Solemnity gave him his Sister *Edgith* to Wife: but he enjoy'd her not long, dying ere the years end, nor his Sons *Anlaf* and *Guthfert* the Kingdom, driv'n out the next year by *Athelstan*; not unjustly faith *Huntingdon*, as being first Raisers of the War. *Simeon* calls him *Gudfrid* a *British* King, whom *Athelstan* this year drove out of his Kingdom; and perhaps they were both one; the name and time not much differing, the place only mistak'n. *Malmsbury* differs in the name also, calling him *Aldulf* a certain Rebel. Them also I with as much mistak'n, who write that *Athelstan*, jealous of his younger Brother *Edwin's* towardly Vertues, least added to the right of Birth, they might som time or other call in question his illegitimate Precedence, caus'd him to be drown'd in the Sea; expos'd, som say, with one Servant in a rott'n Bark, without Sail or Oar; where the Youth far off Land, and in rough Weather despairing, threw himself over-board; the Servant more patient, got to Land and reported the Success. But this *Malmsbury* confesses to be sung in old Songs, not read in warrantable Authors: and *Huntingdon* speaks as of a sad Accident to *Athelstan*, that he lost his Brother *Edwin* by Sea; far the more credible, in that *Athelstan*, as is writt'n by all, tenderly lov'd and bred up the rest of his Brethren, of whom he had no less cause to be jealous. And the year following he prosper'd better then from so foul a Fact, passing into *Scotland* with great Puissance, both by Sea and Land, and chasing his Enemies before him, by Land as far as *Dunfeoder* and *Wertermore*, by Sea as far as *Cathness*. The cause of this Expedition, faith *Malmsbury*, was to demand *Gudfert* the Son of *Sitric*, thether fled, though not deny'd at length by *Constantine*, who with *Eugenius* King of *Cumberland*, at a place call'd *Dacor* or *Dacre* in that Shire, surrender'd himself and each his Kingdom to *Athelstan*, who brought back with him for Hostage the Son of *Constantine*. But *Gudfert* escaping in the mean while out of *Scotland*, and *Constantine* exasperated by this Invasion, perswaded *Anlaf* the other Son of *Sitric* then fled into *Ireland*, others write *Anlaf* King of *Ireland* and the *Iles*, his Son in law, with 615 Ships, and the King of *Cumberland* with other Forces, to his Aid. This within four years effected, they enter'd *England* by *Humber*, and fought with *Athelstan* at a place call'd *Wendune*, others term it *Brunanburg*, others *Bruneford*, which *Inguulf* places beyond *Humber*, *Camden* in *Glendale* of *Northumberland* on the *Scotch* Borders; the bloodie Fight, say Authors, that ever this Iland saw: to describe which the *Saxon* Annalist wont to be sober and succinct, whether the same or another Writer, now labouring under the weight of his Argument, and overcharg'd, runs on a sudden into such extravagant Fancies and Metaphors, as bare him quite beside the Scope of being understood. *Huntingdon*, though himself peccant enough in this kind, transcribes him word for word as a Pastime to his Readers. I shall only sum up what of him I can attain, in usual Language. The Battel was fought eagerly from Morning till Night; som fell of *King Edward's* old Army, try'd in many a Battel before; but on the other side great multitudes, the rest fled to thir Ships. Five Kings, and seven of *Anlaf's* chief Captains, were slain on the place; with *Froda* a *Norman* Leader; *Constantine* escap'd home, but lost his Son in the Fight, if I under-

stand my Author ; *Anlaf* by Sea to *Dublin*, with a small Remainder of his great Hoast. *Malmsbury* relates this War; adding many Circumstances after this manner : That *Anlaf* joining with *Constantine* and the whole Power of *Scotland*, besides those which he brought with him out of *Ireland*, came on far Southwards, till *Athelstan* who had retir'd on set purpose to be the furer of his Enemies, enclos'd from all Succour and Retreat, met him at *Bruneford*. *Anlaf* perceiving the Valour and Resolution of *Athelstan*, and mistrusting his own Forces, though numerous, resolv'd first to spy in what posture his Enemies lay : and imitating perhaps what he heard attempted by King *Alfred* the Age before, in the habit of a Mulician, got access by his Lute and Voice to the King's Tent, there playing both the Minstrel and the Spy : then towards Evening dismiss'd, he was observ'd by one who had bin his Souldier, and well knew him, viewing earnestly the King's Tent, and what Approaches lay about it, then in the Twilight to depart. The Souldier forthwith acquaints the King, and by him blam'd for letting go his Enemy, answer'd, that he had giv'n first his military Oath to *Anlaf*, whom if he had betray'd, the King might suspect him of like treasonous Mind towards himself ; which to disprove, he advis'd him to remove his Tent a good distance off ; and so don, it happ'n'd that a Bishop with his Retinue coming that Night to the Army, pick'd his Tent in the same place from whence the King had remov'd. *Anlaf* coming by night as he had design'd, to assault the Camp, and especially the King's Tent, finding there the Bishop in stead, slew him with all his Followers. *Athelstan* took the Alarm, and as it seems, was not found so unprovided, but that the day now appearing, he put his Men in order, and maintain'd the Fight till Evening ; wherein *Constantine* himself was slain wit' five other Kings, and twelve Earls, the Annals were content with sev'n, in the rest not disagreeing. *Ingulf* Abbot of *Croyland*, from the Authority of *Turketul* a principal Leader in this Battel, relates it more at large to this effect : That *Athelstan* above a Mile distant from the place where Execution was don upon the Bishop and his Supplies, alarm'd at the noise, came down by break of day upon *Anlaf* and his Army, overwatch'd and wearied now with the Slaughter they had made, and something out of order, yet in two main Battels. The King therefore in like manner dividing, led the one part consisting most of *West Saxons*, against *Anlaf* with his *Danes* and *Irish*, committing the other to his Chancellor *Turketul*, with the *Mercians* and *Londoners*, against *Constantine* and his *Scots*. The shower of Arrows and Darts over-pass'd, both Battels attack'd each other with a close and terrible Ingagement, for a long space neither side giving ground. Till the Chancellor *Turketul*, a Man of great Stature and Strength, taking with him a few *Londoners* of select Valour, and *Singin* who led the *Worstershire* Men, a Captain of undaunted Courage, broke into the thickest, making his way first through the *Picts* and *Orkeners*, then through the *Cumbrians* and *Scots*, and came at length where *Constantine* himself fought, unhors'd him, and us'd all means to take him alive ; but the *Scots* valiantly defending thir King, and laying load upon *Turketul*, which the Goodness of his Armour well endur'd, he had yet bin beat'n down, had not *Singin* his faithful Second at the same time slain *Constantine* ; which once known, *Anlaf* and the whole Army betook them to flight, wherof a huge multitude fell by the Sword. This *Turketul* not long after leaving worldly Affairs, became Abbot of *Croyland*, which at his own cost he had repair'd from *Danish* Ruins, and left there this Memorial of his former Actions. *Athelstan* with his Brother *Edmund* victorious, thence turning into *Wales*, with much more ease vanquish'd *Ludwal* the King, and possess'd his Land. But *Malmsbury* writes, that commiserating human chance, as he displac'd, so he restor'd both him and *Constantine* to thir Regal State ; for the Surrender of King *Constantine* hath bin above spok'n of. However the *Welch* did him homage at the City of *Hereford*, and cov'nanted yearly payment of Gold 20 pound, of Silver 300, of Oxen 25 thousand, besides hunting Dogs and Hawks. He also took *Exeter* from the *Cornish Britans*, who till that time had equal Right there with the English, and bounded them with the River *Tamar*, as the other *British* with *Wey*. Thus dreaded of his Enemies, and renown'd far and neer, three years after he dy'd at *Gloster*, and was buried with many Trophies at *Malmsbury*, where he had caus'd to be laid his two Colin Germans, *Elwin* and *Ethelstan*, both

both slain in the Battel against *Anlaf*. He was 30 years old at his coming to the Crown, mature in Wisdom from his Childhood, comly of Person and Behaviour; so that *Alfred* his Grandfather in blessing him was wont to pray he might live to have the Kingdom, and put him yet a Child into Souldiers Habit. He had his breeding in the Court of *Elfred* his Aunt, of whose vertues more then female we have related, sufficient to evince that his Mother, though said to be no wedded Wife, was yet such of parentage and worth, as the Royal Line disdain'd not, though the Song went in *Malmsburies* days (for it seems he refus'd not the authority of Ballats for want of better) that his Mother was a Farmers Daughter, but of excellent Feature; who dreamt one night she brought forth a Moon that should enlight'n the whole Land: which the Kings Nurse hearing of, took her home and bred up Courtly; that the King coming one day to visit his Nurse, saw there this Damsel, lik'd her, and by earnest Suit prevailing, had by her this famous *Athelstan*, a bounteous, just and affable King, as *Malmsbury* sets him forth; nor less honour'd abroad by Foren Kings, who sought his Friendship by great gifts or Affinity; that *Harold* King of *Noricum* sent him a Ship whose Prow was of Gold, Sails Purple, and other Golden things, the more to be wonder'd at, sent from *Noricum*, whether meant *Normay* or *Bavaria*, the one place so far from such superfluity of Wealth, the other from all Sea: the Embassadors were *Helgrim* and *Offrid*, who found the King at *York*. His Sisters he gave in marriage to greatest Princesses, *Elgif* to *Otho* Son of *Henry* the Emperour, *Egdith* to a certain Duke about the *Alpes*, *Edgiv* to *Ludwic* King of *Aquitain*, sprung of *Charles* the Great, *Ethilda* to *Hugo* King of *France*, who sent *Aldulf* Son of *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders* to obtain her. From all these great Suitors, especially from the Emperour and King of *France*, came rich Presents, Horses of excellent breed, gorgeous Trappings and Armour, Reliques, Jewels, Odors, Vessels of *Onyx*, and other precious things, which I leave poetically describ'd in *Malmsbury*, tak'n, as he confesses, out of an old Versifier, som of whose Verses he recites. The only blemish left upon him, was the exposing of his Brother *Edwin*, who disavow'd by Oath the Treason wherof he was accus'd, and implor'd an equal hearing. But these were Songs, as before hath bin said, which add also, that *Athelstan*, his anger over, soon repented of the Fact, and put to Death his Cup-bearer, who had induc't him to suspect and expose his Brother, put in mind by a word falling from the Cup-bearers own mouth, who slipping one day as he bore the Kings Cup, and recovering himself on the other Leg, said aloud fatally, as to him it prov'd, one Brother helps the other. Which words the King laying to heart, and pondering how ill he had done to make away his Brother, aveng'd himself first on the adviser of that Fact, took on him seven years Penance, and as *Mat. West.* saith, built two Monasteries for the Soul of his Brother. His Laws are extant among the Laws of other *Saxon* Kings to this day.

E D M U N D.

Edmund not above 18 years old succeeded his Brother *Athelstan*, in Courage not inferiour. For in the second of his Reign he freed *Mercia* of the *Sax.* *Danes* that remain'd there, and took from them the Cities of *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Stamford*, *Darby*, and *Leister*, where they were plac'd by King *Edward*, but it seems gave not good proof of thir Fidelity. *Simeon* writes that *Anlaf* setting forth from *York*, and having wasted Southward as far as *Northampton*, was met by *Edmund* at *Leister*; but that ere the Battails join'd, Peace was made between them by *Odo* and *Wulstan* the two Archbishops, with Conversion of *Anlaf*; for the same year *Edmund* receav'd at the Font-stone this or another *Anlaf*, as saith *Huntingdon*, not him spoken of before, who dy'd this year (so uncertain they are in the story of these times also) and held *Reginald* another King of the *Northumbers*, while the Bishop confirm'd him: thir Limits were divided North and South by *Watlingstreet*. But spiritual Kindred little avail'd to keep Peace between them, whoever gave the cause; for we read him two years after driving *Anlaf* (whom the Annals now first call the Son of *Sitric*) and *Suibfrid* Son of *Reginald* out of *Northumberland*, taking the whole Country into subjection. *Edmund* the next year haras'd *Cumberland*, then

945.
Sax. an.946.
Sax. an.
Camden.

gave it to *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, thereby bound to assist him in his Wars, both by Sea and Land; *Mat. West.* adds that in this action *Edmund* had the aid of *Leolin* Prince of *North-Wales*, against *Dummail* the *Cumbrian* King, him depriving of his Kingdom, and his two Sons of thir Sight. But the year after he himself by strange accident came to an untimely Death, Feasting with his Nobles on St. *Austin's* Day at *Puclekerke* in *Glostershire*, to celebrat the memory of his first converting the *Saxons*. He spi'd *Leof* a noted Theef, whom he had banish'd, sitting among his Guests; whereat transported with too much vehemence of spirit, though in a just cause, rising from the Table he ran upon the Theef, and catching his Hair, pull'd him to the Ground. The Theef who doubted from such handling no less then his Death intended, thought to die not unreveng'd; and with a short Dagger strook the King, who still laid at him, and little expected such Assassination, mortally into the Brest. The matter was don in a moment, ere men set at Table could turn them, or imaginat first what the stir meant, till perceaving the King deadly wounded; they flew upon the Murderer and hew'd him to peeces; who like a wild Beast at abay, seeing himself surrounded, desperatly laid about him, wounding som in his fall. The King was buried at *Glaston*, wherof *Dunstan* was then Abbot; his Laws yet remain to be seen among the Laws of other *Saxon* Kings.

E D R E D.

950.
Sim. Dun.

Hoved.

953.
Sim. Dun.955.
Sim. Dun.

E*Dred* the third Brother of *Athelstan*, the Sons of *Edmund* being yet but Children, next reign'd, not degenerating from his worthy Predecessors, and crown'd at *Kingston*. *Northumberland* he throughly subdu'd, the *Scots* without refusal swore him Allegiance; yet the *Northumbrians*, ever of doubtful Faith, soon after chose to themselves one *Eric* a *Dane*. *Huntingdon* still haunts us with this *Anlaf* (of whom we gladly would have bin rid) and will have him before *Eric* recal'd once more and reign four years, then again put to his shifts. But *Edred* entring into *Northumberland*, and with spoils returning, *Eric* the King fell upon his Rear. *Edred* turning about, both shook off the Enemy, and prepar'd to make a second inroad: which the *Northumbrians* dreading rejected *Eric*, slew *Amancus* the Son of *Anlaf*, and with many Presents appeasing *Edred*, submitted again to his Government; nor from that time had Kings, but were govern'd by Earls, of whom *Osulf* was the first. About this time *Wulstan* Archbishop of *York*, accus'd to have slain certain men of *Thetford* in revenge of thir Abbot whom the Townsamen had slain, was committed by the King to close Custody; but soon after enlarg'd, was restor'd to his place. *Malmsbury* writes, that his Crime was to have conniv'd at the revolt of his Countrymen: but King *Edred* two years after sickning in the flower of his Youth, dy'd much lamented, and was buried at *Winchestier*.

E D W I.

Ethelwerd.

Matt. West.

956.

E*dwi* the Son of *Edmund* now com to Age, after his Uncle *Edred's* Death took on him the Government, and was crown'd at *Kingston*. His lovely Person surnam'd him the Fair, his actions are diversly reported, by *Huntingdon* not thought illaudable. But *Malmsbury* and such as follow him write far otherwise, that he married, or kept as Concubine, his neer Kinswoman, som say both her and her Daughter; so inordinatly giv'n to his pleasure, that on the very day of his Coronation, he abruptly withdrew himself from the Company of his Peers, whether in Banquet or Consultation, to sit wantoning in the Chamber with this *Algiwa*, so was her name, who had such Power over him. Wherat his Barons offended, sent Bishop *Dunstan*, the boldest among them, to request his return: he going to the Chamber, not only interrupted his dalliance, and rebuk'd the Lady, but taking him by the hand, between force and persuation brought him back to his Nobles. The King highly displeas'd, and instigated perhaps by her who was so prevalent with him, not long after sent *Dunstan* into Banishment, caus'd his Monastery to be riff'd, and became an Enemy to all Monks and Fryers. Wherupon *Odo* Archbishop of *Canterbury* pronounc'd a separation or Divorce of the King from *Algiwa*. But that which most incited *William* of *Malmsbury* against him, he gave that Monastery to be dwelt

dwelt in by secular Priests, or, to use his own phrase, made it a stable of Clerks; at length these Affronts don to the Church were so resented by the People, that the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* revolted from him, and set up *Edgar* his Brother, leaving to *Edwi* the *West-Saxons* only, bounded by the River *Thames*; with Grief wherof, as is thought, he soon after ended his daies, and was buried at *Winchester*. Mean while *Elfsin* Bishop of that place after the Death of *Odo*, ascending by Simony to the Chair of *Canterbury*, and going to *Rome* the same year for his Pall, was froz'n to Death in the *Alps*.

Hoved.

957.

Saxon. an.

958.

Mat. West.

EDGAR.

E *Dgar* by his Brothers Death, now King of all *England* at 16 years of Age, call'd home *Dunstan* out of *Flanders*, where he liv'd in Exile. This King had no War all his Reign; yet always well prepar'd for War, govern'd the Kingdom in great Peace, Honour, and Prosperity, gaining thence the Sirname of Peaceable, much extoll'd for Justice, Clemency, and all Kingly Vertues, the more ye may be sure, by Monks, for his building so many Monasteries; as som write, every year one: for he much favour'd the Monks against secular Priests, who in the time of *Edwi* had got possession in most of thir Covents. His care and wisdom was great in guarding the Coast round with stout Ships to the number of 3600, *Mat. West.* reck'ns them 4800, divided into four Squadrons, to sail to and fro about the four quarters of the Land, meeting each other; the first of 1200 sail from East to West, the second of as many from West to East, the third and fourth between North and South; himself in the Summer time with his Fleet. Thus he kept out wisely the force of Strangers, and prevented Foren War; but by thir too frequent resort higher in time of Peace, and his too much favouring them, he let in thir Vices unaware. Thence the People, saith *Malmbsury*, learnt of the outlandish *Saxons* rudeness, of the *Flemish* daintiness and softness; of the *Danes* Drunk'ness; though I doubt these Vices are as naturally homebred heer as in any of those Countries. Yet in the Winter and Spring time he usually rode the Circuit as a Jugg Itinerant through all his Provinces, to see Justice well administer'd, and the Poor not oppress'd. Theeves and Robbers he rooted almost out of the Land, and wild Beasts of prey altogether; enjoining *Ludwal* King of *Wales* to pay the yearly Tribute of 300 Wolves, which he did for two years together, till the third year no more were to be found, nor ever after; but his Laws may be read yet extant. Whatever was the cause, he was not crown'd till the 30th of his Age, but then with great splendor and magnificence at the City of *Bath*, in the Feast of *Pentecost*. This year dy'd *Swarling* a Monk of *Croyland*, in the 142d year of his Age, and another soon after him in the 115th in that fenny and watrish Air, the more remarkable. King *Edgar* the next year went to *Chester*, and summoning to his Court there all the Kings that held of him, took Homage of them: thir names are *Kened* King of *Scots*, *Malcolm* of *Cumberland*, *Maccuse* of the *Iles*, five of *Wales*, *Dufwal*, *Huwal*, *Grifith*, *Jacob*, *Judethil*; these he had in such aw, that going one day into a Gally, he caus'd them to take each man his Oar, and row him down the River *Dee*, while he himself sat at the Stern; which might be don in merriment, and easily obei'd; if with a serious brow, discover'd rather vain glory, and insulting haughtiness, then moderation of Mind. And that he did it seriously triumphing, appears by his words then utter'd, that his Successors might then glory to be Kings of *England*, when they had such honour don them. And perhaps the Divine Power was displeas'd with him for taking too much honour to himself; since we read that the year following he was tak'n out of this Life by Sicknes in the highth of his glory and the prime of his Age, buried at *Glaston* Abby. The same year, as *Mat. West.* relates, he gave to *Kened* the *Scotish* King, many rich Presents, and the whole Country of *Laudian*, or *Lothien*, to hold of him on condition that he and his Successors should repair to the English Court at high Festivals when the King sat crown'd; gave him also many lodging Places by the way, which till the days of *Henry* the second, were still held by the Kings of *Scotland*. He was of Stature not tall, of Body slender, yet so well made, that in strength he chose to contend with such as were thought strongest, and dislik'd nothing more then that they should spare him

959.

Malmfi

Mat. West.

973.

Sax. an.

Ingulf.

974.

Sax. an.

975.

for respect or fear to hurt him. *Kened* King of *Scots* then in the Court of *Edgar*, sitting one day at Table, was heard to say jestingly among his Servants, he wonder'd how so many Provinces could be held in subjection by such a little dapper man: his words were brought to the Kings Ear; he sends for *Kened* as about som private business, and in talk drawing him forth to a secret place, takes from under his Garment two Swords which he had brought with him, gave one of them to *Kened*; and now saith he, it shall be try'd which ought to be the subject; for it is shameful for a King to boast at Table, and shrink in Fight. *Kened* much abash'd fell presently at his Feet, and besought him to pardon what he had simply spok'n, no way intended to his dishonour or disparagement; wherewith the King was satisfi'd. *Camden* in his description of *Ireland*, cites a Charter of King *Edgar*, wherein it appears he had in subjection all the Kingdoms of the Isles as far as *Norway*, and had subdu'd the greatest part of *Ireland* with the City of *Dublin*: but of this other Writers make no mention. In his youth having heard of *Elfrida*, Daughter to *Ordgar* Duke of *Devonshire*, much commended for her Beauty, he sent Earl *Athelwold*, whose Loyalty he trusted most, to see her; intending, if she were found such as answer'd report, to demand her in marriage. He at the first view tak'n with her presence, disloyally, as it oft happens in such Emploiments, began to sue for himself; and with consent of her Parents obtain'd her. Returning therefore with scarce an ordinary commendation of her Feature, he easily took off the Kings mind, soon diverted another way. But the matter coming to light how *Athelwold* had forestal'd the King, and *Elfrida*'s Beauty more and more spok'n of, the King now heated not only with a relapse of Love, but with a deep sense of the abuse, yet dissembling his disturbance, pleasantly told the Earl, what day he meant to com and visit him and his fair Wife. The Earl seemingly assur'd his welcom, but in the mean while acquainting his Wife, earnestly advis'd her to deform her self what she might, either in dress or otherwise, lest the King whose amorous inclination was not unknown, should chance to be attracted. She who by this time was not ignorant, how *Athelwold* had step'd between her and the King, against his coming arraies her self richly, using whatever art she could devise might render her the more amiable; and it took effect. For the King inflam'd with her Love the more for that he had bin so long defrauded and rob'd of her, resolv'd not only to recover his intercepted right, but to punish the interloper of his destined Spouse; and appointing with him as was usual, a day of Hunting, drawn aside in a Forest, now call'd *Harewood*, smote him through with a Dart. Som censure this act as cruel and tyrannical, but consider'd well, it may be judg'd more favourably, and that no man of sensible Spirit but in his place, without extraordinary perfection, would have don the like: for next to Life what worse Treason could have bin committed against him? It chanc'd that the Earls base Son coming by upon the Fact, the King sternly ask'd him how he lik'd this Game; he submissily answering, that whatsoever pleas'd the King, must not displease him; the King return'd to his wonted temper, took an affection to the Youth, and ever after highly favour'd him, making amends in the Son for what he had don to the Father. *Elfrida* forthwith he took to Wife, who to explate her former Husbands Death, tho therein she had no hand, cover'd the place of his Bloodshed with a Monastery of Nuns to sing over him. Another fault is laid to his charge, no way excusable, that he took a Virgin *Wilfrida* by force out of the Nunnery, where she was plac'd by her Friends to avoid his pursuit, and kept her as his Concubin; but liv'd not obstinately in the Offence; for sharply reprov'd by *Dunstan*, he submitted to seven years Penance, and for that time to want his Coronation: but why he had it not before is left unwritt'n. Another Storie there goes of *Edgar*, fitter for a Novel then a Historie; but as I find it in *Malinsbury*, so I relate it. While he was yet unmarried, in his youth he abstain'd not from Women, and coming on a day to *Andover*, caus'd a Dukes Daughter there dwelling, reported rare of Beauty, to be brought to him. The Mother not daring flatly to deny, yet abhorring that her Daughter should be so desflour'd, at fit time of Night sent in her Attire, one of her waiting Maids: a Maid it seems not unhandsom nor unwitty; who suppli'd the place of her young Lady. Night pass't, the Maid going to rise, but Daylight scarce yet appearing, was by the King askt why she made such hast; she answer'd,

answer'd, to do the work which her Lady had set her; at which the King wondring, and with much ado staying her to unfold the Riddle, for he took her to be the Dukes Daughter, she falling at his Feet besought him, that since at the command of her Lady she came to his Bed, and was enjoy'd by him, he would be pleas'd in recompence to set her free from the hard service of her Mistress. The King a while standing in a study whether he had best be angry or not, at length turning all to a Jest, took the Maid away with him, advanc'd her above her Lady, lov'd her, and accompanied with her only, till he married *Elfrida*. These only are his faults upon record, rather to be wonder'd how they were so few, and so soon left, he coming at 16 to the Licence of a Scepter; and that his Vertues were so many and so mature, he dying before the Age wherein wisdom can in others attain to any ripeness: however with him dy'd all the *Saxon* glory. From henceforth nothing is to be heard of but thir decline and ruin under a double Conquest, and the Causes foregoing; which not to blur or taint the praises of thir former actions and liberty well defended, shall stand severally related, and will be more then long enough for another Book.

The End of the Fifth Book.

T H E

THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

The Sixth Book.

EDWARD the Younger.

Edward the eldest Son of *Edgar* by *Egelfleda* his first Wife, the Daughter of Duke *Ordmer*, was according to right and his Father's Will, plac'd in the Throne; *Elfrida* his second Wife, and her Faction only repining, who labour'd to have had her Son *Ethelred* a Child of seven years, prefer'd before him; that she under that pretence might have rul'd all. Mean while Comets were seen in Heav'n, portending not Famine only, which follow'd the next year, but the troubl'd State of the whole Realm not long after to ensue. The Troubles begun in *Edwi's* days, between Monks and Secular Priests, now reviv'd and drew on either side many of the Nobles into Parties. For *Elfere* Duke of the *Mercians*, with many other Peers, corrupted as is said with Gifts, drove the Monks out of those Monasteries where *Edgar* had plac'd them, and in their stead put Secular Priests with their Wives. But *Ethelwin* Duke of *East-Angles*, with his Brother *Elfwold*, and Earl *Britnoth* oppos'd them, and gathering an Army defended the Abbies of *East-Angles* from such Intruders. To appease these Tumults, a Synod was call'd at *Winchester*, and nothing there concluded, a general Council both of Nobles and Prelats was held at *Caln* in *Wiltshire*, where while the dispute was hot, but chiefly against *Dunstan*, the room wherein they sat fell upon their heads, killing some, maiming others, *Dunstan* only escaping upon a Beam that fell not, and the King absent by reason of his tender Age. This Accident quieted the Controversie, and brought both parts to hold with *Dunstan* and the Monks. Mean while the King addicted to a Religious Life, and of a mild Spirit, simply permitted all things to the ambitious Will of his Stepmother and her Son *Ethelred*: to whom she, displeas'd that the name only of King was wanting, practis'd thenceforth to remove King *Edward* out of the way; which in this manner she brought about. *Edward* on a day wearied with hunting, thirsty and alone, while his Attendance follow'd the Dogs, hearing that *Ethelred* and his Mother lodg'd at *Corvesgate* (*Corfe Castle*, saith *Camden*, in the Ile of *Purbeck*) innocently went thither. She with all shew of kindness welcoming him, commanded Drink to be brought forth, for it seems he lighted not from his Horse; and while he was drinking, caus'd one of her Servants, privately before instructed, to stab him with a Poinard. The poor Youth who little expected such Unkindness there, turning speedily the Reins, fled bleeding; till through loss of Blood falling from his Horse, and expiring, yet held with one foot in the Stirrop, he was dragg'd along the way, trac'd by his Blood, and buried without honour at *Werham*, having reign'd about three Years: but the place of his Burial not long after grew famous for Miracles. After which by Duke *Elfer* (who, as *Malmsbury* saith, had a hand in his Death) he was royally interr'd at *Skepton* or *Shaftsbury*.

Florent.
Sim. Dun.

978.
M. I. M.

The

The Murther *Elfrida* at length repenting, spent the residue of her days in Sorrow and great Penance.

ETHELRED.

Ethelred second Son of *Edgar* by *Elfrida* (for *Edmund* dy'd a Child) his 979.
 Brother *Edmund* wickedly remov'd, was now next in right to succeed, and Malm.
 accordingly crown'd at *Kingston*: reported by som, fair of Visage, comly of
 Person, elegant of Behaviour; but the Event will shew that with many slug- Florent.
 gish and ignoble Vices he quickly sham'd his out-side; born and prolong'd a Sim. Dun.
 fatal mischief of the People, and the ruin of his Country; wherof he gave
 early signs from his first Infancy, bewraying the Font and Water while the
 Bishop was baptizing him. Wherat *Dunstan* much troubl'd, for he stood by
 and saw it, to them next him broke into these words, By God and God's
 Mother this Boy will prove a Sluggard. Another thing is writt'n of him in
 his Childhood; which argu'd no bad nature, that hearing of his Brother
Edmund's cruel Death, he made loud lamentation; but his furious Mother
 offended therewith, and having no Rod at hand, beat him so with great Wax
 Candles, that he hated the sight of them ever after. *Dunstan* though un-
 willing set the Crown upon his head; but at the same time foretold op'nly,
 as is reported, the great Evils that were to com upon him and the Land, in
 Avengment of his Brother's innocent Blood. And about the same time, one Sim. Dun.
 midnight, a Cloud sometimes bloody, sometimes fry, was seen over all *Eng-*
land; and within three Years the *Danish* Tempest, which had long surceast, 982.
 revolv'd again upon this Iland. To the more ample relating wherof, the Malm.
Danish History, at least thir latest and diligentest Historian, as neither from
 the first landing of *Danes*, in the Reign of *West-Saxon Brithric*, so now again
 from first to last, contributes nothing; busied more then anough to make out
 the bare Names and Successions of thir uncertain Kings, and thir small Actions
 at home: unless out of him I should transcribe what he takes, and I better may,
 from our own Annals; the surer, and the sadder witnesses of thir doings here,
 not glorious, as they vainly boast, but most inhumanly barbarous. For
 the *Danes* well understanding, that *England* had now a slothful King to thir Eadmer.
 wish, first landing at *Southampton* from seven great Ships, took the Town, Florent.
 spoil'd the Country, and carried away with them great Pillage; nor was
Devonshire and *Cornwall* uninfested on the shore; Pirats of *Normay* also harried Hoved.
 the Coast of *West-chester*: and to add a worse Calamity, the City of *London* Sim. Dun.
 was burnt, casually or not, is not writt'n. It chanc'd four years after, that Hoved.
Ethelred beseig'd *Rocheſter*, som way or other offended by the Bishop therof. 986.
Dunstan not approving the Cause, sent to warn him that he provoke not Malm.
 St. *Andrew* the Patron of that City, nor waſt his Lands; an old craft of the Ingulf.
 Clergy to secure thir Church Lands, by entailing them on som Saint; the
 King not hark'ning, *Dunstan* on this condition that the Seige might be rais'd,
 sent him a hundred Pound, the Mony was accepted and the Seige dissolv'd.
Dunstan reprehending his Avarice, sent him again this word, because thou
 hast respected Mony more then Religion, the Evils which I foretold shall the
 sooner com upon thee; but not in my days, for so God hath spok'n. The 987.
 next year was calamitous, bringing strange Fluxes upon Men, and Marren upon Malm.
 Cattel. *Dunstan* the year following dy'd, a strenuous Bishop, zealous with- 988.
 out dread of Person, and for ought appears, the best of many Ages, if he Malm.
 busied not himself too much in Secular Affairs. He was Chaplain at first to
 King *Athelstan*, and *Edmund* who succeeded, much imploy'd in Court Affairs,
 till envi'd by som who laid many things to his charge, he was by *Edmund*
 foridd'n the Court, but by the earnest Mediation, saith *Ingulf*, of *Turketul* the
 Chancellor, receav'd at length to favour, and made Abbot of *Glasſon*; last-
 ly by *Edgar* and the general Vote, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*. Not long
 after his Death, the *Danes* arriving in *Devonshire* were met by *Goda* Lieute-
 nant of that Country, and *Strenwold* a valiant Leader, who put back the
Danes, but with loss of thir own Lives. The third year following, under 991.
 the Conduct of *Justin* and *Guthmund* the Son of *Styrtan*, they landed and Sim. Dun.
 spoil'd *Ipswich*, fought with *Britnoth* Duke of the *East-Angles* about *Maldon*,
 where they slew him; the slaughter else had bin equal on both sides. These
 and

993.
Sim. Dun.Florent.
Huntingd.994.
Sim. Dun.

Malmf.

Malmf.

Huntingd.

997.
Sim. Dun.998.
Sim. Dun.999.
Sim. Dun.1000.
Sim. Dun.1001.
Sim. Dun.

and the like Depredations on every side the English not able to resist, by Counsel of *Siric* then Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and two Dukes, *Ethelward* and *Alfric*, it was thought best for the present to buy that with Silver which they could not gain with thir Iron; and ten thousand Pound was paid to the *Danes* for Peace. Which for a while contented; but taught them the ready way how easiest to com by more. The next year but one they took by Storm and ris'd *Bebbanburg* an antient City nigh *Durham*: sailing thence into the mouth of *Humber*, they wasted both sides therof, *Yorkshire* and *Lindsey*, burning and destroying all before them. Against these went out three Noblemen, *Frana*, *Frithegist*, and *Godwin*; but being all *Danes* by the Father's side, willingly began flight, and forsook thir own Forces betray'd to the Enemy. No less Treachery was at Sea; for *Alfric* the Son of *Elfer* Duke of *Mercia*, whom the King for som Offence had banish'd, but now recal'd, sent from *London* with a Fleet to surprize the *Danes*, in som place of disadvantage, gave them over night intelligence therof, then fled to them himself; which his Fleet, saith *Florent*, perceaving, persud, took the Ship, but mis'd of his Person; the *Londoners* by chance grapling with the *East-Angles* made them fewer, saith my Author, by many thousands. Others say, that by this notice of *Alfric*, the *Danes* not only escap'd, but with a greater Fleet set upon the English, took many of thir Ships, and in triumph brought them up the *Thames*, intending to besiege *London*: for *Anlaf* King of *Norway*, and *Swane* of *Denmark*, at the head of these, came with 94 Gallies. The King for this Treason of *Alfric*, put out his Sons Eyes; but the *Londoners* both by Land and Water, so valiantly resisted thir Besiegers, that they were forc'd in one day with great loss to give over. But what they could not on the City, they wreck'd themselves on the Countries round about, wasting with Sword and Fire all *Effex*, *Kent*, and *Suffex*. Thence horing thir Foot, diffus'd far wider thir outrageous Incurfions, without mercy either to Sex or Age. The slothful King, instead of Warlike Opposition in the field, sends Embassadors to treat about another Payment; the Sum promis'd was now sixteen thousand Pound; till which paid, the *Danes* winter'd at *Southampton*; *Ethelred* inviting *Anlaf* to com and visit him at *Andover*: where he was royally entertain'd, som say baptiz'd, or confirm'd, adopted Son by the King, and dismiss'd with great Presents, promising by Oath to depart and molest the Kingdom no more; which he perform'd, but the Calamity ended not so, for after som intermission of thir Rage for three years, the other Navy of *Danes* sailing about to the West, enter'd *Severn*, and wasted one while *South Wales*, then *Cornwall* and *Devonshire*, till at length they winter'd about *Tavistoc*. For it were an endless work to relate how they wallow'd up and down to every particular place, and to repeat as oft what Devastations they wrought, what Desolations left behind them, easie to be imagin'd. In sum, the next year they afflicted *Dorsetshire*, *Hamshire*, and the Ile of *Wight*; by the English many Resolutions were tak'n, many Armies rais'd, but either betray'd by the falshood, or discourag'd by the weakness of thir Leaders, they were put to rout, or disbanded themselves. For Souldiers most commonly are as thir Commanders, without much odds of Valor in one Nation or other, only as they are more or less wisely disciplin'd and conducted. The following year brought them back upon *Kent*, where they enter'd *Medway*, and besieg'd *Rocheſter*; but the *Kentish* Men assembling, gave them a sharp Encounter, yet that suffic'd not to hinder them from doing as they had don in other places. Against these Depopulations, the King levied an Army; but the unskilful Leaders not knowing what to do with it when they had it, did but drive out time, burd'ning and impoverishing the People, consuming the public Treasure, and more emboldning the Enemy, then if they had sat quiet at home. What cause mov'd the *Danes* next year to pass into *Normandy*, is not recorded; but that they return'd thence more outrageous then before. Mean while the King, to make som diversion, undertakes an Expedition both by Land and Sea into *Cumberland*, where the *Danes* were most planted; there and in the Ile of *Man*, or, as *Camden* saith, *Anglesey*, imitating his Enemies in spoiling and unpeopling. The *Danes* from *Normandy*, arriving in the River *Ex*, laid siege to *Exeter*; but the Citizens, as those of *London*, valorously defending themselves, they wreck'd thir Anger, as before, on the Villages

Villages round about. The Country People of *Somerset* and *Devonshire* assembling themselves at *Penbo*, shew'd thir readines, but wanted a Head; and besides, being then but few in number, were easily put to flight; the Enemy plundering all at will, with loaded Spoils pass'd into the Ile of *Wight*; from whence all *Dorsetshire*, and *Hamshire*, felt again thir Fury. The *Saxon Annals* write, that before thir coming to *Exeter*, the *Hamshire* Men had a bickering with them, wherein *Ethelward* the King's General was slain, adding other things hardly to be understood, and in one ancient Copy; so end. *Ethelred*, whom no Adversity could awake from his soft and sluggish Life, still coming by the worse at fighting, by the advice of his Peers not unlike himself, sends one of his gay Courtiers, though looking loftily, to stoop basely and propose a third Tribute to the *Danes*: they willingly hark'n, but the sum is enhaunc't now to 24 thousand Pound, and paid; the *Danes* therupon abstaining from Hostility. But the King to strengthen his House by some potent Affinity, marries *Emma*, whom the *Saxons* call *Elgiva*, Daughter of *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*. With him *Ethelred* formerly had War or no good Correspondence, as appears by a Letter of Pope *John* the 15th, who made Peace between them about eleven years before; puffed up now with his suppos'd access of strength by this Affinity, he caus'd the *Danes* all over *England*, though now living peaceably, in one day perfidiously to be massacred, both Men, Women, and Children; sending privat Letters to every Town and City, wherby they might be ready all at the same hour; which till the appointed time (being the 9th of *July*) was conceal'd with great silence, and perform'd with much Unanimity; so generally hated were the *Danes*. *Mat. West.* writes, that this Execution upon the *Danes* was ten years after; that *Huna* one of *Ethelred's* Chief Captains, complaining of the *Danish* Insolencies in time of Peace, thir Pride, thir ravishing of Matrons and Virgins, incited the King to this Massacer, which in the madness of Rage made no difference of innocent or nocent. Among these, *Günbildis* the Sister of *Swane* was not spar'd, though much deserving not Pity only, but all Protection: she with her Husband *Earl Palingus*, coming to live in *England*, and receaving Christianity, had her Husband and young Son slain before her face, her self then beheaded, foretelling and denouncing that her Blood would cost *England* dear. Som say this was don by the Traitor *Edric*, to whose custody she was committed; but the Massacer was som years before *Edric's* advancement; and if it were don by him afterwards, it seems to contradict the privat Correspondence which he was thought to hold with the *Danes*. For *Swane* breathing Revenge, hasted the next year into *England*, and by the treason or negligence of Count *Hugh*, whom *Emma* had recommended to the Government of *Devonshire*, sack'd the City of *Exeter*, her Wall from East to West-gate brok'n down: after this wasting *Wiltshire*, the People of that County, and of *Hamshire*, came together in great numbers with resolution stoutly to oppose him; but *Alfric* thir General, whose Son's Eyes the King had lately put out, madly thinking to revenge himself on the King, by ruining his own Country, when he should have order'd his Battel, the Enemy being at hand, fain'd his self tak'n with a vomiting; wherby his Army in great discontent, destitute of a Commander, turn'd from the Enemy: who streight took *Wilton* and *Salsbury*, carrying the Pillage therof to the Ships. Thence the next year landing on the Coast of *Norfolk*, he wasted the Country, and set *Normich* on fire; *Ulfketel* Duke of the *East-Angles*, a Man of great Valour, not having space to gather his Forces, after Consultation had, thought it best to make Peace with the *Dane*, which he breaking within three weeks, issu'd silently out of his Ships, came to *Thetford*, staid there a night, and in the morning left it flaming. *Ulfketel* hearing this, commanded som to go and break, or burn his Ships; but they not daring or neglecting, he in the mean while with what secrecie and speed was possible, drawing together his Forces, went out against the Enemy, and gave them a fierce Onset retreating to thir Ships; but much inferiour in number, many of the chief *East-Angles* there lost thir Lives. Nor did the *Danes* com off without great slaughter of thir own; confessing that they never met in *England* with so rough a Charge. The next year, whom War could not, a great Famin drove *Swane* out of the Land. But the Summer following, another great Fleet of *Danes* enter'd

1002.

Sim. Dan.

Malmt.

Calvis.

Florent.
Huntingd.

Calvisius

Mat. West.

Mat. West. 3

1003.

Sim. Dan.

1004.

Sim. Dan.

1005.

Sim. Dan.

1006.

the Sim. Dan.

the Port of *Sandwich*, thence pour'd out over all *Kent* and *Sussex*, made Prey of what they found. The King levying an Army out of *Mercia*, and the *West-Saxons*, took on him for once the Manhood to go out and face them; but they who held it safer to live by Rapine, then to hazard a Battel, shifting lightly from place to place, frustrated the slow motions of a heavy Camp, following thir wonted course of Robbery, then running to thir Ships. Thus all *Autumn* they wearied out the King's Army, which gon home to winter, they carried all thir Pillage to the Ile of *Wight*, and there staid till *Christmajs*; at which time the King being in *Shropshire*, and but ill imploy'd (for by the procurement of *Edric*, he caus'd, as is thought, *Alfhelm* a noble Duke, treacherously to be slain, and the Eyes of his two Sons to be put out) they came forth again, over-running *Hampshire*, and *Barkshire*, as far as *Reading* and *Wallingford*: thence to *Ashdune*, and other places therabout, neither known nor of tolerable pronuntiation; and returning by another way, found many of the People in Arms by the River *Kenet*; but making thir way through, they got safe with vast booty to thir Ships. The King and his Courtiers wearied out with thir last Summers jaunt after the nimble *Danes* to no purpose, which by proof they found too toilsom for thir soft Bones, more us'd to Beds and Couches, had recourse to thir last and only remedy, thir Coters; and send now the fourth time to buy a dishonorable Peace, every time still dearer, not to be had now under 36 thousand Pound (for the *Danes* knew how to milk such easy Rine) in name of Tribute and Expences: which out of the People over all *England*, already half beggerd, was extorted and paid. About the same time *Ethelred* advanc'd *Edric*, surnam'd *Streon*, from obscure Condition to be Duke of *Mercia*, and marry *Edgitha* the Kings Daughter. The cause of his advancement, *Florent* of *Worster*, and *Mat. West.* attribute to his great Wealth, gott'n by fine Policies and a plausible Tongue: he prov'd a main accessory to the ruin of *England*, as his actions will soon declare. *Ethelred* the next year somewhat rowling himself, ordain'd that every 310 Hides (a Hide is so much Land as one plow can sufficiently till) should set out a Ship or Gallie, and every nine Villages find a Corset and Head-peice: new Ships in every Port were built, vittl'd, fraught with stout Mariners and Souldiers, and appointed to meet all at *Sandwich*. A man might now think that all would go well; when suddenly a new mischief sprang up, dissention among the great ones; which brought all this diligence to as little success as at other times before. *Bitbric* the Brother of *Edric*, fallly accus'd *Wulnoth* a great Officer set over the *South-Saxons*, who fearing the potencie of his Enemies, with 20 Ships got to Sea, and practis'd Piracy on the Coast. Against whom, reported to be in a place where he might be easily surpriz'd, *Bitbric* sets forth with 80 Ships; all which driv'n back by a Tempest and wrackt upon the shoar, were burnt soon after by *Wulnoth*. Disheartn'd with this misfortune, the King returns to *London*, the rest of his Navy after him; and all this great preparation to nothing. Whereupon *Turkill*, a *Danish* Earl, came with a Navy to the Ile of *Tanet*, and in *August* a far greater, led by *Heming* and *Ilaf* join'd with him. Thence coasting to *Sandwich*, and landed, they went onward and began to assault *Canterbury*; but the Citizens and East Kentishmen, coming to composition with them for three thousand Pound, they departed thence to the Ile of *Wight*, robbing and burning by the way. Against these the King levies an Army through all the Land, and in several Quarters places them nigh the Sea, but so unskilfully or unsuccessfully, that the *Danes* were not therby hinder'd from exercising thir wonted Robberies. It happ'nd that the *Danes* one day were gon up into the Country far from thir Ships; the King having notice therof, thought to intercept them in thir return; his men were resolute to overcome or die, time and place advantagious; but where Courage and Fortune was not wanting, there wanted Loyalty among them. *Edric* with subtle Arguments that had a shew of deep Policy, disputed and perswaded the simplicity of his fellow Counsellors, that it would be best consulted at that time to let the *Danes* pass without ambush or interception. The *Danes* where they expected danger, finding none, pass'd on with great joy and booty to thir Ships. After this, sailing about *Kent*, they lay that Winter in the *Thames*, forcing *Kent* and *Essex* to Contribution, oft-times attempting the City of *London*, but repuls'd as oft to thir

Florent.

1007.
Sim. Dun.1008.
Sim. Dun.1009.
Sim. Dun.

thir great loss. Spring begun, leaving thir Ships, they pass'd through *Chiltern* Wood into *Oxfordshire*, burnt the City, and thence returning with divided Forces wasted on both sides the *Thames*; but hearing that an Army from *London* was marcht out against them, they on the North-side palling the River at *Stanes*, join'd with them on the South into one Body, and enrich't with great Spoils, came back through *Surrey* to thir Ships; which all the Lent-time they repair'd. After *Easter* sailing to the *East-Angles* they arriv'd at *Ipswich*, and came to a place call'd *Ringmere*, where they heard that *Ulfketell* with his Forces lay, who with a sharp encounter soon entertain'd them; but his men at length givin' back, through the subtlety of a *Danish* Servant among them who began the flight, lost the Field; though the men of *Cambridgshire* stood to it valiantly. In this Battel *Ethelstan* the Kings Son in Law, with many other Noblemen, were slain; wherby the *Danes* without more resistance, three Months together had the spoiling of those Countries and all the Fens, burnt *Thetford* and *Grantbrig*, or *Cambridg*; thence to a Hilly place not far off, call'd by *Huntingdon* *Balsham*, by *Camden* *Gogmagog* Hills, and the Villages therabout they turn'd thir Fury, slaying all they met save one Man, who getting up into a Steeple, is said to have defended himself against the whole *Danish* Army. They therefore so leaving him, thir Foot by Sea, thir Horse by Land through *Essex*, return'd back laden to thir Ships left in the *Thames*. But many daies pass'd not between, when fallying again out of thir Ships as out of Savage Dens, they plunder'd over again all *Oxfordshire*, and added to thir prey *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, and *Hertfordshire*; then like wild Beasts glutted, returning to thir Caves. A third excursion they made into *Northamptonshire*, burnt *Northampton*, ransacking the Country round; then as to fresh Pasture betook them to the *West-Saxons*, and in like sort harrasing all *Wiltshire*, return'd, as I said before, like wild Beasts or rather Sea-Monsters to thir Water-stables, accomplishing by *Christmasts* the Circuit of thir whole years good Deeds; an unjust and inhuman Nation, who receaving or not receaving Tribute where none was owing them, made such destruction of Mankind, and rapine of thir Livelyhood, as is a misery to read. Yet here they ceas'd not; for the next year repeating the same Cruelties on both sides the *Thames*, one way as far as *Huntingdon*, the other as far as *Wiltshire* and *Southampton*, solicited again by the King for Peace, and receaving thir demands both of Tribute and Contribution, they slighted thir Faith; and in the beginning of *September* laid Siege to *Canterbury*. On the twentieth Day, by the Treachery of *Almere* the Archdeacon, they took part of it and burnt it, committing all sorts of Massacre as a sport; som they threw over the Wall, others into the Fire, hung som by the privy Members, Infants pull'd from thir Mothers Breasts, were either tost on Spears, or Carts drawn over them; Matrons and Virgins by the Hair drag'd and ravish't. *Alfage* the grave Archbishop above others hated of the *Danes*, as in all Counsels and Actions to his might thir known opposer, taken, wounded, imprison'd in a noisom Ship; the Multitude are tith'd, and every tenth only spar'd. Early the next year before *Easter*, while *Ethelred* and his Peers were assembl'd at *London*, to raise now the fifth Tribute amounting to 48 thousand Pound, the *Danes* at *Canterbury* propose to the Archbishop, who had bin now sev'n Months thir Prisoner, Life and Liberty, if he pay them three thousand Pound; which he refusing as not able of himself, and not willing to extort it from his Tenants, is permitted till the next *Sunday* to consider; then hal'd before thir Counsel, of whom *Turkill* was Chief, and still refusing, they rise most of them being drunk, and beat him with the blunt side of thir Axes, then thrust forth deliver him to be pelted with Stones; till one *Thrum* a converted *Dane*, pitying him half dead, to put him out of Pain, with a pious impiety, at one stroak of his Ax on the head dispatch'd him. His Body was carried to *London*, and there buried, thence afterward remov'd to *Canterbury*. By this time the Tribute paid, and Peace so oft'n violated sworn again by the *Danes*, they dispers'd thir Fleet; forty five of them, and *Turkill* thir Chief staid at *London* with the King, swore him Allegiance to defend his Land against all Strangers, on condition only to be fed and cloth'd by him. But this voluntary friendship of *Turkill* was thought to be deceitful, that flaying under this pretence he gave intelligence to *Swane*, when most it would be seasonable to com. In *July* therefore of the next year, King *Swane* arriving at *Sandwich*,

1010.
Sim. Dun;
Florent.

Huntingd.

1011.
Sim. Dun.Eadmer.
Malm.
Eadmer.1012.
Sim. Dun.

Eadmer.

1013.
Sim. Dun.

Sandwich, made no stay there, but sailing first to *Humber*, thence into *Trent*, landed and encamp'd at *Gainsburrow*: whither without delay repair'd to him the *Northumbrians*, with *Utbred* thir Earl; those of *Lindsey* also, then those of *Fisburg*, and lastly all on the North of *Walling-street* (which is a high way from East to West Sea) gave Oath and Hostages to obey him. From whom he commanded Horses and Provision for his Army, taking with him besides Bands and Companies of thir choicest Men; and committing to his Son *Canute* the care of his Fleet and Hostages, he marches towards the *South Mercians*, commanding his Souldiers to exercise all Acts of Hostility; with the Terror wherof fully executed, he took in few days the City of *Oxford*, then *Winchester*; thence tending to *London*, in his hasty passage over the *Thames*, without seeking Bridg or Ford, lost many of his Men. Nor was his Expedition against *London* prosperous; for assaying all means by force or wile to take the City, wherein the King then was, and *Turkill* with his *Danes*, he was stoutly beat'n off as at other times. Thence back to *Wallingford* and *Bath*, directing his Course, after usual havoc made, he sat a while and refresh'd his Army. There *Ethelm* an Earl of *Devonshire*, and other great Officers in the West, yeilded him Subjection. These things flowing to his Wish, he betook him to his Navy, from that time stil'd and accounted King of *England*, if a Tyrant, saith *Simeon*, may be call'd a King. The *Londoners* also sent him Hostages, and made thir Peace, for they fear'd his Fury. *Ethelred* thus reduc'd to narrow Compass, sent *Emma* his Queen, with his two Sons had by her, and all his Treasure, to *Richard* the 2^d her Brother, Duke of *Normandy*; himself with his Danish Fleet abode som while at *Greenwich*, then sailing to the Ile of *Wight*, pass'd after *Christmas* into *Normandy*; where he was honourably receav'd at *Roan* by the Duke, though known to have born himself churlishly and proudly towards *Emma* his Sister, besides his dissolute Company with other Women. Mean while *Swane* ceas'd not to exact almost insupportable Tribute of the People, spoiling them when he list'd; besides, the like did *Turkill* at *Greenwich*. The next Year beginning, *Swane* sickens and dies; som say terrify'd and smitt'n by an appearing Shape of *St. Edmund* arm'd, whose Church at *Bury* he had threat'nd to demolish; but the Authority herof relies only upon the Legend of *St. Edmund*. After his Death the Danish Army and Fleet made his Son *Canute* thir King; but the Nobility and States of *England* sent Messengers to *Ethelred*, declaring that they prefer'd none before thir Native Sovran, if he would promise to govern them better then he had done, and with more Clemency. Wherat the King rejoicing, sends over his Son *Edward* with Embassadors to court both high and low, and win thir Love, promising largely to be thir mild and devoted Lord, to consent in all things to thir Will, follow thir Counsel, and whatever had been don or spok'n by any Man against him, freely to pardon, if they would loyally restore him to be thir King. To this the People cheerfully answer'd, and Amity was both promis'd and confirm'd on both sides. An Embassy of Lords is sent to bring back the King honourably; he returns in *Lent*, and is joyfully receav'd of the People, marches with a strong Army against *Canute*; who having got Horses and join'd with the Men of *Lindsey*, was preparing to make spoil in the Countries adjoining; but by *Ethelred* unexpectedly coming upon him, was soon driv'n to his Ships, and his Confederats of *Lindsey* left to the Anger of thir Country-men, executed without Mercy both by Fire and Sword. *Canute* in all hast sailing back to *Sandwich*, took the Hostages giv'n to his Father from all parts of *England*, and with slit Noses, Ears crott, and Hands chop'd off, setting them ashore, departed into *Denmark*. Yet the People were not disburd'nd, for the King rais'd out of them 30 thousand Pound to pay his Fleet of *Danes* at *Greenwich*. To these Evils the Sea in *October* pass'd his Bounds, overwhelming many Towns in *England*, and of thir Inhabitants many thousands. The Year following an Assembly being at *Oxford*, *Edric* of *Streon* having invited two Noblemen, *Sigefert* and *Morcar*, the Sons of *Earngrun* of *Seav'nburg*, to his Lodging, secretly murder'd them: the King, for what cause is unknown, seis'd thir Estates, and caus'd *Algith* the Wife of *Sigefert* to be kept at *Maidulfsburg*, now *Malmisbury*; whom *Edmund* the Prince there married against his Father's Mind, then went and possess'd thir Lands, making the People there subject to him. *Mat. West.* saith, that these two were of the *Danes* who had seated themselves in

Malmf.

1014.
Sim. Dun.
Mat. West.

1015.
Sim. Dun.

Nor-

Northumberland, slain by *Edric* under colour of Treason laid to thir charge. They who attended them without, tumulting at the Death of thir Masters, were beat'n back; and driv'n into a Church, defending themselves were burnt there in the Steeple. Mean while *Canute* returning from *Denmark* with a great Navy, 200 Ships richly gilded and adorn'd, well fraught with Arms and all Provision; and, which *Encomium Emmae* mentions not, two other Kings, *Lachman* of *Sreden*, *Olav* of *Norway*, arriv'd at *Sandwich*; and, as the same Author then living writes, sent out Spies to discover what Resistance on Land was to be expected; who return'd with certain Report, that a great Army of English was in readiness to oppose them. *Turkill*, who upon the arrival of these Danish Powers kept Faith no longer with the English, but joining now with *Canute*, as it were to reingratiate himself after his Revolt, whether real or complotted, counsel'd him (being yet young) not to land, but leave to him the Management of this first Battel; the King assented, and he with the Forces which he had brought, and part of those which arriv'd with *Canute*, landing to thir Wish, encounter'd the English, though double in number, at a place call'd *Scorastan*, and was at first beaten back with much Loss. But at length animating his Men with Rage only and Despair, obtain'd a clear Victory, which won him great Reward and Possessions from *Canute*. But of this Action no other Writer makes mention. From *Sandwich* therefore sailing about to the River *Frome*, and there landing, over all *Dorset*, *Somerset* and *Wiltshire*, he spread wastful Hostility. The King lay then sick at *Co-*
sham in this County; though it may seem strange how he could lie sick there in the midst of his Enemies. Howbeit *Edmund* in one part, and *Edric* of *Streon* in another, rais'd Forces by themselves; but so soon as both Armies were united, the Traytor *Edric* being found to practice against the Life of *Edmund*, he remov'd with his Army from him; wherof the Enemy took great Advantage. *Edric* easily enticing the 40 Ships of Danes to side with him, revolted to *Canute*; the *West-Saxons* also gave Pledges, and furnish'd him with Horses. By which means the Year ensuing, he with *Edric* the Traitor passing the *Thames* at *Creeclad*, about Twelfside, enter'd into *Mercia*, and especially *Warwickshire*, depopulating all Places in thir way. Against these Prince *Edmund*, for his Hardiness call'd *Ironside*, gather'd an Army; but the *Mercians* refus'd to fight unless *Ethelred* with the *Londoners* came to aid them; and so every man return'd home. After the Festival *Edmund* gathering another Army, besought his Father to com with the *Londoners*, and what Force besides he was able; they came with great Strength gott'n together, but being com, and in a hopeful way of good Success, it was told the King, that unless he took the better heed, som of his own Forces would fall off and betray him. The King daunted with this perhaps cunning Whisper of the Enemy, disbanding his Army, returns to *London*. *Edmund* betook him into *Northumberland*, as som thought to raise fresh Forces; but he with Earl *Uthred* on the one side, and *Canute* with *Edric* on the other, did little else but wast the Provinces; *Canute* to conquer them, *Edmund* to punish them who stood neuter: for which cause *Stafford*, *Shropshire*, and *Lestershire*, felt heavily his hand; while *Canute*, who was ruining the more Southern Shires, at length march'd into *Northumberland*; which *Edmund* hearing, dismiss'd his Forces and came to *London*. *Uthred* the Earl hasted back to *Northumberland*, and finding no other Remedy, submitted himself with all the *Northumbrians*, giving Hostages to *Canute*. Nevertheless by his Command or Connivence, and the hand of one *Turebrand* a Danish Lord, *Uthred* was slain, and *Iric* another Dane made Earl in his stead. This *Uthred* Son of *Walteof*, as *Simeon* writes, in his Treatise of the Siege of *Durham*, in his Youth obtain'd a great Victory against *Malcolm* Son of *Kened* King of *Scots*, who with the whole Power of his Kingdom was fall'n into *Northumberland*, and laid seige to *Durham*. *Walteof* the old Earl unable to resist, had secur'd himself in *Bebbanburg*, a strong Town; but *Uthred* gathering an Army rais'd the Siege, slew most of the *Scots*, thir King narrowly escaping, and with the Heads of thir slain fix'd upon Poles beset round the Walls of *Durham*. The Year of this Exploit *Simeon* cleers not; for in 969, and in the Reign of *Ethelred*, as he affirms, it could not be. *Canute* by another way returning Southward, joyful of his Success, before *Easter* came back with all the Army to his Fleet. About the end of *April* ensuing,

Ethel-

Ethelred after a long, troublefom and ill-govern'd Reign, ended his days at *London*, and was buried in the Church of *St. Paul*.

EDMUND IRONSIDE.

Florent.
Ælfred in the
Life of Edw.
Conf.

Florent.
Sim. Dun.

Malmf.

Camd.

After the Decease of *Ethelred*, they of the Nobility who were then at *London*, together with the Citizens, chose *Edmund* his Son (not by *Emma*, but a former Wife the Daughter of Earl *Thored*) in his Father's room; but the Archbishops, Abbots, and many of the Nobles assembling together, elected *Canute*; and coming to *Southampton* where he then remain'd, renounc'd before him all the Race of *Ethelred*, and swore him Fidelity: he also swore to them, in Matters both religious and secular, to be thir faithful Lord. But *Edmund* with all speed going to the *West-Saxons*, was joyfully receav'd of them as thir King, and of many other Provinces by thir Example. Mean while *Canute* about mid *May* came with his whole Fleet up the River to *London*; then causing a great Dike to be made on *Surrey*-side, turn'd the Stream, and drew his Ships thether West of the Bridge; then begirting the City with a broad and deep Trench, assail'd it on every side; but repulst as before by the valorous Defendants, and in despair of Success at that time, leaving part of his Army for the Defence of his Ships, with the rest sped him to the *West-Saxons*, ere *Edmund* could have time to assemble all his Powers: who yet with such as were at hand invoking Divine Aid, encounter'd the Danes at *Pen* by *Gillingham* in *Dorsetshire*, and put him to flight. After Midsummer, encreast with new Forces, he met with him again at a Place call'd *Sherastan*, now *Sharstan*; but *Edric*, *Almar*, and *Algar*, with the *Hampshire* and *Wiltshire* Men, then siding with the Danes, he only maintain'd the Fight, obstinately fought on both sides, till Night and Weariness parted them. Day-light returning renew'd the Conflict, wherein the Danes appearing inferiour, *Edric* to dishart'n the English cuts off the Head of one *Osmer*, in Countenance and Hair somewhat resembling the King, and holding it up, cries aloud to the English, that *Edmund* being slain, and this his Head, it was time for them to fly; which Fallacy *Edmund* perceiving, and op'nly shewing himself to his Souldiers, by a Spear thrown at *Edric*, that missing him yet slew one next him, and through him another behind, they recover'd heart, and lay sore upon the Danes till Night parted them as before: for ere the third Morn, *Canute* sensible of his Loss, march'd away by stealth to his Ships at *London*, renewing there his League. Som would have this Battel at *Sherastan* the same with that at *Scorastan* before mention'd, but the circumstance of time permits not that, having bin before the landing of *Canute*, this a good while after, as by the process of things appears. From *Sherastan* or *Sharstan* *Edmund* return'd to the *West-Saxons*, whose Valour *Edric* fearing, lest it might prevail against the Danes, sought Pardon of his Revolt, and obtaining it, swore Loyalty to the King, who now the third time coming with an Army from the *West-Saxons* to *London*, rais'd the Siege, chasing *Canute* and his Danes to thir Ships. Then after two days passing the *Thames* at *Branford*, and so coming on thir backs, kept them so turn'd, and obtain'd the Victory: then returns again to his *West Saxons*, and *Canute* to his Seige, but still in vain; rising therefore thence, he enter'd with his Ships a River then call'd *Arenne*; and from the Banks therof wasted *Mercia*; thence thir Horse by Land, thir Foot by Ship came to *Medway*. *Edmund* in the mean while with multiply'd Forces out of many Shires crossing again at *Branford*, came into *Kent*, seeking *Canute*; encounter'd him at *Oxford*, and so defeated, that of his Horse, they who escap'd fled to the Ile of *Shipp*; and a full Victory he had gain'd, had not *Edric* still the Traytor by some Wile or other detain'd his pursuit: and *Edmund* who never wanted Courage, heer wanted Prudence to be so misled, ever after forsak'n of his wonted Fortune. *Canute* crossing with his Army into *Essex*, thence wasted *Mercia* worse then before, and with heavy Prey return'd to his Ships: then *Edmund* with a collected Army pursuing, overtook at a place call'd *Affandune* or *Affeshill*, now *Ashdown* in *Essex*; the Battel on either side was fought with great Vehemence; but perfidious *Edric* perceiving the Victory to incline towards *Edmund*, with that part of the Army which was under him, fled, as he had promis'd *Canute*, and left the King over-match'd with Numbers: By which Desertion the Eng-

lish

lish were overthrown, Duke *Alfric*, Duke *Godwin*, and *Ulfketel* the valiant Duke of *East-Angles*, with a great part of the Nobility slain, so as the English of a long time had not receav'd a greater blow. Yet after a while *Edmund*, not absurdly call'd *Ironside*, preparing to try again his Fortune in another field, was hinder'd by *Edric* and others of his faction, advising him to make Peace and divide the Kingdom with *Canute*. To which *Edmund* over-^{Canute}rul'd, a Treaty appointed, and Pledges mutually giv'n, both Kings met together at a place call'd *Deorhirst* in *Glostershire*; *Edmund* on the West-side of *Severn*, *Canute* on the East with thir Armies, then both in Person waded into an Iland, at that time call'd *Olaneg*, now *Alney* in the midst of the River; ^{Canute} swearing Amity and Brotherhood, they parted the Kingdom between them. Then interchanging Arms and the Habit they wore, asselling also what Pay should be allotted to the Navy, they departed each his way. Concerning this interview and the cause therof, others write otherwise; *Malmsbury*, that *Edmund* grieving at the loss of so much Blood spilt for the Ambition only of two Men striving who should reign, of his own accord sent to *Canute*, offering him single Combat, to prevent in thir own cause the effusion of more Blood then thir own; that *Canute*, though of Courage enough, yet not unwisely doubting to adventure his Body of small Timber, against a Man of Iron sides, refus'd the Combat, offering to divide the Kingdom. This Offer pleasing both Armies, *Edmund* was not difficult to consent; and the decision was, that he as his Hereditary Kingdom should rule the *West-Saxons*, and all the *South*, *Canute* the *Mercians*, and the *North*. *Huntingdon* follow'd by *Mat. West.* relates, that the Peers on every side wearied out with continual Warfare, and not refraining to affirm op'nly, that they two who expected to reign singly, had most reason to fight singly, the Kings were content; the Iland was thir Lists, the Combat Knightly; till *Knute* finding himself too weak, began to parle, which ended as is said before. After which the *Londoners* bought thir Peace of the *Danes*, and permitted them to winter in the City. But King *Edmund* about the Feast of *St. Andrew*, unexpectedly deceas'd at *London*, and was buried neer to *Edgar* his Grandfather at *Glaston*. The cause of his so sudden death is uncertain; common Fame, saith *Malmsbury*, lays the Gilt therof upon *Edric*, who to please *Canute*, allur'd with promise of Reward two of the King's Privy Chamber, though at first abhorring the Fact, to assassinate him at the Stool, by thrusting a sharp Iron into his hinder parts. *Huntingdon*, and *Mat. West.* relate it don at *Oxford* by the Son of *Edric*, and somthing vary in the manner, not worth recital. *Edmund* dead, *Canute* meaning to reign sole King of *England*, calls to him all the Dukes, Barons, and Bishops of the Land, cunningly demanding of them who were Witnesses what agreement was made between him and *Edmund* dividing the Kingdom, whether the Sons and Brothers of *Edmund* were to govern the *West-Saxons* after him, *Canute* living? They who understood his meaning, and fear'd to undergo his Anger, timorously answer'd, that *Edmund* they knew had left no part therof to his Sons or Brethren, living or dying; but that he intended *Canute* should be thir Guardian, till they came to age of reigning. *Simeon* affirms, that for fear or hope of Reward they attested what was not true: notwithstanding which he put many of them to death not long after.

CANUTE, or KNUTE.

Canute having thus founded the Nobility, and by them understood, receav'd thir Oath of Fealty, they the pledg of his bare hand, and Oath from the *Danish* Nobles; wherupon the House of *Edmund* was renounc't, and *Canute* crown'd. Then they enacted, that *Edwi* Brother of *Edmund*, a Prince of great hope, should be banish'd the Realm. But *Canute* not thinking himself secure while *Edwi* liv'd, consulted with *Edric* how to make him away; who told him of one *Ethelward* a decay'd Nobleman, likeliest to do the work. *Ethelward* sent for, and tempted by the King in privat with largest Rewards, but abhorring in his mind the deed, promis'd to do it when he saw his opportunity; and so still defer'd it. But *Edwi* afterwards receav'd into favour as a snare, was by him or som other of his false Friends, *Canute* contriving it, the

1017.

Sim. Dun.

Sax. an.

same year slain. *Edric* also counsel'd him to dispatch *Edward* and *Edmund*, the Sons of *Ironside*; but the King doubting that the Fact would seem too foul don in *England*, sent them to the King of *Sweden*, with like intent; but he disdainin the Office, sent them for better safety to *Solomon* King of *Hungary*; where *Edmund* at length dy'd, but *Edward* married *Agatha* Daughter to *Henry* the German Emperour. A Digression in the Laws of *Edward* Confessor under the Title of *Lex Noricorum* saith, that this *Edward* for fear of *Canute*, fled of his own accord to *Malefcolt* King of the *Rugians*, who receav'd him honorably, and of that Country gave him a Wife. *Canute* settl'd in his Throne, divided the Government of his Kingdom into four parts; the *West-Saxons* to himself, the *East-Angles* to Earl *Turkill*, the *Mercians* to *Edric*, the *Northumbrians* to *Iric*; then made Peace with all Princes round about him, and his former Wife being dead, in *July* married *Emma* the Widow of King *Ethelred*. The *Christmas* following was an ill Feast to *Edric*, of whose Treason, the King having now made use as much as serv'd his turn, and fearing himself to be the next betray'd, caus'd him to be slain at *London* in the Palace, thrown over the City Wall, and there to lie unburied; the Head of *Edric* fixt on a Pole, he commanded to be set on the highest Tower of *London*, as in a double sence he had promis'd him, for the murder of King *Edmund* to exalt him above all the Peers of *England*. *Huntingdon*, *Malmsbury*, and *Mat. West.* write, that suspecting the King's intention to degrade him from his *Mercian* Dukedom, and upbraiding him with his Merits, the King enrag'd, caus'd him to be strangl'd in the room, and out at a Window thrown into the *Thames*. Another writes, that *Eric* at the King's command struck off his Head. Other great Men, though without fault, as Duke *Norman* the Son of *Leofwin*, *Ethelward* Son of Duke *Agelmar*, he put to death at the same time, jealous of thir Power or Familiarity with *Edric*: and notwithstanding Peace, kept still his Army; to maintain which, the next year he squee's'd out of the English, though now his Subjects, not his Enemies, 72, som say, 82 thousand Pound, besides 15 thousand out of *London*. Mean while great War arose at *Carr*, between *Uthred* Son of *Waldef*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Malcolm* Son of *Kened* King of *Scots*, with whom held *Eugenius* King of *Lothian*. But here *Simeon* the relater seems to have committed som mistake, hrving slain *Uthred* by *Canute* two years before, and set *Iric* in his place: *Iric* therefore it must needs be, not *Uthred*, who manag'd this War against the *Scots*. About which time in a Convention of *Danes* at *Oxford*, it was agreed on both Parties to keep the Laws of *Edgar*; *Mat. West.* saith of *Edward* the elder. The next year *Canute* sail'd into *Denmark*, and there abode all Winter. *Huntingdon* and *Mat. West.* say, he went thether to repress the *Swedes*, and that the night before a Battel was fought with them, *Godwin* stealing out of the Camp with his English, assaulted the *Swedes*, and had got the Victory ere *Canute* in the morning knew of any Fight. For which bold Enterprize, though against Disciplin, he had the English in more esteem ever after. In the Spring at his return into *England*, he held in the time of *Easter* a great Assembly at *Chichester*, and the same year was with *Turkill* the *Dane* at the Dedication of a Church by them built at *Affendune*, in the place of that great Victory which won him the Crown. But suspecting his Greatness, the year following banish'd him the Realm, and found occasion to do the like by *Iric* the *Northumbrian* Earl upon the same jealousy. Nor yet content with his Conquest of *England*, though now above ten years enjoy'd, he pass'd with 50 Ships into *Norway*, dispossefs'd *Olave* thir King, and subdu'd the Land; first with great sums of Money sent the year before to gain him a Party, then coming with an Army to compel the rest. Thence returning King of *England*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*, yet not secure in his mind, under colour of an Embassy he sent into Banishment *Hacun* a powerful *Dane*, who had married the Daughter of his Sister *Gumildis*, having conceav'd som suspicion of his Practices against him: but such course was tak'n, that he never came back; either perishing at Sea, or slain by contrivance the next year in *Orkney*. *Canute* therfore having thus establish'd himself by bloodshed and oppression, to wash away, as he thought, the Guilt therof, sailing again into *Denmark*, went thence to *Rome*, and offer'd there to *St. Peter* great Gifts of Gold and Silver, and other pretious things; besides the usual Tribute of *Roms*cot, giving

Encom. Em.
Ingulf.

1018.
Sim. Dun.
Huntingd.
Mat. West.

1019.
Sim. Dun.

1020.
Sim. Dun.

1021.
Sim. Dun.
Malmsf.

1028.
Sim. Dun.

1029.
Sim. Dun.

1030.
Sim. Dun.

1031.
Sim. Dun.

giving great Alms by the way, both thither and back again, freeing many Huntingd. places of Custom and Toll with great Expence, where Strangers were wont to pay, having vow'd great amendment of Life at the Sepulchre of *Peter and Paul*, and to his whole People in a large Letter writt'n from *Rome* yet extant. At his return therefore he built and dedicated a Church to *St. Edmund* at *Bury*, whom his Ancestors had slain, threw out the Secular Priests 1032. Sim. Dun. who had intruded there, and plac'd Monks in thir stead; then going into *Scotland*, subdu'd and receav'd Homage of *Malcolm*, and two other Kings Huntingd. there, *Melbeath*, and *Jermare*. Three years after having made *Swane* his 1035. Sim. Dun. suppos'd Son by *Algiua* of *Northampton*, Duke *Alfhelm's* Daughter (for others say the Son of a Priest whom *Algiua* barren had got ready at the time of her feign'd Labour) King of *Norway*, and *Hardecnute* his Son by *Emma* King of Florent. *Denmark*, and design'd *Harold* his Son by *Algiua* of *Northampton* King of *England*, dy'd at *Shaftsbury*, and was buried at *Winchester* in the old Monastery. Florent. This King, as appears, ended better than he began; for though he seems to have had no hand in the Death of *Ironsides*, but detested the Fact, and bringing the Murderers, who came to him in hope of great Reward, forth among his Courtiers, as it were to receive thanks, after they had op'nly related the manner of thir killing him, deliver'd them to deserved Punishment, yet he spar'd *Edric* whom he knew to be the prime Author of that detestable Fact; till willing to be rid of him, grown importune upon the confidence of his Merits, and upbraided by him that he had first relinquisht, then extinguish'd *Edmund* for his sake; angry to be so upbraided, therefore said he with a chang'd Countenance, Traitor to God and to me, thou shalt die; thine own mouth accuses thee to have slain thy Master my Confederate Brother, and the Lord's Anointed. Wherupon although present and privat Execution Malmf. was in rage don upon *Edric*, yet he himself in cool Blood scrupl'd not to make away the Brother and Children of *Edmund*, who had better right to be the Lord's Anointed here then himself. When he had obtain'd in *England* what he desir'd, no wonder if he sought the love of his conquer'd Subjects for the love of his own Quiet, the maintainers of his Wealth and State for his own profit. For the like reason he is thought to have married *Emma*, and that *Richard* Duke of *Normandy* her Brother might the less care what became of *Elfred* and *Edward*, her Sons by King *Ethelred*. He commanded to be observ'd the antient *Saxon* Laws, call'd afterwards the Laws of *Edward* the Confessor, not that he made them, but strictly observ'd them. His Letter from *Rome* professes, if he had don aught amiss in his youth, through negligence or want of due temper, full resolution with the help of God to make amends, by governing justly and piously for the future; charges and adjures all his Officers and Vicounts, that neither for fear of him, or favour of any Person, or to enrich the King, they suffer Injustice to be don in the Land; commands his Treasurers to pay all his Debts ere his return home, which was by *Denmark*, to compose Matters there; and what his Letter profess'd, he perform'd all his Life after. But it is a fond conceit in many great ones, and pernicious in the end, to cease from no Violence till they have attain'd the utmost of thir Ambitions and Desires; then to think God appeas'd by thir seeking to bribe him with a share however large of thir ill-gott'n Spoils, and then lastly to grow zealous of doing right, when they have no longer need to do wrong. Howbeit *Canute* was famous through *Europe*, and much honour'd of *Conrade* the Emperour, then at *Rome*, with rich Gifts and many Grants of what he there demanded for the freeing of Passages from Toll and Custom. I must not omit one remarkable Action don by him, as *Huntingdon* reports it, with great scene of Circumstance, and emphatical Expression, to shew the small Power of Kings in respect of God; which, unless to Court-Parasites, needed no such laborious Demonstration. He caus'd his Royal Seat to be set on the shoar, while the Tide was coming in; and with all the state that Royalty could put into his Countenance, said thus to the Sea: Thou Sea belongst to me, and the Land wheron I sit is mine; nor hath any one unpunish't relistd my Commands: I charge thee come no further upon my Land, neither presume to wet the Feet of thy Sovran Lord. But the Sea, as before, came rowling on, and without Reverence both wet and dash'd him. Wherat the King quickly rising, wish'd all about him to behold and consider the weak and

frivolous Power of a King, and that none indeed deserv'd the Name of a King, but he whose eternal Laws both Heav'n, Earth, and Sea obey. A Truth so evident of it self, as I said before, that unless to shame his Court-Flatterers who would not else be convinc't; *Canute* needed not to have gon wet-shod home: The best is, from that time forth he never would wear a Crown, esteeming Earthly Royalty contemptible and vain.

H A R O L D.

Florent.
Brompton.
Huntingd.
Mat. West.
Mat. West.

Encom. Em.

Harold for his swiftneſs ſurnam'd *Harefoot*, the Son of *Canute* by *Algiwa* of *Northampton* (though ſom ſpeak doubtfully as if ſhe bore him not, but had him of a Shoemaker's Wife, as *Swane* before of a Priest; others of a Maid-Servant, to conceal her barrenneſs) in a great Aſſembly at *Oxford*, was by Duke *Leofric* and the *Mercians*, with the *Londoners*, according to his Father's Teſtament, elected King; but without the Regal Habiliments, which *Aelnoth* the Archbiſhop having in his Cuſtody, refus'd to deliver up, but to the Sons of *Emma*, for which *Harold* ever after hated the Clergy; and (as the Clergy are wont thence to infer) all Religion. *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, and the *West-Saxons* with him ſtood for *Hardecnute*. *Malmsbury* ſaith, that the conteſt was between Dane and Engliſh; that the Danes, and *Londoners* grown now in a manner Daniſh, were all for *Hardecnute*: but he being then in *Denmark*, *Harold* prevail'd, yet ſo as that the Kingdom ſhould be divided between them; the *West* and *South* part reſerv'd by *Emma* for *Hardecnute*, till his return. But *Harold* once advanc'd into the Throne, baniſh'd *Emma* his Mother-in-law, ſeis'd on his Father's Treſure at *Wincheſter*, and there remain'd. *Emma* not holding it ſafe to abide in *Normandy* while Duke *William* the Baſtard was yet under Age, retir'd to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*. In the mean while *Elfred* and *Edward* Sons of *Eihelred*, accompanied with a ſmall number of *Norman* Soldiers in a few Ships, coming to viſit thir Mother *Emma* not yet departed the Land, and perhaps to ſee how the People were inclin'd to reſtore them thir right, *Elfred* was ſent for by the King then at *London*; but in his way met at *Guilford* by Earl *Godwin*, who with all ſeeming friendſhip entertain'd him, was in the Night ſurpris'd and made Priſoner, moſt of his Company put to various ſorts of cruel Death, decimated twice over; then brought to *London*, was by the King ſent bound to *Ely*, had his Eyes put out by the way, and deliver'd to the Monks there, dy'd ſoon after in thir Cuſtody. *Malmsbury* gives little credit to this ſtory of *Elfred*, as not chronicl'd in his time, but rumour'd only. Which *Emma* however hearing, ſent away her Son *Edward*, who by good hap accompanied not his Brother, with all ſpeed into *Normandy*. But the Author of *Encomium Emmae*, who ſeems plainly (though nameleſs) to have been ſom Monk, yet liv'd, and perhaps wrote within the ſame Year when theſe things were don; by his relation differing from all others, much aggravates the cruelty of *Harold*, that he not content to have practis'd in ſecret (for openly he durſt not) againſt the life of *Emma*, ſought many treacherous ways to get her Son within his Power; and reſolv'd at length to forge a Letter in the name of thir Mother, inviting them into *England*, the Copy of which Letter he produces written to this purpoſe.

1036.
Sim. Dun.

Emma in name only Queen, to her Sons *Edward* and *Elfred* imparts motherly Salutation. While we ſeverally bewail the Death of our Lord the King, moſt dear Sons, and while daily ye are depriv'd more and more of the Kingdom your Inheritance; I admire what Counſel ye take, knowing that your intermitted delay is a daily ſtrengthening to the Reign of your Uſurper, who inceſſantly goes about from Town to City, gaining the Chief Nobles to his party, either by gifts, prayers, or threats. But they had much rather one of you ſhould reign over them, than to be held under the power of him who now over-rules them. I entreat therefore that one of you com to me ſpeedily, and privately; to receive from me whoſom Counſel, and to know how the buſineſs which I intend ſhall be accompliſh'd. By this Meſſenger preſent, ſend back what you determin. Farewel, as dear both as my own Heart.

Theſe Letters were ſent to the Princes then in *Normandy*, by expreſs Meſſengers, with preſents alſo as from thir Mother; which they joyfully receiving, return word by the ſame Meſſengers, that one of them will be with her

her shortly; naming both the time and place. *Elfred* therefore the younger (for so it was thought best) at the appointed time, with a few Ships and small numbers about him appearing on the Coast, no sooner came ashore but fell into the snare of *Earl Godwin*, sent on purpose to betray him; as above was related. *Emma* greatly sorrowing for the loss of her Son, thus cruelly made away, fled immediately with some of the Nobles her faithfullest Adherents into *Flanders*, had her dwelling assign'd at *Bruges* by the Earl; where having remain'd about two years, she was visit'd out of *Denmark* by *Hardecnute* her Son; and he not long had remain'd with her there, when *Harold* in *England*, having don nothing the while worth memory, save the taxing of every Port at 8 Marks of Silver to 16 Ships, dy'd at *London*, som say at *Oxford*, and was buried at *Winchester*. After which, most of the Nobility, both Danes and English now agreeing, send Embassadors to *Hardecnute* still at *Bruges* with his Mother, entreating him to com and receive as his right the Scepter, who before Midsummer came with 60 Ships, and many Souldiers out of *Denmark*.

1039.

Sim. Dun.
Huntingdon.

1040.

Sim. Dun
Malmf.

H A R D E C N U T E.

Hardecnute receav'd with acclamation, and seated in the Throne, first call'd to mind^r the injuries don to him or his Mother *Emma* in the time of *Harold*; sent *Alfric* Arch-bishop of *York*, *Godwin* and others, with *Troud* his Executioner to *London*, commanding them to dig up the Body of King *Harold*, and throw it into a Ditch; but by a second order, into the *Thames*. Whence tak'n up by a Fisherman, and convey'd to a Church-yard in *London* belonging to the Danes, it was enterr'd again with honour. This don he levied a fore Tax, that eight Marks to every Rower, and twelve to every Officer in his Fleet should be paid throughout *England*: by which time they who were so forward to call him over, had enough of him; for he, as they thought, had too much of theirs. After this he call'd to account *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, and *Leving* Bishop of *Worster*, about the Death of *Elfred* his half Brother, which *Alfric* the Archbishop laid to thir charge; the King depriv'd *Leving* of his Bishoprick, and gave it to his accuser: but the year following, pacifi'd with a round sum restor'd it to *Leving*. *Godwin* made his Peace by a sumptuous present, a Gally with a gilded Stem bravely rigg'd, and 80 Souldiers in her, every one with Bracelets of Gold on each Arm, weighing 16 Ounces, Helmet, Corset, and Hilt of his Sword gilded; a Danish Curtax list'd with Gold or Silver, hung on his left Shoulder, a Shield with boss and nails gilded in his left hand, in his right a Launce; besides this, he took his Oath before the King, that neither of his own Council or Will, but by the command of *Harold* he had don what he did, to the putting out *Elfreds* Eyes. The like Oath took most of the Nobility for themselves, or in his behalf. The next year *Hardecnute* sending his Houscarles, so they call'd his Officers, to gather the Tribute impos'd; two of them rigorous in thir Office, were slain at *Worster* by the People; wherat the King enrag'd, sent *Leofric* Duke of *Mercia*, and *Seward* of *Northumberland*, with great Forces and Commission to slay the Citizens, rife and burn the City, and wast the whole Province. Af-frighted with such news, all the People fled: the Countrymen whether they could, the Citizens to a small Island in *Severn*, call'd *Beverage*, which they fortifi'd and defended stoutly till Peace was granted them, and freely to return home. But thir City they found sack't and burnt; wherwith the King was appeas'd. This was commendable in him, however cruel to others, that toward his half Brethren, though Rivals of his Crown, he shew'd himself always tenderly affection'd; as now towards *Edward*, who without fear came to him out of *Normandy*, and with unfeigned kindness receav'd, remain'd safely and honourably in his Court. But *Hardecnute* the year following, at a Feast wherin *Osgod* a great Danish Lord gave his Daughter in marriage at *Lamberth*, to *Prudon* another potent Dane, in the midst of his Mirth, sound and healthful to sight, while he was drinking fell down speechless, and so dying, was buried at *Winchester* beside his Father. He was it seems a great lover of good chere; sitting at Table four times a day, with great variety of Dishes and superfluity to all Comers. Wheras, saith *Huntingdon*, in our time Princes in thir Houses made but one meal a day. He gave his Sister *Gunildis*, a Virgin

1041.

Sim. Dun.

1042.

Sim. Dun.

of rare Beauty, in marriage to *Henry* the *Alman* Emperour ; and to send her forth pompously, all the Nobility contributed thir Jewels and richest Ornaments. But it may seem a wonder that our Historians, if they deserve that name, should in a matter so remarkable, and so neer thir own time, so much differ. *Huntingdon* relates, against the credit of all other records, that *Hardecnute* thus dead, the English rejoycing at this unexpected riddance of the Danish Yoke, sent over to *Elfred* the Elder Son of *Emma* by King *Ethelred*, of whom we heard but now, that he dy'd Prisoner at *Ely*, sent thether by *Harold* six year before ; that he came now out of *Normandy*, with a great number of men, to receive the Crown ; that Earl *Godwin* aiming to have his Daughter Queen of *England* by marrying her to *Edward* a simple Youth, for he thought *Elfred* of a higher Spirit then to accept her, persuaded the Nobles that *Elfred* had brought over too many Normans, had promis'd them Land heer, that it was not safe to suffer a warlike and suttle Nation to take root in the Land, that these were to be so handl'd as none of them might dare for the future to flock hither, upon pretence of relation to the King : therupon by common consent of the Nobles, both *Elfred* and his Company were dealt with as was above related ; that they then sent for *Edward* out of *Normandy*, with Hostages to be left there of thir faithful intentions to make him King, and thir desires not to bring over with him many Normans ; that *Edward* at thir call came then first out of *Normandy* ; wheras all others agree that he came voluntarily over to visit *Hardecnute*, as is before said, and was remaining then in Court at the time of his Death. For *Hardecnute* dead, saith *Malmsbury*, *Edward* doubting greatly his own safety, determin'd to rely wholly on the advice and favour of Earl *Godwin* ; desiring therfore by Messengers to have privat speech with him, the Earl a while deliberated : at last assenting, Prince *Edward* came, and would have fall'n at his feet ; but that not permitted, told him the danger wherin he thought himself at present, and in great perplexity besought his help to convey him som whether out of the Land. *Godwin* soon apprehending the fair occasion that now as it were prompted him how to advance himself and his Family, cherfully exhorted him to remember himself the Son of *Ethelred*, the Grandchild of *Edgar*, right Heir to the Crown, at full Age ; not to think of flying but of reigning, which might easily be brought about if he would follow his Counsel ; then setting forth the Power and Authority which he had in *England*, promis'd it should be all his to set him on the Throne, if he on his part would promise and swear to be for ever his Friend, to preserve the honour of his House, and to marry his Daughter. *Edward*, as his necessity then was, consented easily, and swore to whatever *Godwin* requir'd. An Assembly of States therupon met at *Gillingham*, where *Edward* pleaded his right ; and by the powerful influence of *Godwin* was accepted. Others, as *Brompton*, with no probability write, that *Godwin* at this time was fled into *Denmark*, for what he had don to *Elfred*, return'd and submitted himself to *Edward* then King, was by him charg'd openly with the Death of *Elfred*, and not without much ado, by the intercession of *Leofric* and other Peers, receav'd at length into favour.

E D W A R D the Confessor.

GLAD were the English deliver'd so unexpectedly from thir Danish Masters, and little thought how neer another Conquest was hanging over them. *Edward*, the *Easter* following, crown'd at *Winchester*, the same year accompanied with Earl *Godwin*, *Leofric*, and *Siward*, came again thether on a sudden, and by thir Counsel seisd on the Treasure of his Mother *Fmma*. The cause alleg'd is, that she was hard to him in the time of his Banishment ; and indeed she is said not much to have lov'd *Ethelred* her former Husband, and therafter the Children by him ; she was moreover noted to be very covetous, hard to the Poor, and profuse to Monasteries. About this time also King *Edward*, according to promise, took to Wife *Edith* or *Egith* Earl *Godwins* Daughter, commended much for beauty, modesty, and, beyond what is requisite in a Woman, Learning. *Ingulf* then a youth lodging in the Court with his Father, saw her oft, and coming from the School, was sometimes met by her and pos'd, not in Grammar only, but in Logic. *Edward* the next year but

1043.
Sim. Dun.

Malm.

but one, made ready a strong Navy at *Sandwich* against *Magnus* King of *Norway*, who threat'nd an Invasion, had not *Swane* King of *Denmark* diverted him by a War at home to defend his own Land, not out of good will to *Edward*, as may be suppos'd, who at the same time express'd none to the Danes, banishing *Gumildis* the Niece of *Canute* with her two Sons, and *Osgod* by surname *Clapa*, out of the Realm. *Swane* over-powr'd by *Magnus*, sent the next year to entreat aid of King *Edward*; *Godwin* gave counsel to send him 50 Ships fraught with Souldiers; but *Leofric* and the general voice gainsaying, none were sent. The next year *Harold Harvager* King of *Norway* sending Embassadors, made Peace with King *Edward*; but an Earthquake at *Worster* and *Darby*, Pestilence and Famin in many places, much lessen'd the enjoyment therof. The next year *Henry* the Emperour displeas'd with *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, had streitn'd him with a great Army by Land; and sending to King *Edward*, desir'd him with his Ships to hinder what he might, his escape by Sea. The King therefore with a great Navy coming to *Sandwich*, there staid till the Emperour came to an agreement with Earl *Baldwin*. Mean while *Swane* Son of Earl *Godwin*, who not permitted to marry *Edgiva* the Abbess of *Chester* by him deslour'd, had left the Land, came out of *Denmark* with 8 Ships, feigning a desire to return into the Kings favour; and *Beorn* his Cousin German, who commanded part of the King's Navy, promis'd to intercede that his Earldom might be restor'd him. *Godwin* therefore and *Beorn* with a few Ships, the rest of the Fleet gon home, coming to *Pevensey* (but *Godwin* soon departing thence in pursuit of 29 Danish Ships who had got much booty on the Coast of *Essex*, and perish'd by Tempest in thir return) *Swane* with his Ships comes to *Beorn* at *Pevensey*, guilefully requests him to sail with him to *Sandwich*, and reconcile him to the King, as he had promis'd. *Beorn* mistrusting no evil where he intended good, went with him in his Ship attended by three only of his Servants: but *Swane* set upon barbarous Cruelty, not reconciliation with the King, took *Beorn* now in his power and bound him; then coming to *Dartmouth*, slew and buried him in a deep Ditch. After which, the men of *Hastings* took six of his Ships, and brought them to the King at *Sandwich*; with the other two he escap'd into *Flanders*, ther remaining till *Aldred* Bishop of *Worster* by earnest mediation wrought his Peace with the King. About this time King *Edward* sent to Pope *Leo*, desiring absolution from a Vow which he had made in his younger years, to take a journey to *Rome*, if God vouchsaf'd him to reign in *England*; the Pope dispenc'd with his Vow, but not without the expence of his Journey giv'n to the Poor, and a Monastery built or redifi'd to *St. Peter*; who in a Vision to a Monk, as is said, chose *Westminster*, which King *Edward* thereupon rebuilding endow'd with large Privileges and Revenues. The same year, saith *Florent* of *Worster*, certain Irish Pirats with 36 Ships enter'd the mouth of *Severn*, and with the aid of *Griffin* Prince of *South-Wales*, did som hurt in those parts: then passing the River *Wye*, burnt *Dunedham*, and slew all the Inhabitants they found. Against whom *Aldred* Bishop of *Worster*, with a few out of *Gloster* and *Herefordshire*, went out in hast: but *Griffin* to whom the Welch and Irish had privily sent Messengers, came down upon the English with his whole Power by night, and early in the Morning suddenly assaulting them, slew many, and put the rest to flight. The next year but one, King *Edward* remitted the Danish Tax which had continu'd 38 years heavy upon the Land since *Ethelred* first paid it to the Danes, and what remain'd therof in his Treasury he sent back to the Owners: but through imprudence laid the foundation of a far worse mischief to the English; while studying gratitude to those Normans, who to him in Exile had bin helpful, he call'd them over to public Offices heer, whom better he might have repaid out of his privat Purse; by this means exasperating either Nation one against the other, and making way by degrees to the Norman Conquest. *Robert* a Monk of that Country, who had bin serviceable to him there in time of need, he made Bishop, first of *London*, then of *Canterbury*; *William* his Chaplain Bishop of *Dorchester*. Then began the English to lay aside thir own antient Customs, and in many things to imitate French manners, the great Peers to speak French in thir Houses, in French to write thir Bills and Letters, as a great peece of Gentility, asham'd of thir own: a presage of thir subjection shortly to that People, whose Fashions and Language they affected so slavishly. But that

1045.
Sim. Dun.1046.
Sim. Dun.1047.
Sim. Dun.1048.
Sim. Dun.1049.
Sim. Dun.

Malm.

1051.
Sim. Dun.
Ingulf.

Malmf.

that which gave beginning to many Troubles ensuing, happ'nd this Year, and upon this occasion. *Eustace* Earl of *Boloign*, Father of the famous *Godfrey* who won *Jerusalem* from the Saracens, and Husband to *Goda* the King's Sister, having bin to visit King *Edward*, and returning by *Canterbury* to take Ship at *Dover*, one of his Harbingers insolently seeking to lodg by force in a House there, provok'd so the Master therof, as by chance or heat of Anger to kill him. The Count with his whole Train going to the House where his Servant had bin kill'd, slew both the Slayer and eighteen more who defended him. But the Townsmen running to Arms, requited him with the Slaughter of twenty one more of his Servants, wounded most of the rest; he himself with one or two hardly escaping, ran back with Clamour to the King; whom seconded by other Norman Courtiers, he stirr'd up to great Anger against the Citizens of *Canterbury*. Earl *Godwin* in hast is sent for, the Cause related, and much aggravated by the King against that City, the Earl commanded to raise Forces, and use the Citizens therof as Enemies. *Godwin* sorry to see Strangers more favour'd of the King then his native People, answer'd, that it were better to summon first the chief Men of the Town into the King's Court, to charge them with Sedition, where both Parties might be heard, that not found in fault they might be acquitted; if otherwise, by Fine or loss of Life might satisfy the King whose Peace they had brok'n, and the Count whom they had injur'd; till this were don refusing to prosecute with hostile Punishment them of his own County unheard, whom his Office was rather to defend. The King displeas'd with his Refusal, and not knowing how to compel him, appointed an Assembly of all the Peers to be held at *Gloster*, where the Matter might be fully try'd; the Assembly was full and frequent according to Summons: but *Godwin* mistrusting his own Cause, or the Violence of his Adversaries, with his two Sons, *Swane* and *Harold*, and a great Power gather'd out of his own and his Sons Earldoms, which contain'd most of the South-East and West Parts of *England*, came no furer then *Beverstan*, giving out that thir Forces were to go against the Welch, who intended an Irruption into *Herefordshire*; and *Swane* under that pretence lay with part of his Army therabout. The Welch understanding this Device, and with all diligence clearing themselves before the King, left *Godwin* detected of false Accusation in great hatred to all the Assembly. *Leofric* therefore and *Simard*, Dukes of great Power, the former in *Mercia*, the other in all Parts beyond *Humber*, both ever faithful to the King, send privily with speed to raise the Forces of thir Provinces. Which *Godwin* not knowing, sent boldly to King *Edward*, demanding Count *Eustace* and his Followers, together with those *Boloignians*, who, as *Simeon* writes, held a Castle in the Jurisdiction of *Canterbury*. The King, as then having but little Force at hand, entertain'd him a while with Treaties and Delays, till his summon'd Army drew nigh, then reject'd his Demands. *Godwin* thus match'd, commanded his Sons not to begin Fight against the King; begun with, not to give ground. The King's Forces were the Flower of those Counties whence they came, and eager to fall on: But *Leofric* and the wiser sort detesting Civil War, brought the Matter to this accord, that Hostages giv'n on either side, the whole Cause should be again debated at *London*. Thether the King and Lords coming with thir Army, sent to *Godwin* and his Sons, (who with thir Powers were com as far as *Southmark*) commanding thir appearance unarm'd with only 12 Attendants, and that the rest of thir Souldiers they should deliver over to the King. They to appear without Pledges before an adverse Faction deny'd; but to dismiss thir Souldiers refus'd not, nor in ought else to obey the King as far as might stand with Honour, and the just regard of thir Safety. This Answer not pleasing the King, an Edict was presently issu'd forth, that *Godwin* and his Sons within five days depart the Land. He who perceav'd now his Numbers to diminish, readily obey'd, and with his Wife and three Sons, *Tosti*, *Swane*, and *Gyrtha*, with as much Treasure as thir Ship could carry, embarking at *Thorney*, sail'd into *Flanders* to Earl *Baldwin*, whose Daughter *Judith* *Tosti* had married: for *Wulnod* his fourth Son was then Hostage to the King in *Normandy*; his other two, *Harold* and *Leofwin*, taking Ship at *Bristow*, in a Vessel that lay ready there belonging to *Swane*, pass'd into *Ireland*. King *Edward* persuing his Displeasure, divorc'd his Wife *Edith* Earl *Godwin*'s Daughter, sending

Sim. Dun.

sending her despoil'd of all her Ornaments to *Warewel* with one waiting Maid, to be kept in custody by his Sister the Abbess there. His reason of so doing ^{Malm.} was as harsh as his Act, that she only, while her neereſt Relations were in Banishment, might not, though innocent, enjoy ease at home. After this, *William* Duke of *Normandy* with a great number of Followers coming into *England*, was by King *Edward* honorably entertain'd and led about the Cities and Castles, as it were to shew him what ere long was to be his own, (though at that time, saith *Inguif*, no mention therof pass'd between them) then after som time of his Abode here, presented richly and dismiss'd, he return'd home. The next Year Queen *Emma* dy'd, and was buried at *Winchester*. ^{1052. Sim. Dun.} The Chronicle attributed to *John Bromton* a *Yorkshire* Abbot, but rather of som nameless Author living under *Edward* the 3d or later, reports that the Year before, by *Robert* the Archbishop she was accus'd both of consenting to the Death of her Son *Alfred*, and of preparing Poyſon for *Edward* also; lastly of too much Familiarity with *Alwin* Bishop of *Winchester*: that to approve her Innocence, praying over-night to *St. Swithun*, she offer'd to pass blind-fold between certain Plowshares red hot, according to the Ordalian Law, which without harm she perform'd; that the King therupon receav'd her to Honour, and from her and the Bishop, Penance for his Credulity; that the Archbishop asham'd of his Accusation, fled out of *England*: which besides the Silence of antienter Authors (for the Bishop fled not till a Year after) brings the whole Story into suspicion, in this more probable, if it can be prov'd, that in memory of this Deliverance from the nine burning Plowshares, Queen *Emma* gaveto the Abbey of *S. Swithune* nine Mannors, and Bishop *Alwin* other nine. About this time *Griffin* Prince of *South-Wales* wasted *Herefordshire*; to oppose whom the People of that Country, with many Normans, garison'd in the Castle of *Hereford*, went out in Arms, but were put to the worse, many slain, and much Booty driv'n away by the Welch. Soon after which *Harold* and *Leofwin*, Sons of *Godwin*, coming into *Severn* with many Ships, in the Confines of *Somerſet* and *Dorſetſhire*, spoil'd many Villages, and resisted by those of *Somerſet* and *Devonſhire*, slew in a Fight more then 30 of thir principal Men, many of the common sort, and return'd with much Booty to thir Fleet. King *Edward* on the other ſide made ready above 60 ^{Malm.} Ships at *Sandwich* well stor'd with Men and Provision, under the Conduct of *Odo* and *Radulf* two of his Norman Kindred, enjoining them to find out *Godwin*, whom he heard to be at Sea. To quick'n them, he himself lay on Ship-board, oft-times watch'd and sail'd up and down in ſearch of those Pirates. But *Godwin*, whether in a Miſt, or by other Accident, paſſing by them, arriv'd in another part of *Kent*, and diſperſing ſecret Meſſengers abroad, by fair Words allur'd the chief Men of *Kent*, *Suſſex*, *Surrey*, and *Effex*, to his Party; which News coming to the King's Fleet at *Sandwich*, they haſted to find him out; but miſſing of him again, came up without effect to *London*. *Godwin* advertiſ'd of this, forthwith ſail'd to the Ile of *Wight*; where at length his two Sons *Harold* and *Leofwin* finding him, with thir united Navy lay on the Coaſt, forbearing other Hoſtility then to furniſh themſelves with freſh Victual from Land as they needed. Thence as one Fleet they ſet forward to *Sandwich*, uſing all fair means by the way to encrease thir Numbers both of Mariners and Soldiers. The King then at *London*, ſtartl'd at theſe Tidings, gave ſpeedy order to raiſe Forces in all parts which had not revolted from him; but now too late, for *Godwin* within a few days after with his Ships or Gallies came up the River *Thames* to *Southwark*, and till the Tide return'd had Conference with the *Londoners*; whom by fair Speeches, for he was held a good Speaker in thoſe times, he brought to his bent. The Tide returning, and none upon the Bridg hindring, he row'd up in his Gallies along the South Bank; where his Land-Army, now com to him, in array of Battel ſtood on the ſhore: then turning toward the North ſide of the River, where the King's Gallies lay in ſom readineſs, and Land-forces alſo not far off, he made ſhew as offring to fight; but they underſtood one another, and the Soldiers on either ſide ſoon declar'd thir Reſolution not to fight Engliſh againſt Engliſh. Thence coming to Treaty, the King and the Earl reconcil'd, both Armies were diſſolv'd, *Godwin* and his Sons reſtor'd to thir former Dignities, except *Swane*, who touch'd in Conſcience for the ſlaughter of *Beorn* his Kinfman,

1053.
Sim. Dun.

1054.
Sim. Dun.

Huntingd.

1055.
Sim. Dun.

was gon barefoot to *Jerusalem*, and returning home, dy'd by Sickness or *Saracens* in *Lycia*; his Wife *Edith*, *Godwin's* Daughter, King *Edward* took to him again, dignify'd as before. Then were the *Normans*, who had don many unjust things under the King's Authority, and giv'n him ill Counsel against his People, banish'd the Realm, som of them not blamable permitted to stay. *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *William* of *London*, *Ulf* of *Lincoln*, all *Normans*, hardly escaping with thir Followers, got to Sea. The Archbishop went with his Complaint to *Rome*; but returning, dy'd in *Normandy* at the same Monasterie from whence he came. *Osbern* and *Hugh* surrender'd thir Castles, and by permission of *Leofric* pass'd through his Counties with thir *Normans* to *Macbeth* King of *Scotland*. The Year following *Rhese* Brother to *Griffin*, Prince of South *Wales*, who by Inrodes had don much damage to the English, tak'n at *Bulendun*, was put to death by the King's Appointment, and his Head brought to him at *Gloster*. The same Year at *Winchester*, on the second holy-day of *Easter*, Earl *Godwin* sitting with the King at Table, sunk down suddenly in his Seat as dead: his three Sons *Harold*, *Tosti*, and *Gyrtha*, forthwith carried him into the King's Chamber, hoping he might revive: but the Malady had so seis'd him, that the fifth day after he expir'd. The *Normans* who hated *Godwin* give out, saith *Malmsbury*, that mention happ'ning to be made of *Elfred*, and the King therat looking sowlly upon *Godwin*, he to vindicate himself, utter'd these words, Thou, O King, at every mention made of thy Brother *Elfred*, look'st frowningly upon me: but let God not suffer me to swallow this Morsel, if I be guilty of ought don against his Life or thy Advantage; that after these Words, choak'd with the Morsel tak'n, he sunk down and recover'd not. His first Wife was the Sister of *Canute*, a Woman of much Infamy for the Trade she drove of buying up English Youths and Maids to sell in *Denmark*, wherof she made great gain; but e're long was struck with Thunder, and dy'd. The Year ensuing, *Siward* Earl of *Northumberland*, with a great number of Horse and Foot, attended also by a strong Fleet at the King's Appointment, made an Expedition into *Scotland*, vanquish'd the Tyrant *Macbeth*, slaying many thousands of Scots with those *Normans* that went thether, and plac'd *Malcolm* Son of the *Cumbrian* King in his stead; yet not without loss of his own Son, and many other both English and Danes. Told of his Son's Death, he ask'd whether he receav'd his Deaths Wound before or behind? when it was answer'd before, I am glad, saith he; and should not else have thought him, though my Son, worthy of Burial. In the mean while King *Edward* being without Issue to succeed him, sent *Aldred* Bishop of *Winchester* with great Presents to the Emperor, entreating him to prevail with the King of *Hungary*, that *Edward* the remaining Son of his Brother *Edmund Ironside* might be sent into *England*. *Siward* but one Year surviving his great Victory, dy'd at *York*; reported by *Huntingdon* a Man of Giant like Stature; and by his own Demeanour at point of Death manifested, of a rough and meer souldierly Mind. For much disdainig to die in bed by a Disease, not in the Field fighting with his Enemies, he caus'd himself compleatly arm'd, and weapon'd with Battel-ax and Shield to be set in a Chair, whether to fight with Death, if he could be so vain, or to meet him (when far other Weapons and Preparations were needful) in a martial Bravery; but true Fortitude glories not in the feats of War, as they are such, but as they serve to end War soonest by a victorious Peace. His Earldom the King bestow'd on *Tosti* the Son of Earl *Godwin*: and soon after in a Convention held at *London*, banish'd without visible cause, *Huntingdon* saith for Treason, *Algar* the Son of *Leofric*, who passing into *Ireland*, soon return'd with eighteen Ships to *Griffin* Prince of South *Wales*, requesting his Aid against King *Edward*. He assembling his Powers, enter'd with him into *Herefordshire*; whom *Radulf* a timorous Captain, Son to the King's Sister, not by *Eustace*, but a former Husband, met two Miles distant from *Hereford*; and having hors'd the English who knew better to fight on foot, without stroke he with his French and Normans beginning to fly, taught the English by his example. *Griffin* and *Algar* following the Chase, slew many, wounded more, enter'd *Hereford*, slew seven Canons defending the Minster, burnt the Monasterie and Reliques, then the City; killing som, leading captive others of the Citizens, return'd with great Spoils; wherof King *Edward* having notice, gather'd a great Army at *Gloster*

Gloster under the Conduct of *Harold* now Earl of *Kent*, who strenuously pursuing *Griffin* enter'd *Wales*, and encamp'd beyond *Straddale*. But the Enemy flying before him farther into the Country, leaving there the greater part of his Army with such as had charge to fight, if occasion were offer'd, with the rest he return'd, and fortifi'd *Hereford* with a Wall and Gates. Mean while *Griffin* and *Algar* dreading the Diligence of *Harold*, after many Messages to and fro, concluded a Peace with him. *Algar* discharging his Fleet with Pay at *West-Chester*, came to the King, and was restor'd to his Earldom. But *Griffin* with breach of Faith, the next year set upon *Leofgar* the Bishop of *Hereford* and his Clerks then at a place call'd *Glastbrig*, with *Agelnoth* Vicount of the Shire, and slew them; but *Leofric*, *Harold*, and King *Edward*, by force, as is likeliest, though it be not said how, reduc'd him to Peace. The next Year *Edward* Son of *Edmund Ironside*, for whom his Uncle King *Edward* had sent to the Emperour, came out of *Hungary*, design'd Successor to the Crown; but within a few days after his coming dy'd at *London*. leaving behind him *Edgar Atheling* his Son, *Margaret* and *Christina* his Daughters. About the same time also dy'd Earl *Leofric* in a good old Age, a Man of no less Vertue then Power in his time, religious, prudent, and faithful to his Country, happily wedded to *Godiva* a Woman of great Praise. His Son *Algar* found less favour with King *Edward*, again banish'd the Year after his Father's Death; but he again by the Aid of *Griffin* and a Fleet from *Normay*, maugre the King, soon recover'd his Earldom. The next Year *Malcolm* King of *Scots* coming to visit King *Edward*, was brought on his way by *Tosti* the *Northumbrian* Earl, to whom he swore Brotherhood: yet the next Year but one, while *Tosti* was gon to *Rome* with *Aldred* Archbishop of *York* for his Pall, this sworn Brother taking advantage of his Absence, roughly harass'd *Northumberland*. The Year passing to an end without other matter of moment, save the frequent Inrodes and Robberies of *Griffin*, whom no Bonds of Faith could restrain, King *Edward* sent against him after *Christmas* *Harold* now Duke of *West-Saxons*, with no great body of Horse, from *Gloster*, where he then kept his Court; whose coming heard of, *Griffin* not daring to abide, nor in any part of his Land holding himself secure, escap'd hardly by Sea, ere *Harold* coming to *Rudeland*, burnt his Palace and Ships there, returning to *Gloster* the same day. But by the middle of *May* setting out with a Fleet from *Bristow*, he sail'd about the most part of *Wales*, and met by his Brother *Tosti* with many Troops of Horse, as the King had appointed, began to wast the Country; but the *Welch* giving Pledges, yeilded themselves, promis'd to becom tributary, and banish *Griffin* thir Prince; who lurking somewhere, was the next Year tak'n and slain by *Griffin* Prince of *North Wales*; his Head with the Head and Tackle of his Ship sent to *Harold*, by him to the King, who of his Gentleness made *Blechgant* and *Rithwallon* or *Rivallon* his two Brothers Princes in his stead; they to *Harold* in behalf of the King swore Fealty and Tribute. Yet the next Year *Harold* having built a fair House at a place call'd *Portascith* in *Monmouthshire*, and stor'd it with Provision, that the King might lodg there in time of hunting, *Caradoc* the Son of *Griffin* slain the Year before, came with a number of Men, slew all he found there, and took away the Provision. Soon after which the *Northumbrians* in a Tumult at *York* beset the Palace of *Tosti* thir Earl, slew more then 200 of his Souldiers and Servants, pillag'd his Treasure, and put him to fly for his Life. The cause of this Insurrection they alleg'd to be, for that the Queen *Edith* had commanded, in her Brother *Tosti*'s behalf, *Gospatric* a Noble-man of that Country to be treacherously slain in the King's Court; and that *Tosti* himself the Year before with like Treachery had caus'd to be slain in his Chamber *Gamel* and *Ulf*, two other of thir Noble Men, besides his intolerable Exactions and Oppressions. Then in a manner the whole Country coming up to complain of thir Grievances, met with *Harold* at *Northampton*, whom the King at *Tosti*'s Request had sent to pacify the *Northumbrians*; but they laying op'n the Cruelty of his Government, and thir own Birth-right of Freedom not to endure the Tyranny of any Governour whatsoever, with absolute Refusal to admit him again, and *Harold* hearing Reason, all the Accomplices of *Tosti* were expell'd the Earldom. He himself banish'd the Realm, went into *Flanders*; *Morcar* the Son of *Algar* made Earl in his stead. *Huntingdon* tells another Cause of *Tosti*'s Banishment, that one

day at *Windſor*, while *Harold* reach'd the Cup to King *Edward*, *Toſti* envying to ſee his younger Brother in greater favour than himſelf, could not forbear to run furioſly upon him, catching hold of his Hair; the ſcuffle was ſoon parted by other Attendants ruſhing between, and *Toſti* forbidd'n the Court. He with continu'd fury riding to *Hereford*, where *Harold* had many Servants, preparing an Entertainment for the King, came to the Houſe and ſet upon them with his Followers; then lopping off Hands, Arms, Legs of ſom, Heads of others, threw them into Butts of Wine, Meath, or Ale, which were laid in for the King's drinking: and at his going away charg'd them to ſend him this word, that of other freſh Meats he might bring with him to his Farm what he pleas'd, but of Sous he ſhould find plenty provided ready for him: that for this barbarous Act the King pronounc'd him baniſh'd; that the Northumbrians taking advantage at the King's Diſpleaſure and Sentence againſt him, roſe alſo to be reveng'd of his Cruelties don to themſelves. But this no way agrees, for why then ſhould *Harold* or the King ſo much labour with the Northumbrians to re-admit him, if he were a baniſh'd Man for his Crimes don before? About this time it happ'n'd that *Harold* putting to Sea one day for his pleaſure, in a Fiſher Boat, from his Mannor at *Boſebam* in *Suſſex*, caught with a Tempeſt too far off Land, was carried into *Normandy*; and by the Earl of *Pontieu*, on whoſe Coaſt he was driv'n, at his own requeſt brought to Duke *William*; who entertaining him with great Courteſie, ſo far won him, as to promiſe the Duke by Oath of his own accord, not only the Caſtle of *Dover* then in his tenure, but the Kingdom alſo after King *Edward*'s Death to his utmoſt endeavour, therupon betrothing the Duke's Daughter then too young for marriage, and departing richly preſented. Others ſay, that King *Edward* himſelf after the Death of *Edward* his Nephew, ſent *Harold* thether on purpoſe to acquaint Duke *William* with his intention to bequeath him his Kingdom: but *Malmsbury* accounts the former Story to be the truer. *Inguſf* writes, that King *Edward* now grown old, and perceiving *Edgar* his Nephew both in Body and Mind unfit to govern, eſpecially againſt the Pride and Inſolence of *Godwin*'s Sons, who would never obey him; Duke *William* on the other ſide of high Merit, and his Kinsman by the Mother, had ſent *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to acquaint the Duke with his purpoſe, not long before *Harold* came thether. The former part may be true, that King *Edward* upon ſuch Conſiderations had ſent one or other; but Archbiſhop *Robert* was fled the Land, and dead many years before. *Eadmer* and *Simeon* write, that *Harold* went of his own accord into *Normandy*, by the King's Permiſſion or Connivance, to get free his Brother *Wulnod* and Nephew *Hacun* the Son of *Swane*, whom the King had tak'n Hoſtages of *Godwin*, and ſent into *Normandy*; that King *Edward* foretold *Harold*, his Journey thether would be to the detriment of all *England* and his own Reproach; that Duke *William* then acquainted *Harold*, how *Edward* ere his coming to the Crown had promis'd, if ever he attain'd it, to leave Duke *William* Succeſſor after him. Laſt of theſe *Matthew Paris* writes, that *Harold* to get free of Duke *William*, affirm'd his coming thether not to have been by accident or force of Tempeſt, but on ſet purpoſe, in that privat manner to enter with him into ſecret Confederacy: ſo variously are theſe things reported. After this King *Edward* grew ſickly, yet as he was able kept his *Chriſtmas* at *London*, and was at the Dedication of *St. Peter*'s Church in *Weſtmiſter*, which he had rebuilt; but on the Eve of *Epiphany*, or *Twelftide*, deceas'd much lamented, and in the Church was entomb'd. That he was harmleſs and ſimple, is conjectur'd by his words in anger to a Peaſant who had croſs'd his Game (for with hunting and hawking he was much delighted) by God and God's Mother, ſaid he, I ſhall do you as ſhrewd a turn if I can; obſerving that Law-Maxim, the beſt of all his Succeſſors, that the King of *England* can do no Wrong. The ſoftneſs of his Nature gave growth to Factions of thoſe about him, Normans eſpecially and Engliſh; theſe complaining that *Robert* the Archbiſhop was a ſower of Diſſention between the King and his People, a Traducer of the Engliſh; the other ſide, that *Godwin* and his Sons bore themſelves arrogantly and proudly towards the King, uſurping to themſelves equal ſhare in the Government; oft-times making ſport with his ſimplicity, that through thir Power in the Land, they made no ſcruple to kill Men of whoſe Inheritance they took a liking, and

Malmsf.

Leges Ed.
Conf. Tit.
Lex Noricor.1066.
Sim. Dun.

Huntingd.

so to take Possession. The truth is, that *Godwin* and his Sons did many things boistrouly and violently, much against the King's mind; which not able to resist, he had, as som say, his Wife *Edith Godwin's* Daughter in such Aver-sation, as in bed never to have touch'd her; whether for this cause or mistak'n Chastity, not commendable; to enquire further is not material. His Laws held good and just, and long after desir'd by the English of thir Norman Kings, are yet extant. He is said to be at Table not excessive, at Festivals nothing puffed up with the costly Robes he wore, which his Queen with curious Art had woven for him in Gold. He was full of Alms-deeds, and exhorted the Monks to like Charity. He is said to be the first English Kings that cur'd the Disease call'd thence the King's Evil; yet *Malmsbury* blames them who attribute that Cure to his Royalty, not to his Sanctity; said also to have cur'd certain blind Men with the Water wherin he hath wash'd his hands. A little before his Death, lying speechless two days, the third day after a deep sleep, he was heard to pray, that if it were a true Vision, not an Illusion which he had seen, God would give him strength to utter it, otherwise not. Then he related how he had seen two devout Monks, whom he knew in *Normandy*, to have liv'd and dy'd well, who appearing told him they were sent Messengers from God to foretel, that because the great ones of *England*, Dukes, Lords, Bishops, and Abbots, were not Ministers of God but of the Devil, God had deliver'd the Land to thir Enemies; and when he desir'd that he might reveal this Vision, to the end they might repent, it was answer'd, they neither will repent, neither will God pardon them: at this relation others trembling, *Stigand* the Simonious Archbishop, whom *Edward* much to blame had suffer'd many years to sit Primat in the Church, is said to have laugh'd, as at the feaverish Dream of a doting old Man; but the Event prov'd it true.

HAROLD Son of Earl Godwin.

HAROLD, whether by King *Edward* a little before his Death ordain'd Suc-^{Hoved.}
cessor to the Crown, as *Simeon of Durham*, and others affirm; or by ^{Florent.}
the prevalence of his Faction, excluding *Edgar* the right Heir, Grandchild to
Edmund Ironside, as *Malmsbury* and *Huntingdon* agree, no sooner was the
Funeral of King *Edward* ended, but on the same day was elected and crown'd
King: and no sooner plac'd in the Throne, but began to frame himself
by all manner of Compliances to gain Affection, endeavour'd to make good
Laws, repeal'd bad, became a great Patron to Church and Church-men,
courteous and affable to all reputed good, a hater of evil Doers, charg'd all
his Officers to punish Thieves, Robbers, and all disturbers of the Peace,
while he himself by Sea and Land labour'd in the defence of his Country: so
good an actor is Ambition. In the mean while a blazing Star, seven mornings
together, about the end of *April*, was seen to stream terribly, not only over
England, but other parts of the World; foretelling heer, as was thought, the
great Changes approaching: plainliest prognosticated by *Elmer* a Monk of
Malmsbury, who could not foresee, when time was, the breaking of his own
Legs for soaring too high. He in his youth strangely aspiring, had made and
fitted Wings to his Hands and Feet; with these on the top of a Tower,
spread out to gather Air, he flew more then a Furlong; but the Wind being
too high, came fluttering down, to the maiming of all his Limbs; yet so
conceited of his Art, that he attributed the cause of his fall to the want of a
Tail, as Birds have, which he forgot to make to his hinder parts. This Story,
though seeming otherwise too light in the midst of a sad Narration, yet for
the strangeness therof, I thought worthy enough the placing as I found it
plac'd in my Author. But to digress no farder, *Tosti* the King's Brother
coming from *Flanders*, full of Envy at his younger Brother's advancement to
the Crown, resolv'd what he might to trouble his Reign; forcing therefore
them of *Wight Ile* to Contribution, he sail'd thence to *Sandwich*, committing
Piracies on the Coast between. *Harold* then residing at *London*, with a great
number of Ships drawn together, and of Horse Troops by Land, prepares
in Person for *Sandwich*: wherof *Tosti* having notice, directs his course with
60 Ships towards *Lindsey*, taking with him all the Seamen he found willing *Malmf.*
or

or unwilling: where he burnt many Villages, and slew many of the Inhabitants; but *Edwin* the *Mercian* Duke, and *Morcar* his Brother, the *Northumbrian* Earl, with thir Forces on either side, soon drove him out of the Country. Who thence betook him to *Malcolm* the *Scotish* King, and with him abode the whole Summer. About the same time Duke *William* sending Embassadors to admonish *Harold* of his Promise and Oath, to assist him in his Plea to the Kingdom, he made answer, that by the death of his Daughter betroth'd to him on that Condition, he was absolv'd of his Oath; or not dead, he could not take her now an outlandish Woman, without consent of the Realm; that it was presumptuously don, and not to be persisted in, if without consent or knowledg of the States, he had sworn away the right of the Kingdom; that what he swore was to gain his Liberty, being in a manner then his Prisoner; that it was unreasonable in the Duke to require or expect of him the forgoing of a Kingdom, confer'd upon him with universal favour and acclamation of the People: to this flat denial he added contempt, sending the Messengers back, saith *Matthew Paris*, on main'd Horses. The Duke thus contemptuously put off, addresses himself to the Pope, setting forth the Justice of his cause, which *Harold*, whether through haughtiness of mind, or distrust, or that the ways to *Rome* were stop'd, sought not to do. Duke *William*, besides the Promise and Oath of *Harold*, alleg'd that King *Edward* by the advice of *Seward*, *Godwin* himself, and *Stigand* the Archbishop, had giv'n him the right of Succession, and had sent him the Son and Nephew of *Godwin*, pledges of the Gift; the Pope sent to Duke *William*, after this demonstration of his right, a consecrated Banner. Whereupon he having with great care and choice got an Army of tall and stout Souldiers, under Captains of great skill and mature Age, came in *August* to the Port of *St. Valerie*. Mean while *Harold* from *London* comes to *Sandwich*, there expecting his Navy; which also coming, he sails to the Ile of *Wight*; and having heard of Duke *William's* preparations and readiness to invade him, kept good watch on the Coast, and Foot Forces every where in fit places to guard the shoar. But ere the middle of *September*, Provision failing when it was most needed, both Fleet and Army return home. When on a sudden, *Harold Harvager* King of *Norway*, with a Navy of more then 500 great Ships, (others less'n them by two hundred, others augment them to a thousand) appears at the mouth of *Tine*; to whom Earl *Tosti* with his Ships came as was agreed between them; whence both uniting, set sail with all speed and enter'd the River *Humber*. Thence turning into *Ouse*, as far as *Rical*, landed, and won *York* by assault. At these tidings *Harold* with all his Power hasts thetherward; but ere his coming, *Edwin* and *Morcar* at *Fulford* by *York*, on the North side of *Ouse*, about the Feast of *St. Matthew* had giv'n them Battel; successfully at first, but over-born at length with numbers; and forc'd to turn thir backs, more of them perish'd in the River, then in the Fight. The Norwegians taking with them 500 Hostages out of *York*, and leaving there 150 of thir own, retir'd to thir Ships. But the fifth day after, King *Harold* with a great and well appointed Army, coming to *York*, and at *Stamford-Bridg*, or *Battel-Bridg* on *Darwent*, assailing the Norwegians, after much bloodshed on both sides, cut off the greatest part of them with *Harvager* thir King, and *Tosti* his own Brother. But *Olave* the Kings Son, and *Paul* Earl of *Orkney*, left with many Souldiers to guard the Ships, furrendring themselves with Hostages and Oath given never to return as Enemies, he suffer'd freely to depart with 20 Ships and the small remnant of thir Army. One man of the Norwegians is not to be forgott'n, who with incredible valour keeping the Bridg a long hour against the whole English Army, with his single resistance delay'd thir Victory; and scorning offer'd Life, till in the end no man daring to grapple with him, either dreaded as too strong, or contemn'd as one desperate, he was at length shot dead with an Arrow; and by his fall open'd the passage of persuit to a compleat Victory. Wherewith *Harold* lifted up in mind, and forgetting now his former shews of popularitie, defrauded his Souldiers thir due and well deserved share of the Spoils. While these things thus past in *Northumberland*, Duke *William* lay still at *St. Valerie*; his Ships were ready, but the Wind serv'd not for many days; which put the Souldiery into much discouragement and murmur, taking this for an unlucky sign of thir success; at last the Wind came favourable, the Duke first under sail awaited the rest at Anchor, till all coming forth, the whole Fleet of 900

Ships

Eadmer.

Malmf.
Matt. Paris.

Camden.

Malmf.

Ships with a prosperous gale arriv'd at *Hastings*. At his going out of the Boat by a slip falling on his hands, to correct the Omen, a Souldier standing by said aloud, that thir Duke had taken possession of *England*. Landed, he restrain'd his Army from wast and spoil, saying, that they ought to spare what was thir own. But these are things related of *Alexander* and *Cæsar*, and I doubt thence borrow'd by the Monks to inlay thir Story. The Duke for 15 days after landing kept his men quiet within the Camp, having taken the Castle of *Hastings*, or built a Fortrefs there. *Harold* secure the while, and proud of his new Victory, thought all his Enemies now under foot: but sitting jollily at dinner, news is brought him, that Duke *William* of *Normandy* with a great multitude of Horse and Foot, Slingers and Archers, besides other choice Auxiliaries which he had hir'd in *France*, was arriv'd at *Pevensey*. *Harold* who had expected him all the Summer, but not so late in the year as now it was, for it was *October*, with his Forces much diminish'd after two sore conflicts, and the departing of many others from him discontented, in great hast marches to *London*. Thence not tarrying for supplies which were on thir way towards him, hurries into *Sussex* (for he was always in hast since the day of his Coronation) and ere the third part of his Army could be well put in order, finds the Duke about 9 mile from *Hastings*, and now drawing nigh, sent spies before him to survey the strength and number of his Enemies: them discover'd such, the Duke causing to be led about, and after well fill'd with Meat and drink sent back. They not over-wise, brought word that the Dukes Army were most of them Priests; for they saw thir Faces all over shav'n; the English then using to let grow on thir upper-lip large Mustachio's, as did antiently the *Britans*. The King laughing answer'd, that they were not Priests, but valiant and hardy Souldiers. Therefore said *Girtha* his Brother, a youth of noble courage and understanding above his Age, Forbear thou thy self to fight, who art obnoxious to Duke *William* by Oath, let us unsworn undergo the hazard of Battel, who may justly fight in the defence of our Country; thou reserv'd to fitter time, maist either reunite us flying, or revenge us dead. The King not hark'ning to this, lest it might seem to argue fear in him or a bad cause, with like resolution rejected the offers of Duke *William* sent to him by a Monk before the Battel, with this only answer hastily deliver'd, Let God judg between us. The offers were these, that *Harold* would either lay down the Scepter, or hold it of him, or try his Title with him by single Combat in sight of both Armies, or refer it to the Pope. These rejected, both sides prepar'd to fight the next morning, the English from singing and drinking all Night, the Normans from confession of thir Sins and communion of the Host. The English were in a streit disadvantageous place, so that many discourag'd with thir ill ordering, scarce having room where to stand, slip'd away before the onset, the rest in close order with thir Battel-Axes and Shields, made an impenetrable Squadron: the King himself with his Brothers on foot stood by the Royal Standard, wherein the figure of a man fighting was inwov'n with Gold and pretious Stones. The Norman Foot, most Bowmen, made the formost Front, on either side Wings of Horse somewhat behind. The Duke arming, and his Corset giv'n him on the wrong side, said pleasantly, *The strength of my Dukedom will be turn'd now into a Kingdom*. Then the whole Army singing the Song of *Rowland*, the remembrance of whose Exploits might hart'n them, imploring lastly Divine help, the Battel began; and was fought sorely on either side: but the main body of English Foot by no means would be brok'n, till the Duke causing his men to feign flight, drew them out with desire of pursuit into open disorder, then turn'd suddenly upon them so routed by themselves, which wrought thir overthrow; yet so they dy'd not unmanfully, but turning oft upon thir Enemies, by the advantage of an upper ground, beat them down by heaps, and fill'd up a great Ditch with thir Carcasses. Thus hung the Victory wavering on either side, from the third hour of day to Evening; when *Harold* having maintain'd the Fight with unspeakable Courage and personal Valour, shot into the Head with an Arrow, fell at length, and left his Souldiers without heart longer to withstand the unwearied Enemy. With *Harold* fell also his two Brothers, *Leofwin*, and *Girtha*, with them greatest part of the English Nobility. His Body lying dead, a Knight or Souldier wounding on the Thigh, was by the Duke presently turn'd out of Military Service. Of Normans and French

Sim. Dun.

French were slain no small number; the Duke himself also that day not a little hazarded his Person, having had three choice Horses kill'd under him. Victory obtain'd, and his dead carefully buried, the English also by permission, he sent the Body of *Harold* to his Mother without Ransom, though she offer'd very much to redeem it, which having receav'd she buried at *Waltham*, in a Church built there by *Harold*. In the mean while, *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who had withdrawn themselves from *Harold*, hearing of his Death, came to *London*; sending *Aldgith* the Queen thir Sister with all speed to *West-Chester*. *Aldred* Archbishop of *York*, and many of the Nobles, with the *Londoners* would have set up *Edgar* the right Heir, and prepar'd themselves to fight for him; but *Morcar* and *Edwin* not liking the choice, who each of them expected to have been chos'n before him, withdrew thir Forces and return'd home. Duke *William* contrary to his former resolution, if *Florent* of *Worster*, and they who follow him say true, waisting, burning, and slaying all in his way, or rather, as saith *Malmsbury*, not in hostile but in regal manner, came up to *London*, met at *Barcham* by *Edgar*, with the Nobles, Bishops, Citizens, and at length *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who all submitted to him, gave Hostages, and swore Fidelity, he to them promis'd peace and defence; yet permitted his men the while to burn and make prey. Coming to *London* with all his Army, he was on *Chrismas* day solemnly crown'd in the great Church at *Westminster*, by *Aldred* Archbishop of *York*, having first given his Oath at the Altar in presence of all the People, to defend the Church, well govern the People, maintain right Law, prohibit Rapine and unjust Judgment. Thus the English while they agreed not about the choice of thir native King, were constrein'd to take the Yoke of an outlandish Conqueror. With what minds and by what course of Life they had fitted themselves for this servitude, *William* of *Malmsbury* spares not to lay op'n. Not a few years before the Normans came, the Clergy, though in *Edward* the Confessors daies, had lost all good Literature and Religion, scarce able to read and understand thir Latin Service: he was a miracle to others who knew his Grammar. The Monks went clad in fine Stuffs, and made no difference what they eat; which though in it self no fault, yet to thir Consciences was irreligious. The great men given to gluttony and dissolute Life, made a prey of the common People, abusing thir Daughters whom they had in service, then turning them off to the Stews; the meaner sort tipling together night and day, spent all they had in Drunk'ness, attended with other Vices which effeminate mens minds. Whence it came to pass, that carried on with fury and rashness more then any true fortitude or skill of War, they gave to *William* thir Conqueror so easy a Conquest. Not but that som few of all sorts were much better among them; but such was the generality. And as the long suffering of God permits bad men to enjoy prosperous daies with the good, so his severity oft times exempts not good men from thir share in evil times with the bad.

If these were the Causes of such misery and thralldom to those our Ancestors, with what better close can be concluded, then here in fit season to remember this Age in the midst of her security, to fear from like Vices without amendment the Revolution of like Calamities?

A N I N D E X

O F

All the chief Persons and material Passages
contain'd in the foregoing HISTORY.

A.

ADDA succeeds his Father Ida in the Kingdom of Bernicia. page 52.

Adminius the Son of Cunobeline banish'd his Country, flies to the Emperour Caligula, and stirs him up against it. p. 22.

Aganippus a Gaulish King, marries Cordeilla the Daughter of King Leir. p. 10.

Agricola Son of Severianus spreads the Pelagian Doctrin in Britain. p. 43.

Aidan a Scotch Bishop sent for by Oswald to settle Religion, p. 62. he hath his Episcopal Seat at Lindisfarne. *ibid.* he dies for grief of the Murder of Oswin. p. 63.

Alaric takes Rome from the Emperour Honorius. p. 40.

Alban of Verulam with others suffers Martyrdom under Dioclesian. p. 37.

Albanaet one of the three Sons of Brutus, hath Albania, now Scotland, for his share in the Kingdom. p. 8.

Albina said to be the eldest of Dioclesians 50 Daughters, p. 4. from her the name Albion derived. *ibid.*

Albion the ancient name of this Iland, p. 4. whence derived. *ibid.*

Alcled slaying Ethelwald usurps the Kingdom of the Northumbrians. p. 71.

Aldfrid recall'd from Ireland, succeeds his Brother Ecfrid in the Northumbrian Kingdom, p. 67. he leaves Ofred a Child to succeed him. *ibid.*

Aldulf the Nephew of Ethelwald succeeds King of the East-Angles. p. 74.

Alectus treacherously slays his Friend Carausius to get the Dominion, p. 36. is overthrown by Asclepiodotus, and slain. *ibid.*

Alemannus reported one of the four Sons of Hiftion, descended from Japhet, and of whom the Alemanni or Germans. p. 5.

Alfage Archbishop of Canterbury inhumanly us'd by the Danes, p. 101. kill'd outright by Thrum a Dane, in commiseration of his Misery. *ibid.*

Alfred the fourth Son of Ethelwolf, and Successor of his Brother Ethelred, encounters the Danes at Wilton, p. 81. he gives Battel to the whole Danish Power at Edinton, and totally routing them brings them to terms, p. 82. he is said to have bestow'd the East-Angles upon Gytro a Danish King, who had been lately baptiz'd, *ibid.* a long tedious War afterwards maintain'd between him and the Danes, p. 83, 84. he dies in the 30th Year of his Reign, and is buried at Winchester, p. 84. his noble Character. p. 85.

Alfwold driving out Eardulf usurps the Kingdom of Northumberland. p. 73.

Algar Earl of Howland, now Holland, Morcar Lord of Brunne, and Osgot Governour of Lincoln, slaughter a great multitude of the Danes in Battel, with three of thir Kings, p. 80. overpowr'd with Numbers, and drawn into a Snare, Algar dies valiantly, fighting. *ibid.*

Algar the Son of Leofric banish'd by K. Edward, joins with Griffin Prince of South-Wales, p. 114. unable to withstand Harold Earl of Kent, he submits to the King and is restor'd, p. 115. banish'd again, he recovers his Earldom by force. *ibid.*

Alipius made Deputy of the British Province in the room of Martinus. p. 37.

Alla begins the Kingdom of Deira in the South Part of Northumberland. p. 52, 54.

R.

Alric

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- Alric King of Kent after Ethelbert the 2d, p. 70. with him dying ends the Race of Hengist. p. 72.
- Ambrosius Aurelianus dreaded by Vortigern, p. 48. defeats the Saxons in a memorable Battel, *ibid.* uncertain whether the Son of Constantine the Usurper, or the same with Merlin, and Son of a Roman Consul, *ibid.* he succeeds Vortigern as chief Monarch of the Ile. *ibid.*
- Anacletus the Friend of King Pandrasus, is taken in fight by Brutus, p. 6. he is forc'd by Brutus to betray his own Countrymen. *ibid.*
- Andragius, one in the Catalogue of ancient British Kings. p. 13.
- Androgeus, one of Lud's Sons, hath London assign'd him and Kent, p. 14. forsakes his claim to the Kingdom, and follows Cæsar's Fortune. p. 22.
- Anlaf the Dane with his Army of Irish, and Constantine King of Scotland, utterly discomfited by King Athelstan. p. 89, 90.
- Anna succeeds Sigebert in the Kingdom of the East-Angles, p. 63. he is slain in War by Penda the Mercian. *ibid.*
- Antigonus the Brother of King Pandrasus, taken in fight by Brutus. p. 6.
- Antoninus sent against the Caledonians by his Father Severus, p. 35. after whose Death he takes Hostages, and departs to Rome. *ibid.*
- Archigallo depos'd for his Tyranny, p. 12. being restor'd by his Brother, he becomes a new Man, and reigns worthily. p. 13.
- Archimailus, one in the number of ancient British Kings. *ibid.*
- Armorica in France, peopled by Britans that fled from the Saxons. p. 46.
- Arthur, the Victory at Badon-hill, by som ascrib'd to him, which by others is attributed to Ambrose, p. 50. who he was, and whether the Author of such famous Acts as are related of him. p. 50, 51.
- Arviragus ingaging against Claudius, keeps up the Battel to a Victory, by personating his slain Brother Guidorius. p. 24.
- Athelstan the Son of King Edward the elder by a Concubine, solemnly crown'd at Kingston upon Thames, p. 89. the Conspiracy of one Alfred and his Accomplices against him discover'd, *ibid.* he gives his Sister Edgith to Sitric the Dane, but drives out Anlaf and Guthfred out of thir Kingdom, p. 89. the Story of his dealing with his Brother Edwin question'd as improbable, *ibid.* he overthrows a vast Army of Scotch and Irish, under Anlaf and Constantine King of Scotland, p. 89, 90. he dies at Glocester, and is buried at Malmsbury, p. 90. his Character. *ib.*
- Assaracus a Trojan Prince, joins with Brutus against Pandrasus. p. 5.
- Aulus Plautius sent against this Iland by the Emperour Claudius, p. 23. he overthrows Caractacus and Togodumnus, *ibid.* is very much put to it by the Britans, *ibid.* sends to Claudius to com over, and joins with him, *ibid.* leaves the Country quiet, and returns triumphant to Rome. p. 23, 24.
- Aurelius Conanus a British King, one of the five that is said to have reign'd toward the beginning of the Saxon Hierarchy. p. 53.
- Austin with others sent over from Rome to preach the Gospel to the Saxons, p. 55, 56. he is receiv'd by King Ethelbert who hears him in a great Assembly, p. 56. he is ordain'd Archbishop of the English, *ibid.* he hath his Seat at Canterbury, p. 57. he summons together the British Bishops, requiring them to conform with him in Points wherein they differ'd, *ibid.* upon thir Refusal he stirs up Ethelfrid against them, to the slaughter of 1200 Monks. p. 58.

B.

- B**ardus, one of the first Race of Kings, fabled to have reign'd in this Iland, p. 4. descended from Samoths. *ibid.*
- Beorn precedes Ethelred in the Kingdom of the East-Angles. p. 74.
- Bericus flying to Rome perswades the Emperour Claudius to invade this Iland. p. 51.
- Bernulf usurping the Kingdom of Mercia from Keolwulf, is overthrown by Ecbert at Ellandune, p. 74. flying to the East-Angles is by them slain. *ibid.*
- Berinus a Bishop sent by Pope Honorius, converts the West-Saxons and thir Kings to Christianity. p. 62.
- Birchric King of the West-Saxons after Kinwulf, p. 71. he secretly seeks the Life of Ecbert, p. 73. is poison'd by a Cup which his Wife had prepar'd for another. *ibid.*
- Bladud the Son of Rudhuddibras builds Caerbadus or Bath. p. 9.
- Bleduno, one in the number of the ancient British Kings. p. 13.
- Blegabedus his Excellency in Music. *ib.*
- Boadicia the Wife of Prasutagus, together with her Daughters, abus'd by the Roman Souldiers, p. 27. commands

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- mands in Chief in the British Army against the Romans, p. 28. vanquish'd by Suetonius, is thought to have poison'd her self. ibid.*
- Bonofus a Britan by descent, endeavouring to make himself Emperour, but vanquish'd by Probus, hangs himself. p. 35.*
- Brennus and Belinus the Sons of Dunwallo Mulmutius contend about the Kingdom, p. 11. after various conflicts they are reconcil'd by thir Mother Conuenna, ibid. they turn thir united Forces into Foren Parts, but Belinus returns and reigns long in Peace. p. 11, 12.*
- Britain, the History of the Affairs thereof altogether obscure and uncertain till the coming of Julius Cæsar, p. 3. by whom first peopled, p. 4. nam'd first Samotheca from Samoths, ibid. next Albion, and from whence. ibid.*
- Britans stoutly oppose Cæsar at his landing in this Iland, p. 17. they offer him terms of Peace, ibid. thir manner of fighting, p. 18. they are defeated by Cæsar, and brought anew to terms of Peace, ibid. a sharp dispute between the Britans and the Romans near the Stowr in Kent, p. 19. thir Nature and Customs, p. 21, 22. thir cruel Massacre upon the Romans, p. 27. they are acquitted of the Roman jurisdiction by the Emperour Honorius, not able to defend them against thir Enemies, p. 40. they again supplicate Honorius for aid, who spares them a Roman Legion, p. 41. and again at thir renew'd request a new supply, p. 42. thir submissive Letters to Aëtius the Roman Consul, p. 43. thir Luxury and Wickedness, and the Corruption of thir Clergy, p. 44, 52, 53. thir Embassy to the Saxons for thir aid against the Scots and Picts, with the Saxons answer, p. 45. miserably baras't by the Saxons whom they call'd in, p. 46. routed by Kerdic, p. 49. by Kenric and Keaulin, p. 52, 54. by Cuthulf, p. 54. they totally vanquish Keaulin, ibid. they are put to flight by Kenwalk. p. 64.*
- Britto, nam'd among the four Sons of Hiftion, sprung of Japhet, and from him the Britans said to be deriv'd. p. 5.*
- Brutus, said to be descended from Æneas a Trojan Prince, p. 5. retiring into Greece after having unfortunately kill'd his Father, he delivers his Countrymen from the Bondage of Pandrasus, p. 5, 6. marries Innogen the eldest Daughter of Pandrasus, p. 6. he lands upon a desert Iland call'd Leogicia, ibid. where he consults the Oracle of Diana, p. 7. meets with Corineus, ibid. overcomes Goffarius Pictus, ibid. arrives in this Iland, ibid. builds Troja Nova. p. 8. Brutus surnamed Greensheild, succeeds Ebranc, and gives Battel to Brunchildis. p. 9.*
- Burhed holding of Ethelwolf the Mercian Kingdom after Bertulf, reduceth the North Welch to obedience, p. 78. he marries Ethelswida the Daughter of King Ethelwolf, ibid. driven out of his Kingdom by the Danes, he flies to Rome, where dying he is buried in the English School, p. 81, 82. his Kingdom let out by the Danes to Kelwulf. p. 82.*

C.

- C***Adwallon, see Kedwalla.*
- Cæsar, see Julius Cæsar.*
- Cajus Sidius Geta behaves himself valiantly against the Britans. p. 23.*
- Cajus Volusenus sent into Britain by Cæsar to make discovery of the Country and People. p. 16.*
- Caligula a Roman Emperour. p. 22.*
- Camalodunum or Maldon the chief seat of Kymbeline, p. 22. made a Roman Colony. p. 24, 27.*
- Camber one of the Sons of Brutus hath allotted to him Cambria or Wales. p. 8.*
- Canute the Son of Swane, chosen King after his Fathers Death by the Danish Army and Fleet, p. 102. is driven back to his Ships by Ethelred, ibid. returns with a great Navy from Denmark, accompanied with Lachman King of Sweden, and Olav of Norway, p. 103. after several conflicts with Edmund, he at length divides the Kingdom with him by agreement, p. 105. after Edmund's Death, reigns sole King, ibid. he endeavours the extirpation of the Saxon Line, ibid. he settles his Kingdom, and makes peace with the Princes round about him, p. 106. he causes Edric, whose Treason he had made use of, to be slain, and his Body to be thrown over the City Wall, &c. ibid. he subdues Norway, ibid. takes a Voyage to Rome, and offering there rich Gifts, vows amendment of Life, p. 106, 107. he dies at Shaftsbury, and is buried at Winchester, p. 107. his Censure, ibid.*
- Capis one in the Catalogue of the Ancient Kings, p. 13.*
- Capoirus another of the same number. ib.*
- Caractacus the youngest Son of Cunobeline, succeeds in the Kingdom, p. 22. is overthrown by Aulus Plautius, p. 23. heads the Silures against the Romans, p. 24.*

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- p. 24, 25. is betray'd by Cartismandua, to whom he fled for Refuge, p. 25. is sent to Rome, *ibid.* his Speech to the Emperour, *ibid.* by the braveness of his Carriage he obtains pardon for himself and all his Company. *ibid.*
- Carausius grown rich with Piracy possesses himself of this Iland, p. 36. he fortifies the Wall of Severus, *ibid.* in the midst of the great preparations of Constantius Chlorus against him, he is slain by his friend Aleetus. *ibid.*
- Carinus sent by his Father Carus the Emperour to govern this Ile of Britain, is overcome and slain by Dioclesian. p. 35, 36.
- Cartismandua Queen of the Brigantes, delivers Caractacus bound to the Romans, p. 25. deserts her Husband Venutius, and gives both her self and Kingdom to Vellocatus one of his Squires. p. 26.
- Carvilius a petty King in Britain assaults the Roman Camp with three others, p. 21.
- Cassibelan one of the Sons of Heli, gains the Kingdom by common consent, p. 14. his generosity to his Brothers Sons, *ib.* he heads the Britans against Julius Cæsar and the Romans, p. 20. he is deserted by the Trinobantes, and why, *ibid.* he yields to Cæsar, p. 21. is reported to have had War with Androgeus; dies and is buried at York. *ib.*
- Cataraeta an ancient City in Yorkshire, burnt by Arnred a Tyrant. p. 70.
- Catellus an ancient British King. p. 13.
- Cerdic a Saxon Prince lands at Cerdic shore, and overthrows the Britans, p. 49. defeats thir King Natanleod in a memorable Battel, *ibid.* founds the Kingdom of West-Saxons, *ibid.* see Kerdic.
- Cherin an ancient British King. p. 13.
- Christian Faith receiv'd in Britain by King Lucius, p. 33. said to have been preach't by Faganus and Deruvianus, *ibid.* others say long before by Simon Zelotes, or Joseph of Arimathæa, *ib.* upon what occasion preach't to the Saxons, p. 55, 56.
- Chrysanthus the Son of Marcianus a Bishop, made Deputy of Britain by Theodosius. p. 39.
- Cingetorix a petty King in Britain, assaults the Roman Camp, p. 21. is taken Prisoner by Cæsar. *ibid.*
- Claudius the Emperour is perswaded by Bericus, though a Britan, to invade this Iland, p. 23. he sends Aulus Plautius hither with an Army, *ibid.* he comes over himself and joins with Plautius, *ibid.* defeats the Britans in a Battel, and takes Camalodunum, *ib.* he returns to Rome, leaving Plautius behind, *ibid.* he hath excessive honours decreed him by the Senat. p. 24.
- Cliguellius an ancient British King. p. 13.
- Clodius Albinus succeeds Pertinax in the Government of Britain for the Romans, p. 34. he is vanquish't and slain in a Battel against Septimius Severus. *ibid.*
- Coilus the Son of Marius leaves the Kingdom to Lucius. p. 33.
- Coillus an ancient British King. p. 13.
- Comail and two other British Kings slain by Keaulin and his Son Cuthwin, p. 54.
- Comius of Arras sent by Cæsar to make a party among the Britans. p. 16.
- Constans, of a Monk made a Cæsar, reduces all Spain to his Father Constantius's Obedience, p. 39. displacing Gerontius is oppos'd by him, and at last slain. *ibid.*
- Constantine the Son of Constantius Chlorus, saluted Emperour after his Fathers Death, p. 37. his Mother said to be Helena the Daughter of Coilus a British Prince, *ibid.* his eldest Son of the same name, enjoys among other Provinces of the Empire this Iland also, *ibid.* a common Souldier of the same name saluted Emperour, p. 39. by the valour of Edebecus and Gerontius, he gains in France as far as Arles, *ibid.* by the Conduct of his Son Constans, and of Gerontius, he reduces all Spain, *ibid.* Gerontius displac't by him calls in the Vandals against him, *ibid.* besieg'd by Constantius Comes, he turns Priest, is afterwards carried into Italy, and put to Death. p. 40.
- Constantine the Son of Cadur sharply inveigh'd against by Gildas, p. 53. he is said to have murder'd two young Princes of the Blood Royal. *ibid.*
- Constantine King of Scotland joining with the Danes and Irish under Anlaf, is overthrown by Athelstan. p. 89.
- Constantius Chlorus sent against Carausius, p. 36. defeats Aleetus, who is slain in the Battel, *ibid.* is acknowledg'd by the Britans as thir Deliverer, *ibid.* divides the Empire with Galerius, p. 37. dies at York. *ibid.*
- Constantius the Son of Constantine overcomes Magnentius, who contested with him for the sole Empire. p. 37.
- Cordeilla's sincere Answer to her Father begets his Displeasure, p. 9. she is married to Aganippus a King in Gaul, p. 10. she receives her Father, reject-ed by his other Daughters, with most dutiful

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dutiful Affection, ibid. restores him to his Crown, and reigns after him, ibid. is vanquish'd, depos'd, and imprison'd by her two Sister's Sons. ibid.
Corineus a Trojan Commander, joins Forces with Brutus, p. 7. slays Imbertus, *ibid. arrives with Brutus in this Iland, ibid. Cornwall from him denominated falls to his lot, p. 8. he overcomes the Giant Goemagog. ibid.*
Crida, the first of the Mercian Kingdom. p. 54.
Cuichelm the West-Saxon sends Eumerus a Sword-man to assassinate King Edwin, p. 59. is baptis'd in Dorchester, but dies the same Year. p. 62.
Cunedagius the Son of Regan deposeth his Aunt Cordeilla, p. 10. shares the Kingdom with his Cousin Marganus, is invaded by him, meets him and overcomes him. *ibid.*
Cuneglas a British King reigns one of five a little before the Saxons were settled. p. 53.
Cunobeline, see Kymbeline.
Cutha helps his Father Keaulin against Ethelbert. p. 52.
Cuthred King of West-Saxons joins with Ethelbald the Mercian, and gains a great Victory over the Welsh, p. 69. he hath a fierce Battel with Ethelbald the Mercian, which he not long survives, *ibid. a King of Kent of the same name. p. 73.*
Cuthulf the Brother of Keaulin vanquisheth the Britans at Bedanford, and takes several Towns. p. 54.
Cuthwin, see Keanlin.

D.

Danes first appear in the West, p. 71. they slay the King's Gatherers of Custom, *ibid. landing at Lindisfarne in Yorkshire, they pillage that Monastery, slay and captivate several both Fryars and others, p. 72. attempting to spoil another Monastery, they are cut off by the English, ibid. they make very great wast and havoc in Northumberland, p. 74. they wast Shepey in Kent, and engage with Ecbert near the River Carr, p. 77. they are overthrown and put to flight by Ecbert, ibid. thir various Success in the Reign of Ethelwolf, ibid. &c. many great Battels between them and the English in the Reign of Ethelred with various fortune. p. 80, 81. thir whole Army being defeated, they are brought to terms by King Alfred, p. 82. in the same Kings reign several vast*

Fleets of Danes arrive with fresh supplies, p. 83. a vast Army of them overthrown by King Athelstan, p. 89. a Massacre committed upon them by the English in all parts of the Land in the reign of King Ethelred. p. 99.
Danius reckon'd among the Ancient British Kings. p. 12.
Deruvianus, see Faganus.
Dinothus Abbot of Bangor his Speech to Bishop Austin. p. 58.
Dioclelian supposed a King of Syria, and his 50 Daughters having (all but one) murder'd thir Husbands, to have been driven upon this Iland. p. 4.
Dis the first Peopler of this Iland, as some fabulously affirm, p. 4. the same with Samothès. *ibid.*
Donaldus said to have headed the Caledonians against Septimius Severus. p. 35.
Donaldus King of Scotland brought to hard Conditions by Osbert and Ella Kings of Northumberland. p. 78.
Druids falsly alledg'd out of Cæsar to have forbidden the Britans to write thir memorable Deeds. p. 3.
Druis the third from Samothès fabulously written the ancientest King of this Iland. p. 4.
Dunstan sent by the Nobles to reprove King Edwi for his Luxury, p. 92. banisht by the King, and his Monastery rifled, *ibid. recall'd by King Edgar, p. 93. his miraculous Escape when the rest of the Company were kill'd by the fall of a House. p. 96.*
Dunwallo Molmutius Son of Cloten King of Cornwall, reduces the whole Iland into a Monarchy, p. 11. establisheth the Molmutin Laws. *ibid.*
Durslus King of the Picts said to be slain by the joint Forces of the Britans and Romans. p. 42.

E.

Eadbald after the Death of his Father Ethelbert, falls back to Heathenism, p. 58. he runs distracted, but afterwards returns to his right Mind and Faith, p. 59. by what means it happen'd, *ibid. he gives his Sister Edelburga in Marriage to Edwin, ibid. he dies and leaves his Son Ercombert to succeed. p. 62.*
Eadbert shares with his two Brothers in the Kingdom of Kent, after Victred, p. 68. his Death, p. 69. Eadbert King of Northumberland after Kellwulf wars against the Picts, *ibid. joyns with Unuft King of the Picts against*

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- gainst the Britans in Cumberland, p. 70. forsakes his Crown for a Monks Hood. *ibid.*
- Eadbright, otherwise call'd Ethelbert, usurping the Kingdom of Kent, and contending with Kenulph the Mercian is taken Prisoner. p. 72.
- Eadburga by chance poysons her Husband Birthric with a Cup which she had prepar'd for another, p. 73. the choice propos'd to her by Charles the Great to whom she fled, *ibid.* he assigns her a rich Monastery to dwell in as Abbess, *ibid.* detected of Unchastity, she is expelled, and dies in beggery at Pavia. *ibid.*
- Eandred Son of Eardulf reigns 30 years King of Northumberland after Alfwold the Usurper, p. 73. becoms Tributary to Ecbert. p. 75.
- Eanfrid the Son of Ethelfrid succeeds in the Kingdom of Bernicia. p. 62.
- Eardulf supposed to have been slain by Ethelred is made King of the Northumbrians in York after Osbald, p. 72. in a War raised against him by his People he gets the Victory, p. 73. is driven out of his Kingdom by Alfwold. *ibid.*
- East-Angle Kingdom by whom erected. p. 49.
- East-Saxon Kingdom by whom begun, p. 49. the People converted by Mellitus, p. 57. they expel thir Bishop and renounce thir Faith, p. 58. are reconverted by means of Edwi. p. 64.
- Ebranc succeeds his Father Mempricius in the Kingdom of Britain, p. 8. builds Caer-Ebranc now York, and other Places. *ibid.*
- Ecbert succeeds his Father Ercombert in the Kingdom of Kent, p. 65. dying, leaves a suspicion of having slain his Uncle's Sons Elbert and Egelbright, *ibid.*
- Ecbert of the West-Saxon Linage, flies from Birthric's suspicion to Offa, and thence into France, p. 73. after Birthric's decease is recall'd, and with general applause made King, *ibid.* he subdues the Britans of Cornwall and beyond Severn, p. 74. overthrows Bernulf the Usurper of Mercia at Ellandune or Wilton, *ibid.* the East-Angles, having slain Bernulf, yield to his Sovereignty, *ibid.* drives Baldrad King of Kent out of his Kingdom, and causeth both Kent and other Provinces to submit to his Scepter, *ibid.* Withlaf of Mercia becoms tributary to him, *ibid.* he gives the Danes battel by the River Carr, p. 77. in another battel he puts to flight a great Army of them, together with the Cornishmen joyning with them, *ibid.* he dies, and is buried at Winchester. *ibid.*
- Ecferth the Son of Offa the Mercian within four Months ends his Reign. p. 72.
- Ecfred, Oswi's eldest Son, succeeds him in the Kingdom of Northumberland, p. 65. wins Lindsey from Wulfer the Mercian, *ibid.* he wars against Ethelred the Brother of Wulfer, *ibid.* he sends Bertus with an Army to subdue Ireland, p. 67. marching against the Picts is cut off with most of his Army, *ibid.* his death reveng'd by Bertfrid a Northumbrian Captain. p. 68.
- Edan a King of the Scots in Britain put to flight by Ethelfrid. p. 57.
- Edelard King of the West-Saxons after Ina, molested with the Rebellion of his Kinsman Oswald, p. 69. overcoming those troubles, dies in peace. *ibid.*
- Edgar the Brother and Successor of Edwi in the English Monarchy, calls home Dunstan from Banishment, p. 93. his peaceable and prosperous Reign, and his favour towards the Monks, *ibid.* his strict observance of Justice, and his care to secure the Nation with a strong Fleet, *ibid.* he is homag'd and row'd down the River Dee by eight Kings, *ibid.* his expostulation with Kened King of Scotland, p. 94. he is cheated by the treacherous Duke Athelwold of Elfrida, whom, avenging himself upon the said Duke, he marries, *ibid.* attempting on the Chastity of a young Lady at Andover, he is pleasantly deceiv'd by the Mother, p. 94, 95. dying in the height of his Glory, he is buried at Glaston-Abby. p. 93.
- Edgar surnamed Atheling, his right and title to the Crown of England from his Grandfather Edmund Ironside, p. 115. excluded by Harold Son of Earl Godwin. p. 117.
- Edilhere the Brother and Successor of Anna in the Kingdom of the East-Angles, slain in a Battel against Oswi. p. 64.
- Edilwalk the South-Saxon perswaded to Christianity by Wulfer. p. 66.
- Edmund crown'd King of the East-Angles at Burie, p. 78. his whole Army put to flight by the Danes, he is taken, bound to a stake, and shot with arrows, p. 80.
- Edmund the Brother and Successor of Athelstan in the English Monarchy, frees Mercia, and takes several Towns from the Danes, p. 91. he drives Anlaf and Suthfrid out of Northumberland, and Dummail out of Cumberland, *ib.* the strange manner of his death. p. 92.
- Edmund

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- Edmund surnamed Ironside, the Son of Ethelred, set up by divers of the Nobles against Canute, p. 104. in several Battels against the Danes, he comes off for the most part victorious, *ibid.* at length consents to divide the Kingdom with him, p. 105. his death thought to have been violent, and not without Canute's consent. *ibid.*
- Edred the third Brother and Successor of Athelitan, with much ado reduceth the Northumbrians, and puts an end to that Kingdom, p. 92. dies in the flower of his age, and is buried at Winchester. *ibid.*
- Edric the Son of Edelwalk King of South-Saxons slain by Kedwalla the West-Saxon. p. 66.
- Edric surnamed Streon advanc't by King Ethelred, marries his Daughter Elgiva, p. 100. he secretly murders two Noblemen whom he had invited to his Lodging, p. 102. he practises against the life of Prince Edmund, and revolts to the Danes, p. 103. his cunning devices to hinder Edmund in the prosecution of his Victories against Canute, p. 104. is thought by some to have been the Contriver of King Edmunds murder, p. 105. the Government of the Mercians confer'd upon him, p. 106. he is put to death by Canutus, and his head stuck upon a Pole, and set upon the highest Tower in London. *ibid.*
- Edward the Elder Son and Successor of King Alfred, hath War with Ethelwald his Kinsman, who aspiring to the Crown, stirs up the Danes against him, p. 86. he proves successful and potent, divers Princes and great Commanders of the Danes submitting to him, p. 86, 87, &c. the King and whole Nation of Scotland, with divers other Princes and People, do him Homage as their Sovereign, p. 88. he dies at Farendon, and is buried at Winchester. *ibid.*
- Edward surnamed the Younger, Edgar's Son by his first Wife Egeffleda, is advanc't to the Throne, p. 96. the contest in his Reign between the Monks and secular Priests, each abetted by their several parties, *ibid.* great mischief done by the falling of a House where a general Council for deciding the Controversy was held, *ibid.* inhumanly murder'd by the treachery of his step-mother Elfrida. *ibid.*
- Edward Son of Edmund Ironside, Heir apparent to the Crown, dies at London. p. 115.
- Edward surnamed the Confessor, the Son of King Ethelred by Emma, after Hardecnute's death is crown'd at Winchester, p. 110. he seizeth on the Treasures of his Mother Queen Emma, *ibid.* he marries Edith Earl Godwin's Daughter, *ibid.* he makes preparation against Magnus King of Norway, but next year makes peace with Harold Harvager, p. 111. he advances the Normans in England, which proves of ill consequence, *ibid.* he is oppos'd by Earl Godwin in the Cause of Eustace of Boloign, banishes the Earl, and divorces his Daughter whom he had married, p. 112. entertains Duke William of Normandy, p. 113. he sends Odo and Radulf with a Fleet against Godwin, and his Sons exercising Piracy, *ibid.* reconciliation at length made, he restores the Earl, his Sons and Daughter, all to their former Dignities, p. 113, 114. he is said to have design'd Duke William of Normandy his Successor to the Crown, p. 116. dies and is buried at Westminster, *ibid.* his Character. p. 116, 117.
- Edwi the Son and Successor of Edmund is crown'd at Kingston, p. 92. he banisheth Bishop Dunstan for reproving his wantonness with Algiva, and proves an enemy to all Monks, *ibid.* the Mercians and Northumbrians revolt from him, and set up his Brother Edgar, p. 93. with grief thereof he ends his days, and is buried at Winchester, *ib.*
- Edwin thrown out of the Kingdom of Deira by Ethelfrid, p. 54, 59. flying to Redwal the East-Angle for refuge, he is defended against Ethelfrid, p. 59. he exceeds in power and extent of Dominion all before him, *ibid.* marries Edelburga the Sister of Eadbald, *ibid.* he is wounded by an Assassin from Cuichelm, *ibid.* the strange relation of his Conversion to Christianity, p. 60. he persuades Eorpald the Son of Redwald to embrace the Christian Faith, p. 61. he is slain in a Battel against Kedwalla. *ibid.*
- Edwin Duke of the Mercians, see Morcar.
- Elanius reckon'd in the number of ancient British Kings. p. 12.
- Eldadus. p. 13.
- Eldol. *ibid.*
- Eledaucus. *ibid.*
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- Elfred the Son of King Ethelred by Emma, betray'd by Earl Godwin, and cruelly made away by Harold, p. 108, 109.
- Elfwald the Son of Oswulf succeeding Ethelred in Northumberland, is rebell'd against by two of his Noblemen Osbald and Athelheard, p. 71. he is slain by the Conspiracy of Siggan one of his Nobles, *ibid.*
- Elfwyn slain in a Battel between his Brother Ecfrid and Ethelred. p. 66.
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- Eliud reckon'd in the number of ancient British Kings, p. 13.
- Ella the Saxon lands with his three Sons, and beats the Britans in two Battels, p. 48. he and his Son Cissa take Andredchester in Kent by force, p. 48, 49. begins his Kingdom of the South-Saxons, p. 49.
- Elwold Nephew of Ethelwald reigns King of the East-Angles after Aldulf, p. 74.
- Emeric succeeds Otho in the Kingdom of Kent, p. 52.
- Emma the Daughter of Richard Duke of Normandy married first to King Ethelbert, p. 99. afterwards to Canute, p. 106. banish'd by her Son-in-Law Harold, she retires to Flanders, and is entertain'd by Earl Baldwin, p. 108. her Treasures seized on by her Son King Edward, p. 110. she dies, and is buried at Winchester, p. 113. a Tradition concerning her question'd, *ibid.*
- Eorpwald the Son of Redwald King of the East-Angles perswaded to Christianity by Edwin, p. 61. he is slain in fight by Ricbert a Pagan, *ibid.*
- Erchenwin said by Huntingdon to be the Erector of the Kingdom of the East-Saxons, p. 49.
- Ercombert succeeds Eadbald in the Kingdom of Kent, p. 62. The first Establisher of Lent here, *ibid.*
- Eric, see Iric.
- Ermenred thought to have had more right to the Kingdom than Ercombert, p. 62.
- Eswin and Kentwin the Nephew and Son of Kinegil, said to have succeeded Kenwalk in the Government of the West-Saxons, p. 65. Eswin joins Battel with Wulfer at Bedanhafer, and not long after deceaseth. *ibid.*
- Estrildis belov'd by Locrine, p. 8. is with her Daughter Sabra thrown into a River. *ibid.*
- Ethelbald King of Mercia, after Ina commands all the Provinces on this side Humber, p. 68. he takes the Town of Somerton, p. 69. fraudulently assaults part of Northumberland in Eadbald's absence, *ibid.* his encounter at Beorford with Cuthred the West-Saxon, p. 70. in another bloody Fight at Secandune he is slain, *ibid.*
- Ethelbald and Ethelbert share the English-Saxon Kingdom between them after thir Father Ethelwolf; Ethelbald marries Judith his Father's Widow, p. 79. is buried at Shirburn, *ibid.*
- Ethelbert succeeds Emeric in the Kingdom of Kent, p. 52. he is defeated at Wibbandun by Keaulin and his Son Cutha, *ibid.* enlarges his Dominions from Kent to Humber, p. 55. civilly receives Austin and his Fellow-preachers of the Gospel, p. 56. is himself baptiz'd, *ibid.* mov'd by Austin, he builds S. Peter's Church in Canterbury, and endows it, p. 57. he builds and endows S. Paul's Church in London, and the Cathedral at Rochester, *ibid.* his Death, p. 58.
- Ethelbert, Eadbald, and Alric succeed thir Father Victred in the Kingdom of Kent, p. 68. see Eadbright.
- Ethelbert the Son of Ethelwolf after the death of his Brother Ethelbald enjoys the whole Kingdom to himself, p. 79. during his Reign the Danes waste Kent, *ibid.* he is buried with his Brother at Shirburn, *ibid.*
- Ethelfrid succeeds Ethelric in the Kingdom of Northumberland, p. 54. he wastes the Britans, p. 57. overthrows Edan King of Scots, *ibid.* in a Battel at Westchester against the British Forces he slays above 1200 Monks, p. 58.
- Ethelmund and Weolstan the opposite Leaders of each party in a Fight between the Worstershire men and Wiltshire men, slain, p. 73.
- Ethelred succeeding his Brother Wulfer in the Kingdom of Mercia, recovers Lindsey and other parts, p. 65. invades the Kingdom of Kent, *ibid.* a sore Battel between him and Ecfrid the Northumbrian, p. 66. after the violent Death of his Queen he exchanges his Crown for a Monks Cowl, p. 67.
- Ethelred the Son of Mollo, the Usurper Alcled being forsaken by the Northumbrians, and depos'd, is crown'd in his stead, p. 70. having caused thre of his

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his Noblemen to be treacherously slain, he is driven into Banishment, *ibid.* after ten Years Banishment restor'd again, p. 71. he cruelly and treacherously puts to death Oelf and Oelfwin, the Sons of Elfwald formerly King, p. 71, 72. and afterwards Ofred, who tho shaven a Monk, attempted again upon the Kingdom, p. 72. he marries Elsted the Daughter of Offa, *ibid.* is miserably slain by his People, *ibid.*

Ethelred the Son of Eandred driven out in his 4th year, p. 77. is re-exalted to his Seat, but slain the 4th year after, *ibid.*

Ethelred the third Son of Ethelwolf, the third Monarch of the English-Saxons, infested with fresh Invasions of the Danes, p. 80. he fights several great Battels with the Danes, with various success, p. 81. he dies in the 5th year of his Reign, and is buried at Winburn, *ibid.*

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Ethelwald the Brother of Edelhere succeeds him in the Kingdom of the East-Angles, *ibid.*

Ethelwald surnamed Mollo set up King of the Northumbrians in the room of Oswulf, p. 70. he slays in Battel Ofwin a Lord that rebel'd against him, *ib.* is set upon by Alcred who assumes his place, *ibid.*

Ethelwolf the second Monarch of the English-Saxons, of a mild nature, not warlike, or ambitious, p. 77. he with his Son Ethelbald gives the Danes a total Defeat at Ak-Lea, or Oac-Lea, p. 78. he dedicates the tenth of his whole Kingdom toward the maintenance of Masses and Psalms for the prospering of him and his Captains against the Danes, *ib.* takes a journey to Rome with his Son Alfrid, and marries Judith the Daughter of Charles the Bald of France, *ib.*

he is driven by a Conspiracy to consign half his Kingdom to his Son Ethelbald, *ibid.* dies and is buried at Winchester, p. 79.

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Etheldrith refusing for 12 years her Husband Ectrid's Bed, at length veils herself a Nun, and is made Abbess of Ely, p. 66, 67.

Eustace Count of Boloign revenging the death of one of his Servants, is set upon by the Citizens of Canterbury, p. 112, he complains to King Edward, who takes his part against the Canterburiens, and commands Earl Godwin against them, but in vain, *ibid.*

F.

FAganus and Deruvianus said to have preach'd the Gospel here, and to have converted almost the whole Island, p. 33.

Faustus incestuously born of Vortimer and his Daughter, lives a devout Life in Glamorganshire, p. 47.

Fergus King of Scots said to be slain by the joint Forces of the Britains and Romans, p. 42.

Ferrex the Son of Gorbogudo, slays in fight his Brother Porrex, tho assisted with Forces out of France, p. 11. is in revenge slain himself in Bed by his Mother Videna, *ibid.*

Flattery odious and contemptible to a generous Spirit, p. 107, 108.

Francus, nam'd among the four Sons of Iftion, sprung of Japhet, and from him the Franks said to be deriv'd, p. 5.

Fulgenius reckon'd among the ancient British Kings, p. 13. the Commander in chief of the Caledonians against Septimius Severus, so call'd by Geof-fry of Monmouth, p. 35.

G.

GAlgacus heads the Britans against Julius Agricola, p. 31.

Germanus in a public Disputation at Verulam, puts to silence the chief of the Pelagians, p. 43. he is intreated by the Britans to head them against the Picts and Saxons, *ibid.* he gains the Victory by a religious Stratagem, *ibid.* His Death, p. 44.

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- Geruntius the Son of Elidure not his immediate Successor, p. 13.
- Godwin Earl of Kent, and the West-Saxons stand for Hardecnute, p. 108. he betrays Prince Elfred to Harold, p. 108, 109. being call'd to account by Hardecnute, he appeaseth him with a very rich Present, p. 109. he earnestly exhorts Edward to take upon him the Crown of England, p. 110. marries his Daughter to King Edward, *ibid.* he raises Forces in opposition to the French whom the King favor'd, p. 112. is banish'd, *ibid.* he and his Sons uniting in a great Fleet, grow formidable, p. 113. coming up to London with his Ships, and preparing for Battel, a Reconciliation is suddenly made between him and the King, *ibid.* sitting with the King at Table, he suddenly sinks down dead in his Seat, p. 114.
- Gomer the eldest Son of Japhet believ'd the first that peopled these West and Northern Climes, p. 4.
- Gonorill gains upon the Affection of her Father King Leir by her Dissimulation, p. 9. she is married with Maglaunus Duke of Albania, p. 10. her Ingratitude to her Father after she had gain'd from him what she could, *ibid.*
- Gorbogudo, or Gorbodego, succeeds Kinmarcus in the Kingdom, *ibid.*
- Gorbonian succeeds Morindus in the Kingdom, p. 12. his Justice and Piety, *ibid.*
- Gratianus Funarius the Father of Valentinian, Commander in chief of the Roman Armies in Britain, p. 37.
- Gregory Archdeacon of Rome, and afterward Pope, procures the sending over of Abbot Austin and others to preach the Gospel to the Saxons in this Iland, p. 55.
- Griffin Prince of South-Wales joining with Algar, and committing great spoil in Hereford, is pursued by Harold Earl of Kent, p. 114, 115. after a Peace concluded, he breaks his Faith, and returns to Hostility, p. 115. is again reduc'd, *ibid.* Harold sent against him, brings the Welsh to submission, *ibid.* lurking about the Country, he is taken and slain by Griffin Prince of North-Wales, *ibid.*
- Guendolen the Daughter of Corineus is married to Locrine the Son of Brutus, p. 8. being divorc'd by him, gives him Battel, wherein he is slain, *ibid.* causeth Estrildis whom Locrine had married, to be thrown into a River with her Daughter Sabra, *ibid.* governs 15 Tears in behalf of her Son Madan. *ibid.*
- Gueniver, the Wife of Melval a British King, kept from King Arthur in the Town of Glaston, p. 50.
- Guiderius said to have been the Son of Cunobeline, and slain in a Battel against Claudius, p. 24.
- Guitheline succeeds his Father Gurguntius Barbirus in the Kingdom, p. 12.
- Gunhildis the Sister of Swane with her Husband Earl Palingus, and her young Son, cruelly murder'd, p. 99.
- Guorangonus a King of Kent before it was given to the Saxons, p. 46.
- Guortimer the Son of Vortiger bends his Endeavours to drive out the Saxons, p. 46. his success against them in several Battels, p. 47. dying, he commands his Bones to be buried in the Port of Stonar, *ibid.*
- Gurguntius Barbirus succeeds Belinus in the Kingdom, overcomes the Dane, and gives encouragement to Bartholinus a Spaniard to settle a Plantation in Ireland, p. 12. another ancient British King nam'd Gurguntius, p. 13.
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- Gyrtha Son of Earl Godwin accompanies his Father into Flanders, together with his Brothers Tosti and Swane, p. 112. his noble Advice to his Brother Harold as he was ready to give Battel to Duke William of Normandy, p. 119. he is slain in the said Battel with his Brothers Harold and Leofwin, *ibid.*
- Gythro or Gothrun a Danish King baptiz'd and receiv'd out of the Font by King Alfred, p. 82. the Kingdom of the East-Angles said to be bestow'd on him to hold of the said Alfred, *ibid.*
- H.
- H**Ardecnute the Son of Canute by Emma, call'd over from Bruges, and receiv'd King with general Acclamation, p. 109. he calls Godwin and others to account about the death of Elfred, *ibid.* enrag'd at the Citizens of Worster for killing his Tax-gatherers, he sends an Army against them, and burns the City, *ibid.* he kindly receives and entertains his half Brother Edward, *ibid.* eating and drinking hard at a great Feast, he falls down speechless; and soon after expiring, is buried at Winchester, *ibid.*
- Harold

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- Harold surnamed Harefoot, the Son of Canute, elected King by Duke Leofric and the Mercians, p. 108. he banishes his Mother-in-Law Emma, *ibid.* his perfidiousness and cruelty towards Elfred the Son of Ethelred, p. 108, 109. he dies, and is buried at Winchester. p. 109.
- Harold Son of Godwin, made Earl of Kent, and sent against Prince Griffin of Wales, p. 115. he reduces him at last to utmost extremity, *ibid.* being cast upon the Coast of Normandy, and brought to Duke William, he promises his endeavours to make him King of England, p. 116. he takes the Crown himself, p. 117. puts off Duke William demanding it with a slighting answer, p. 118. is invaded by his Brother Tosti, p. 117. by Harold Harvager King of Norway, whom he utterly overthrows and slays, together with Tosti, p. 118. is invaded by Duke William of Normandy, p. 118, 119. is overthrown at the Battel of Hastings, and slain together with his two Brothers Leofwin and Gyrtha. p. 119.
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- Hengist and Horsa with an Army of Saxons, Jutes and Angles, land in the Ile of Thanet, p. 45, 46. Hengist invites over more of his Countrymen, p. 46. he gains advantages of Vortiger by marrying his Daughter to him, *ibid.* he takes on him Kingly Title, p. 47. his several Battels against the Britans, *ibid.* his treacherous slaughter of 300 British Grandees under pretence of Treaty, p. 48. his death. *ibid.*
- Henninus Duke of Cornwall bath Regan the Daughter of King Leir given him in Marriage. p. 10.
- Herebert a Saxon Earl slain with most part of his Army by the Danes at a place call'd Merefwar. p. 77.
- Hinguar and Hubba two Danish Brethren, how they got footing by degrees in England. p. 80.
- Histon said to be descended of Japhet, and to have had four Sons who peopled the greatest part of Europe. p. 4, 5.
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- Horsa the Brother of Hengist slain in the Saxons War against the Britans, p. 47. his Burial-place gave name to Horsted a Town in Kent. *ibid.*
- Humbeanna and Albert said by som to have shar'd the Kingdom of the East-Angles after one Elfwald. p. 74.
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- J**ago or Lago succeeds his Uncle Augustus in the Kingdom. p. 10.
- Icenians, and by thir example the Trinobantes, rise up in Arms against the Romans. p. 27.
- Ida the Saxon begins the Kingdom of Bernicia in Northumberland. p. 51.
- Idwallo learns by his Brother's ill success to rule well. p. 13.
- Immanuentius slain by Cassibelan. p. 20.
- Immin, Eaba, and Eadbert Noblemen of Mercia throw off Ofwi, and set up Wulfer. p. 64.
- Ina succeeds Kedwalla in the Kingdom of West-Saxons, p. 67. he marches into Kent to demand satisfaction for the burning of Mollo, *ibid.* is pacified by Victred with a sum of Money, and the delivering up of the Accessories, *ibid.* vanquishes Gerent King of Wales, p. 68. slays Kenwulf and Albright, and vanquishes the East-Angles, *ibid.* ends his days at Rome. *ibid.*
- Inniaunus depos'd for his ill courses. p. 13.
- Joseph of Arimathæa said to have first preacht the Christian Faith in this Iland. p. 33.
- Jovinus sent Deputy into this Iland by the Emperour Valentinian. p. 38.
- Iric a Dane made Earl of Northumberland by Canute in place of Uthred slain, p. 103, 106. he is said by som to have made War against Malcolm King of Scots, p. 106. his greatness suspected by Canute, he is banisht the Realm. *ibid.*
- Julius Agricola the Emperours Lieutenant in Britain, almost extirpates the Ordovices, p. 29. finishes the Conquest of the Ile of Mona, *ibid.* his Justice and prudence in Government; p. 30. he brings the Britans to Civility, Arts, and an Imitation of the Roman fashions, *ibid.* he receives triumphal Honours from Titus, *ibid.* he extends his Conquests to Scotland, subdues the Orcades and other Scotch Ilands, *ibid.* he is hard put to it in several Conflicts; but comes off victorious, p. 31, 32. he is commanded home by Domitian. p. 32.
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- Julius Severus governs Britain under Adrian the Emperour, p. 32. divides his Conquests here by a Wall 80 miles long, as his usual manner was in other Frontiers. p. 33.
- K.
- K** Earl surrenders the Kingdom of Mercia to his Kinsman Penda. p. 61
- Keaulin succeeds his Father Kenric in the Kingdom of the West-Saxons, p. 52. he and his Son Cuthin slay three British Kings at Deorham, p. 54. gives the Britans a very great rout at Fethanleage, *ibid.* is totally routed by the Britans at Wodensbeorth, and chac't out of his Kingdom, dies in poverty. *ibid.*
- Kedwalla or Kadwallon a British King joyning with Penda the Mercian, slays Edwin in Battel. p. 61.
- Kedwalla a West-Saxon Prince returned from Banishment, slays in fight Edelwalk the South-Saxon, and after that Edric his Successor, p. 66. going to the Ile of Wight, he devotes the fourth part therof to holy Uses, *ibid.* the Sons of Arwald King of that Ile slain by his order, *ibid.* he harasses the Country of the South-Saxons, *ibid.* is repell'd by the Kentish men, *ibid.* yet revenges the death of his Brother Mollo, *ibid.* going to Rome to be baptiz'd, he dies there about five weeks after his Baptism. p. 67
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- Kelwulf reigns King of the West-Saxons after Keola, p. 56. he makes War upon the South-Saxons, p. 58. dying, leaves the Kingdom to his Brothers Sons. *ibid.*
- Kelwulf adopted by Ofric the Northumbrian to be his Successor in the Kingdom, p. 68. he becomes a Monk in Lindistarn. p. 69.
- Kened King of the Scots does high honour to King Edgar, p. 93. receives great favours from him, *ibid.* is challeng'd by him upon some words let fall, but soon pacifies him. p. 94.
- Kenelm succeeding a Child in the Kingdom of Mercia after Kenulf, is murder'd by order of his Sister Quendrid. p. 74.
- Kenred the Son of Wulfer succeeds Ethelred in the Mercian Kingdom, p. 67. having reign'd a while, he goes to Rome, and is there shorn a Monk, p. 67, 68. another Kenred succeeds in the Kingdom of Northumberland. p. 170.
- Kenric the Son of Kerdic overthrows the Britans that oppose him, p. 49. kills and puts to flight many of the Britans at Searesbirig now Salisbury, p. 52. afterwards at Beranvirig now Banbury. *ibid.*
- Kenwin a West-Saxon King chases the Welsh-Britans to the Sea-shore. p. 66.
- Kenulf hath the Kingdom of Mercia bequeath'd him by Ecerth, p. 72. he leaves behind him the praise of a virtuous Reign. p. 74.
- Kenwalk succeeds his Father Kinegils in the Kingdom of the West-Saxons, p. 63. his successes variously deliver'd, *ibid.* he is said to have discomfited the Britans at Pen in Somersetshire, p. 64. and giving Battel to Wulfer, to have taken him Prisoner, p. 65. dying, leaves the Government to Sexburga his Wife. *ibid.*
- Kenwulf entituled Clito slain by Ina the West-Saxon. p. 68.
- Kenwulf King of the West-Saxons, see Kinwulf.
- Keola the Son of Cuthulf succeeds his Uncle Keaulin in the West-Saxon Kingdom. p. 54.
- Keolwulf the Brother of Kenulf the Mercian, after two years reign driven out by Bernulf a Usurper. p. 74.
- Keorle with the Forces of Devonshire overthrows the Danes at Wigganbeorch. p. 77.
- Kerdic a Saxon Prince lands at Kerdic-shore, and overthrows the Britans, p. 49. defeats thir King Natanleod in a memorable Battel, *ibid.* founds the Kingdom of the West-Saxons, *ibid.*
- he

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- Mempricius and Malim succeed thir Father Madan in the Kingdom, p. 8.
- Mempricius treacherously slaying his Brother, gets sole Possession of the Kingdom, reigns tyrannically, and is at last devour'd by Wolves, *ibid.*
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- Offa defeating and slaying Beornred the Usurper, becoms King of Mercia after Ethelbald, p. 70. he subdues a neighbouring People call'd Hestings, *ibid.* gets the Victory of Alric King of Kent at Ottanford, *ibid.* inviting Ethelbrite King of the East-Angles to his Palace, he there treacherously causeth him to be beheaded, and seizeth his Kingdom, p. 72. had at first Enmity, afterwards League with Charles the Great, *ibid.* he grants a perpetual Tribut to the Pope out of every House in his Kingdom, *ibid.* he draws a Trench of wondrous length between Mercia and the British Confines, his death, *ibid.*
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- Osred Son of Aleled advanc'd to the Kingdom of Northumberland after Elfwald, is soon driven out again, p. 71. is taken and forcibly shaven a Monk at York, *ibid.*
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- Oswi succeeds his Brother Oswald in the Kingdom, p. 62. he perswades Sigebert to receive the Christian Faith, p. 64. he discomfits Penda's vast Army, *ibid.* he subdues all Mercia, and the greatest part of the Pictish Nation, *ibid.* shaken off by the Mercian Nobles, and Wulfer set up in his stead, *ibid.* his death, p. 65.
- Oswin the Nephew of Edwin shares with Oswi in the Kingdom of Northumberland, p. 63. coming to Arms with him, he is over-match'd, and slain by his Command, *ibid.*
- Oswulf hath the Crown of Northumberland relinquisht to him by Eadbert, p. 70. slain by his own Servants, *ibid.*
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- Portsmouth denominated from the landing of Porta a Saxon Prince, with his two Sons Bida and Megla, p. 49.
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Father Seward King of the East-Saxons, p. 64. his successor Sigebert the 2d is perswaded by Oswi to imbrace Christianity, *ibid.* is murder'd by the Conspiracy of two Brethren, *ibid.* his Death denounc't by the Bishop for eating with an excommunicat Person, *ib.*

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South-Saxon Kingdom by whom erected, *ibid.* South-Saxons on what occasion converted to the Christian Faith. p. 65, 66.

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pell'd, p. 102. is stil'd King of England, *ibid.* he sickens and dies. *ibid.*

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T.

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Tendric a warlike King of Britain, said to have exchang'd his Crown for a Hermitage, p. 54. to have taken up Arms again in aid of his Son Mouric. *ibid.*

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- Trinobantes fall off from Cassibelan, and submit to C^{ae}sar, and recommend Mandubratius to his protection. p. 20.
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- V.
- V**alentinian the Emperor sends over several Deputies successively into this Island. p. 38.
- Vectius Bolanus sent into Britain in the room of Trebellius Maximus. p. 29.
- Vellocatus, see Venutius and Cartifinandua.
- Venutius a King of the Brigantes deserted by his Wife Cartifinandua, who marries his Squire Vellocatus, p. 26. he rights himself against her by Arms, *ibid.* makes War successfully against those taking part with his Wife. *ibid.*
- Verannius succeeds A. Didius in the British Wars. p. 26.
- Vertue ever highly rewarded by the ancient Romans. p. 24.
- Vespasian valiantly fighting under Plautius against the Britans, is rescued from danger by his Son Titus, p. 24. for his eminent services here, he receives triumphal Ornaments at Rome. *ibid.*
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- Victorinus of Tolosa made Prefect of this Island. p. 39.
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- Videna slays her Son Ferrex in revenge of her other Son Porrex. p. 11.
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- Virius Lupus bath the North part of the Government assign'd him by Severus the Emperor. p. 34.
- Ulfketel Duke of the East-Angles sets upon the Danes with great Valor, p. 99. his Army defeated through the subtlety of a Danish Servant, p. 101. he is slain with several other Dukes at the fatal Battel of Assandune. p. 105.
- Ulpus Marcellus sent Lieutenant into Britain by Commodus, ends the War by his Valor and Prudence. p. 33.
- Vortigern's Character, p. 45. he is advis'd by his Council to invite in the Saxons against the Scots and Picts, *ibid.* he bestows upon Hengist and the Saxons the Ile of Thanet, p. 46. then all Kent, upon a marriage with Rowen Hengist's Daughter, *ibid.* condemn'd in a Synod for Incest with his Daughter, he retires to a Castle in Radnorshire, built for that purpose, p. 47. his Son Guortimer dead, he resumes the Government, *ibid.* is drawn into a snare by Hengist, p. 48. retiring again is burnt in his Tower. *ibid.*
- Vortipor reigns in Demetia, or South-Wales. p. 53.
- Urianus reckon'd in the number of ancient British Kings. p. 13.
- Utherpendragon thought to be the same with Natanleod. p. 49.
- Uthred submits himself with the Northumbrians to Swane, p. 102. to Canute, p. 103. his Victory over Malcolm King of Scots, p. 103, 106. he is slain by Turebrand a Danish Lord at Canute's either command or connivence. p. 103.
- W.
- W**est-Saxon Kingdom by whom corrected, p. 49. West-Saxons, and thir Kings converted to the Christian Faith by Berinus. p. 62.
- Wibba succeeds Crida in the Mercian Kingdom. p. 54.
- Wilbrod a Priest goes over with 12 others to preach the Gospel in Germany, p. 67. he is countenanc't by Pepin Chief Regent of the Franks, and made first Bishop of that Nation. *ibid.*
- Wilfred Bishop of the Northumbrians depriv'd by Ecfred of his Bishoprick, wanders as far as Rome, p. 66. returning

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turning plants the Gospel in the Ile of Wight, and other places assign'd him, *ibid.* bath the fourth part of that Iland given him by Kedwalla; he bestows it on Bertwin a Priest, his Sisters Son.

ibid.

William Duke of Normandy honorably entertain'd by King Edward, and richly dismiss'd, p. 113. he betroths his Daughter to Harold, and receives his Oath to assist him to the Crown of England, p. 116. sending after King Edwards Death to demand performance of his promise, is put off with a slight answer, p. 118. he lands with an Army at Hastings, p. 118, 119. overthrows Harold, who with his two Brothers is slain in Battel, p. 119. he is Crown'd at Westminster by Aldred Archbishop of York.

p. 120.

Wipped a Saxon Earl slain at a place call'd Wippeds fleet, which thence took denomination.

p. 47.

Withgar, *see* Stuf.

Withgarburgh in the Ile of Wight so call'd from being the burial-place of Withgar.

p. 51.

Withlaf the succeſſor of Ludiken, being vanquish't by Ecbert, all Mercia be-

comes tributary to him.

p. 74.

Wulfer the Son of Penda set up by the Mercian Nobles in the room of his Brother Oswi, p. 64. said to have been taken Prisoner by Kenwalk the West-Saxon, p. 65. he takes and waſts the Ile of Wight, but cauſeth the Inhabitants to be baptized, *ibid.* gives the Iland to Ethelwald King of South-Saxons, *ibid.* ſends Jarummannus to recover the Eaſt-Saxons, fallen off the ſecond time from Chriſtianity, *ibid.* Lindſey taken from him by Ecfrið of Northumberland, *ibid.* his Death accompany'd with the ſtain of Simonie.

ibid.

Wulfheard King Ethelwolf's chief Captain, drives back the Danes at Southamton with great ſlaughter, p. 77. he dies the ſame year, as it is thought, of Age.

ibid.

Wulketul Earl of Ely put to flight with his whole Army by the Danes.

p. 80.

Y.

YMner King of Loegria, with others ſlain in Battel by Dunwallo Mulmutius.

p. 11.

1875

F I V E
TRACTS

Relating to
Church-Government,

Published in the Year 1641.

V I Z.

- I. Animadversions upon the Remonstrants Defence against *Smeċtymnuus*.
- II. An Apology for *Smeċtymnuus*.
- III. The Reason of Church-Government urg'd against Prelaty. In two Books.
- IV. Of Prelatical Episcopacy, and whether it may be deduc'd from the Apostolical Times, &c.
- V. Of Reformation touching Church-Discipline in *England*, and the Causes that hitherto have hindred it. In two Books, written to a Friend.

AMSTERDAM, MDCXCIV.

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ANIMADVERSIONS, &c.

The Preface.

Although it be a certain Truth that they who undertake a Religious Cause need not care to be Men-pleasers; yet because the satisfaction of tender and mild Consciences is far different from that which is call'd Men-pleasing, to satisfy such, I shall adresse my self in few words to give notice before hand of something in this Book, which to some Men perhaps may seeme offensive, that when I have render'd a lawfull reason of what is done, I may trust to have sav'd the labour of defending or excusing hereafter. We all know that in private or personall Injuries, yea in publique Sufferings for the cause of Christ, his Rule and Example teaches us to be so far from a readiness to speak evil, as not to answer the reviler in his Language, though never so much provok't: Yet in the detecting, and convincing of any notorious Enemie to Truth and his Countries Peace, especially that is conceited to have a voluble and smart fluence of Tongue, and in the vain confidence of that, and out of a more tenacious cling to worldly respects, stands up for all the rest to justify a long Usurpation and convicted Pseudepiscopy of Prelates, with all their Ceremonies, Liturgies, and Tyrannies which God and Man are now ready to explode and hisse out of the Land; I suppose, and more then suppose, it will be nothing disagreeing from Christian Meekeness, to handle such a one in a rougher Accent, and to send home his Haughtinesse well bespurred with his owne Holy-water. Nor to do thus are we unauthoritied either from the morall Precept of SALOMON, to answer him thereafter that prides him in his Folly; nor from the example of Christ, and all his Followers in all Ages, who in the refuting of those that resisted sound Doctrine, and by subtile Dissimulations corrupted the minds of Men, have wrought up their zealous Souls into such vehemencies, as nothing could be more killingly spoken: for who can be a greater enemy to Mankind, who a more dangerous deceiver, then he who defending a traditional Corruption uses no common Arts, but with a wily Stratagem of yeelding to the time a greater part of his Cause, seeming to forgo all that Man's Invention hath done therein, and driven from much of his bold in Scripture; yet leaving it hanging by a twin'd Threed, not from Divine Command, but from Apostolical Prudence or Assent; as if he had the surety of some rousing Trench, creeps up by this meanes to his relinquish't fortress of Divine Authority again, and still hovering betweene the Confines of that which he dares not bee openly, and that which he will not be sincerely, trains on the easie Christian insensibly within the close ambushment of worst Errors, and with a sly shuffle of counterfeit Principles, chopping and changing till hee have glean'd all the good ones out of their Minds, leaves them at last, after a slight resemblance of sweeping and garnishing, under the sevenfold possession of a desperate Stupidity. And therefore they that love the Soules of Men, which is the dearest love, and stirs up the noblest jealousy, when they meet with such Collusion, cannot be blam'd though they bee transported with the zeale of Truth to a well heated fervencie; especially, seeing they which thus offend against the Soules of their Brethren, do it with delight to their great Gaine, ease, and advancement in this World; but they that seek to discover and oppose their false trade of Deceiving, do it not without a sad and unwilling Anger, not without many Hazards; but without all private and personall spleene, and without any thought of earthly Reward, when as this very course they take stopps their hopes of ascending above a lowly and unenviable pitch in this Life. And although in the serious unceasing of a grand Imposture (for to deale plainly with you Readers, Prelatry is no better) there be mixt here and there such a grim laughter, as may appear at the same time in an austere Visage, it cannot be taxt of Levity or Insolence: for even this veine of laughing (as I could produce out of grave Authors) hath oft-times a strong and sinewy force in teaching and confuting; nor can there be a more proper object of Indignation and Scorne together, then a false Prophet taken in the greatest, dearest and most dangerous cheat, the cheat of Soules: in the disclosing whereof, if it be harmfull to be angry, and withall to cast a lowering Smile, when the properest Object calls for both, it will be long enough ere any be able to say, why those two most rationall faculties of humane intellect,

Anger and Laughter, were first seated in the brest of Man. Thus much (Readers) in favour of the softer spirited Christian, for other exceptioners there was no thought taken. Only if it be ask't, why this 'close' and succinct manner of coping with the Adversary was rather chosen, this was the reason chiefly, that the ingenuous Reader, without further amusing himself in the Labyrinth of controversall Antiquity, may come to the speediest way to see the Truth vindicated, and Sophistry taken short at the first false bound. Next, that the Remonstrant himself, as oft as hee pleases to be frolick, and brave it with others, may find no gain of Money, and may learn not to insult in so bad a Cause. But now he begins.

SECT. I.

Pag. 1.

Remonstrant. My single Remonstrance is encountred with a plurall Adversary.

Answere. Did not your single Remonstrance bring along with it a hot sent of your more then singular Affection to spirituall Pluralities, your singleness would be lesse suspected with all good Christians then it is.

Remonst. Their Names, Persons, Qualities, Numbers, I care not to know.

Answ. Their Names are knowne to the all-knowing Power above; and in the meane while doubtlesse they wreck not whether you or your Nomenclator know them or not.

Remonst. But could they say my name is Legion, for we are many.

Answ. Wherefore should you begin with the Devils Name, descanting upon the number of your Opponents? wherefore that conceit of *Legion* with a by-wipe? Was it because you would have Men take notice how you esteeme them, whom through all your Booke so bountifully you call your Brethren? we had not thought that *Legion* could have furnisht the Remonstrant with so many Brethren.

Remonst. My cause, yea Gods, would bid me meet them undismay'd, &c.

Answ. Ere a foot further we must bee content to hear a preambling boast of your Valour, what a St. *Dunstane* you are to encounter *Legions*, either Infernall or Humane.

Remonst. My cause, yea Gods.

Answ. What Gods? unlesse your Belly, or the God of this World be hee? Shew us any one point of your Remonstrance that do's not more concern Superiority, Pride, Ease, and the Belly, then the Truth and Glory of God, or the Salvation of Soules.

Remonst. My cause, yea Gods, would bid me meet them undismay'd, and to say with holy *David*, though an Hoast, &c.

Answ. Doe not think to perswade us of your undaunted Courage, by misapplying to your self the words of holy *David*; we know you feare, and are in an Agonie at this present, lest you should lose that superfluity of Riches and Honour which your party usurp. And whosoever covets, and so earnestly labours to keep such an incumbring surcharge of earthly things, cannot but have an Earth-quake still in his Bones. You are not arm'd Remonstrant, nor any of your Band; you are not dieted, nor your Loynes girt for spiritual Valour, and Christian Warfare, the luggage is too great that followes your Camp; your hearts are there, you march heavily: How shall we think you have not carnall Fear, while we see you so subject to carnal Desires?

Pag. 2.

Remonst. I do gladly fly to the Barre.

Answ. To the Barre with him then. Gladly you say. We beleeve you as gladly as your whole Faction wish't, and long'd for the assembling of this Parliament, as gladly as your Beneficiaries the *Priests* came up, to answer the complaints and outcries all of the Shires.

Remonst. The *Areopagi*? who were those? truly my Masters, I had thought this had been the name of the Place, not of the Men.

Answ. A soar-Eagle would not stoope at a Flye; but sure some Pedagogue stood at your Elbow, and made it itch with this parlous Criticisme; they urg'd you with a Decree of the sage and severe Judges of *Athens*, and you cite them to appear for certaine Paragogicall Contempts, before a capricious Padantic of hot-liver'd Grammarians. Mistake not the matter courteous Remonstrant, they were not making Latines; if in dealing with an outlandish Name, they thought it best not to screw the English Mouth to a harsh forreigne Termination,

tion, so they kept the radicall word, they did no more than the elegantest Authors among the *Greeks*, *Romans*, and at this day the *Italians* in scorn of such a servility use to doe. Remember how they mangle our British Names abroad; what trespass were it, if we in requitall should as much neglect theirs? and our learned *Chaucer* did not stick to doe so, writing *Semyramus* for *Semiramis*, *Amphiorax* for *Amphiaras*, *K. Sejes* for *K. Ceyx* the husband of *Alcyone*, with many other names strangely metamorphis'd from true *Orthograpy*, if he had made any account of that in these kind of words.

Remon. Lest the World should think the Presse had of late forgot to speak any Language other then libellous, this honest Paper hath broken through the throng. At the beginning of his Remonstrance.

Ans. Mince the matter while you will, it shew'd but green practise in the Lawes of discreet *Rhetorique* to blurt upon the eares of a judicious *Parliament* with such a presumptuous and over-weening *Proem*: but you doe well to be the Sewer of your owne messé.

Remon. That which you miscall the Preface, was a too just complaint of the shamfull number of Libells.

Ans. How long is it that you and the Prelaticall Troop have bin in such distast with Libells? ask your *Lyfsmachus Nicanor* what defaming Invectives have lately flown abroad against the Subjects of *Scotland*, and our poore expelled Brethren of *New-England*, the Prelates rather applauding then shewing any dislike: and this hath bin ever so, in so much, that Sir *Francis Bacon* in one of his Discourses complains of the Bishops uneven hand over these Pamphlets, confining those against Bishops to darknesse, but licensing those against Puritans to be utter'd openly, though with the greater mischief of leading into contempt the exercise of Religion in the persons of sundry Preachers, and disgracing the higher matter in the meaner person.

Remon. A point no lesse essentiall to that proposed *Remonstrance*.

Ans. Wee know where the shoo wrings you, you fret, and are gall'd at the quick, and O what a Death it is to the Prelates to be thus un-visited, thus uncas'd, to have the Periwigs pluck't off that cover your Baldnesse, your inside Nakednesse thrown open to publick view! The *Romans* had a time once every year, when their Slaves might freely speake their minds; 'twere hard if the free-borne People of *England*, with whom the voyce of Truth for these many yeares, even against the Proverb, hath not bin heard but in corners, after all your Monkish Prohibitions, and expurgatorious Indexes, your Gags and Snaffles, your proud *Imprimaturs* not to be obtain'd without the shallow surview, but not shallow hand of some mercenary, narrow soul'd, and illiterate Chaplain; when liberty of speaking, then which nothing is more sweet to Man, was girded, and straight-lac't almost to a broken-winded Tizzick, if now at a good time, our time of *Parliament*, the very Jubily, and Resurrection of the State, if now the conceal'd, the aggrev'd, and long persecuted Truth, could not be suffer'd speak; and though she burst out with some efficacy of words, could not be excus'd after such an injurious strangle of silence, nor avoyde the censure of Libelling, 'twere hard, 'twere something pinching in a Kingdome of free Spirits. Some Princes, and great Statists, have thought it a prime piece of necessary Policy to thrust themselves under disguise into a popular throng, to stand the night long under eaves of houses, and low windows, that they might hear every where the free utterances of privat Breasts, and amongst them find out the precious gemme of Truth, as amongst the numberlesse pibbles of the shoar; whereby they might be the abler to discover, and avoyde that deceitful and close coutcht evil of Flattery that ever attends them, and misleads them, and might skilfully know how to apply the severall Redresses to each Malady of State, without trusting the disloyal Information of Parasites and Sycophants: whereas now this permission of free writing, were there no good else in it, yet at some times thus licenc'd, is such an unripping, such an Anatomie of the shiest and tenderest particular Truths, as makes not only the whole Nation in many points the wiser, but also presents and carries home to Princes, and Men most remote from vulgar Concourse, such a full insight of every lurking Evil, or restrained Good among the Commons, as that they shall not need hereafter in old Cloaks, and false Beards, to stand to the courtesy of a night-walking Cudgeller for eaves dropping,

dropping, nor to accept quietly as a Perfume, the over-head emptying of some salt Lotion. Who could be angry therefore but those that are guilty, with these free-spoken and plain-hearted Men that are the Eyes of their Country, and the Prospective-glasses of their Prince? But these are the Nettlers, these are the blabbing Bookes that tell, though not halfe your fellows feats. You love toothlesse Satyrs; let me inform you, a toothlesse Satyr is as improper as a toothed fleckstone, and as bullish.

Remon. I beseech you Brethren spend your Logick upon your own workes.

Ans. The peremptory Analysis that you call it, I beleeve will be so hardy as once more to unpinne your spruce fastidious Oratory, to rumple her laces, her frizzles, and her bobins, tho she wince, and fling never so peevishly.

Page 4.

Remon. Those verbal Exceptions are but light froth, and will sink alone.

Ans. O rare subtlety, beyond all that *Cardan* ever dream't of! when I beseech you, will light things sink? when will light froth sink alone? Here in your phrase, the same day that heavy plummets will swimme alone. Trust this Man, Readers, if you please; whose Divinity would reconcile *England* with *Rome*, and his Philosophy make friends nature with the *Chaos*, *sine pondere habentia pondus*.

Remon. That scum may be worth taking off which followes.

Ans. Spare your Ladle, Sir, it will be as bad as the Bishops foot in the broth; the scum will be found upon your own *Remonstrance*.

Remon. I shall desire all indifferent eyes to judg whether these Men do not endeavour to cast unjust envy upon me.

Ans. Agreed.

Remon. I had said that the civil Polity as in general Notion, hath sometimes varied, and that the Civil came from Arbitrary Imposers; these gracious Interpreters would needs draw my words to the present and particular Government of our Monarchy.

Ans. And deservedly have they don so; take up your Logick else and see: Civil Politie, say you, hath sometimes varied, and came from Arbitrary Imposers; what Proposition is this? Bishop *Downam* in his *Dialecticks* will tell you it is a general Axiome, though the universal Particle be not expres't, and you your selfe in your Defence so explaine in these words as in general notion. Hence is justly inferr'd, he that saies civil Polity is arbitrary, saies that the civil Polity of *England* is Arbitrary. The Inference is undeniable, *a thesi ad hypothesin*, or from the general to the particular, an evincing Argument in Logick.

Page 5.

Remon. Brethren, whiles yee desire to seeme Godly, learne to be lesse malicious.

Ans. *Remonstrant*, till you have better learnt your Principles of Logick, take not upon you to be a Doctor to others.

Remon. God blesse all good Men from such Charity.

Ans. I never found that Logical Maxims were uncharitable before, yet should a Jury of Logicians passe upon you, you would never be sav'd by the Book.

Remon. And our sacred Monarchy from such Friends.

Ans. Adde, as the Prelates.

Remon. If Episcopacy have yoked Monarchy, it is the Insolence of the Persons, not the fault of the Calling.

Ans. It was the fault of the Persons, and of no Calling; we doe not count Prelatry a Calling.

Page 6.

Remon. The Testimony of a Pope (whom these Men honor highly).

Ans. That slanderous Insertion was doubtles a pang of your incredible Charity, the want whereof you lay so often to their charge; a kind token of your favour lapt up in a parenthesis, a piece of the Clergy benevolence layd by to maintain the Episcopal broile, whether the 1000 Horse or no, time will discover: for certainly had those Cavaliers come on to play their parts, such a ticket as this of highly honouring the Pope, from the hand of a Prelate, might have bin of special use and safety to them that had car'd for such a ransom.

Remon. And what saies Antichrist?

Ans. Ask your Brethren the Prelates that hold Intelligence with him, ask not us. But is the Pope Antichrist now? good newes! take heed you be not

shent

shent for this, for 'tis verily thought, that had this Bill bin put in against him in your last Convocation, he would have bin clear'd by most voices.

Remon. Any thing serves against Episcopacy.

Ans. See the frowardnesse of this Man, he would perswade us that the Succession and divine Right of Bishopdom hath bin unquestionable through all Ages; yet when they bring against him Kings, they were irreligious; *Popes*, they are Antichrist. By what *Æra* of Computation, through what Faery Land, would the Man deduce this perpetual bead-roul of uncontradicted Episcopacy? The *Pope* may as well boast his ungainfaid Authority to them that will believe that all his Contradicters were either irreligious or heretical.

Remonst. If the Bishops, saith the *Pope*, be declar'd to be of divine Right, they would be exempted from regal Power; and if there might be this danger in those Kingdoms, why is this enviously upraid to those of ours? who do gladly professe, &c.

Ans. Because your dislever'd Principles were but like the mangl'd pieces of a gash't Serpent, that now begun to close, and grow together Popish againe. Whatsoever you now gladly professe out of fear, we know what your drifts were when you thought your selves secure.

Remonst. It is a foul slander to charge the name of Episcopacy with a Faction, for the Fact imputed to some few.

Ans. The more foul your Faction that hath brought a harmlesse name into obloquie, and the Fact may justly be imputed to all of yee that ought to have withstood it, and did not.

Remonst. Fie Brethren! are yee the Presbyters of the Church of *England*, and dare chalenge Episcopacy of Faction?

Ans. Yes, as oft as Episcopacy dares be factious.

Remonst. Had you spoken such a word in the time of holy *Cyprian*, what had become of you?

Ans. They had neither bin hal'd into your Gehenna at *Lambeth*, nor strapado'd with an Oath *ex officio* by your Bow-men of the Arches: and as for *Cyprian's* time, the cause was farre unlike, he indeed succeeded into an Episcopacy that began then to prelatize; but his personal Excellence like an Antidote overcame the malignity of that breeding Corruption which was then a Disease that lay hid for a while under shew of a full and healthy Constitution, as those hydropick humors not discernable at first from a fair and juicy fleshynesse of body, or that unwonted ruddy colour which seems graceful to a cheek otherwise pale; and yet arises from evil causes, either of some inward obstruction or inflammation, and might deceav the first Phisicians till they had learnt the sequell, which *Cyprians* dayes did not bring forth; and the Prelatisme of Episcopacy which began then to burgeon and spread, had as yet, especially in famous Men, a fair, though a false imitation of flourishing.

Remonst. Neither is the wrong lesse to make application of that which was most justly charged upon the practises and combinations of libelling Separatists, whom I deservedly censur'd, &c.

Ans. To conclude this Section, our *Remonstrant* we see is resolv'd to make good that which was formerly said of his Book, that it was neither *humble*, nor a *Remonstrance*, and this his Defence is of the same complexion. When he is constrain'd to mention the notorious violence of his Clergy attempted on the Church of *Scotland*, he slightlie termes it a Fact imputed to some few; but when he speakes of that which the *Parliament* voutsafes to name the *City Petition*, which I, saith he, (as if the State had made him publick Censor) deservedly censur'd. And how? as before for a tumultuarie and underhand way of procured Subscriptions, so now in his Defence more bitterly, as the practizes and combinations of libelling Separatists, and the miszealous Advocates thereof justly to be branded for Incendiaries. Whether this be for the honour of our cheif Citty to be noted with such an Infamie for a Petition, which not without some of the Magistrates, and great numbers of sober and considerable Men, was orderly, and meekly presented, although our great Clarks think that these Men, because they have a Trade, (as *Christ himselfe*, and *St. Paul* had) cannot therefore attaine to some good measure of knowledge, and to a reason of their Actions, as well as they that spend their youth in loitering, bezzling, and harlotting, their Studies in unprofitable Questions and barbarous

Page 7.

Page 8.

rous Sophistry, their middle Age in Ambition and Idlenesse, their old Age in Avarice, Dotage, and Diseases: and whether this reflect not with a Contumely upon the *Parliament* it self, which thought this Petition worthy, not only of receaving, but of voting to a Commitment, after it had bin advocated, and mov'd for by some honourable and learned Gentlemen of the House, to be cal'd a Combination of libelling Separatists, and the Advocates thereof to be branded for Incendiaries; whether this appeach not the Judgement and Approbation of the *Parliament*, I leave to equall Arbiters.

SECT. 2.

Remonst. After the overflowing of your Gall, you descend to Liturgy and Episcopacy.

Answ. The overflow being past, you cannot now in your owne Judgement impute any bitterness to their following Discourses.

¶ 2.

Remonst. Dr. Hall, whom you name, I dare say for honors sake.

Answ. Y^e are a merry Man, Sir, and dare say much.

Remonst. And why should I not speake of Martyrs, as the Authors and Users of this holy *Liturgie*?

Answ. As the Authors? the Translators you might perhaps have said: for Edward the Sixt, as *Hayward* hath written in his Story, will tell you upon the word of a King, that the Order of the Service, and the use thereof in the English Tongue, is no other then the old Service was, and the same words in English which were in Latine, except a few things omitted, so fond, that it had been a shame to have heard them in English; these are his words: whereby we are left uncertaine who the Author was, but certain that part of the work was esteem'd so absurd by the Translators thereof, as was to be asham'd of in English. O but the Martyrs were the Refiners of it, for that only is left you to say. Admit they were, they could not refine a Scorpion into a Fish, though they had drawn it, and rinc't it with never so cleanly Cookery, which made them fall at variance among themselves about the use either of it, or the Ceremonies belonging to it.

Remonst. Slight you them as you please, we blesse God for such Patrons of our good Cause.

Answ. O *Benedicite! Qui color ater erat, nunc est contrarius atro.* Are not these they which one of your Bishops in print scornfully termes the *Foxian* Confessors? Are not these they whose Acts and Monuments are not only so contemptible, but so hatefull to the *Prelates*, that their Story was almost come to be a prohibited *Book*, which for these two or three Editions hath crept into the World by stealth, and at times of advantage, not without the open Regret and Vexation of the Bishops, as many honest Men that had to do in setting forth the *Book* will justifie? And now at a dead list for your *Liturgies* you blesse God for them: out upon such Hypocrisie.

¶ 10.

Remonst. As if wee were bound to make good every word that falls from the mouth of every Bishop.

Answ. Your Faction then belike is a subtil *Janus*, and has two faces: your bolder face to set forward any Innovations or Scandalls in the Church, your cautious and wary face to disavow them if they succeed not, that so the fault may not light upon the Function, lest it should spoil the whole Plot by giving it an irrecoverable wound. Wherefore els did you not long agoe, as a good Bishop should have done, disclaim and protest against them? wherefore have you sate still, and comply'd and hood-winkt, till the generall Complaints of the Land have squeez'd you to a wretched, cold and hollow-hearted Confession of some prelatie Riots both in this and other places of your *Booke*? Nay what if you still defend them as followes?

Remonst. If a Bishop have said that our *Liturgie* hath bin so wisely and charitably fram'd as that the Devotion of it yeeldeth no cause of offence to a very *Popes* eare.

Answ. O new and never-heard of Supererogative height of Wisdome and Charity in our *Liturgie*! is the Wisdome of God or the charitable framing of Gods Word otherwise inoffensive to the *Popes* eare, then as hee may turne it to the working of his misterious Iniquitie? A little pulley would have stretch't your wise and charitable frame it may be three inches further, that the Devotion of it might have yeelded no cause of offence to the very Devils eare, and that

that had beene the same wisdom and charity surmounting to the highest degree. For *Antichrist* wee know is but the Devil's Vicar, and therefore please him with your *Liturgie*, and you please his Maister.

Remon. Would you thinke it requisite that we should chide and quarrell when we speake to the God of Peace?

Ans. Fie, no Sir, but forecall our Prayers so that Sathan and his Instruments may take as little exception against them as may be, lest they should chide and quarrell with us.

Remon. It is no little advantage to our Cause and Piety, that our Liturgy is taught to speak severall Languages for use and example.

Ans. The Language of *Ashdod* is one of them, and that makes so many English-men have such a smattering of their *Philistian* Mother. And indeed our *Liturgie* hath run up and downe the world like an English galloping Nun proffering her self, but wee heare of none yet that bids money for her.

Remon. As for that sharp Censure of learned Mr. *Calvin*, it might well have beene forborne by him in *aliena Republica*.

Ans. Thus this untheologicall *Remonstrant* would divide the individuall Catholick Church into severall Republicks: know therefore that every worthy *Pastor* of the Church of *Christ* hath universall right to admonish over all the world within the Church; nor can that care be alien'd from him by any distance or distinction of Nation, so long as in *Christ* all Nations and Languages are as one household.

Remon. Neither would you thinke it could become any of our greatest Divines to meddle with his charge.

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Ans. It hath ill become 'em indeed to meddle so maliciously, as many of them have done, though that patient and Christian City hath borne hitherto all their profane scoffes with silence.

Remon. Our *Liturgie* past the Judgment of no lesse reverent heads then his owne.

Ans. It brib'd their Judgment with worldly ingagements, and so past it.

Remon. As for that unparallel'd discourse concerning the antiquity of *Liturgies*; I cannot help your wonder, but shall justifie mine owne assertion.

Ans. Your Justification is but a miserable shifting off those testimonies of the ancientest Fathers alledg'd against you, and the authority of some Synodal Canons, which are no warrant to us. Wee professe to decide our Controversies only by the Scriptures, but yet to repress your vain glory, there will be voluntarily bestow'd upon you a sufficient conviction of your novelties out of succeeding antiquity.

Remon. I cannot see how you will avoide your owne contradiction, for I demand, is this order of praying and administration set, or no? if it be not set, how is it an order? and if it be a set order both for matter and form.

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Ans. Remove that Form, lest you tumble over it, while you make such hast to clasp a contradiction upon others.

Remon. If the formes were merely Arbitrary, to what use was the prescription of an order?

Ans. Nothing will cure this Man's Understanding but some familiar and kitching Physick, which, with pardon, must for plainness sake be administer'd to him. Call hither your Cook. The order of Breakfast, Dinner, and Supper, answer me, is it set or no? Set. Is a Man therefore bound in the morning to potcht Eggs and Vinegar, or at noon to Brawn or Beef, or at night to fresh Sammon, and French Kickshoes? may he not make his meales in order, though he be not bound to this or that viand? doubtless the neat finger'd Artift will answer yes, and help us out of this great Controversy without more trouble. Can we not understand an order in Church Assemblies of praying, reading, expounding, and administering, unless our Praiers be still the same Crambe of words?

Remonst. What a poore exception is this, that Liturgies were compos'd by some particular Men?

Ans. It is a greater presumption in any particular Men to arrogate to themselves that which God universally gives to all his Ministers. A Minister that cannot be trusted to pray in his own words without being chew'd to, and fescu'd to a formal injunction of his Rotelesion, should as little be trusted to preach,

preach, besides the vain babble of praying over the same things immediately again; for there is a large difference in the repetition of some pathetic Ejaculation rays'd out of the suddain earnestness and vigour of the inflam'd Soul, (such as was that of *Christ* in the Garden) from the continual rehearsal of our daily orisons; which if a Man shall kneel down in a morning and say over, and presently in another part of the Room kneel down again, and in other words ask but still for the same things as it were out of one Inventory, I cannot see how he will escape that heathenish Battologie of multiplying words, which *Christ* himself that has the putting up of our Praiers, told us would not be acceptable in Heaven. Well may Men of eminent Gifts set forth as many forms, and helps to Praier as they please; but to impose them upon Ministers lawfully call'd, and sufficiently tri'd, as all ought to be ere they be admitted, is a supercilious Tyranny, appropriating the Spirit of God to themselves.

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Remon. Do we abridge this liberty by ordaining a publick form?

Ans. Your Bishops have set as fair to do it as they durst for that old Phari-faical fear that still dogs them, the fear of the People; though you will say you are none of those, still you would seem not to have joyn'd with the worst, and yet keep alooff off from that which is best. I would you would either mingle, or part: most true it is what *Savonarola* complains, that while hee endeavour'd to reforme the Church, his greatest Enemies were still these lukewarm ones.

Remon. And if the Lord's Praier be an ordinary, and stinted form, why not others?

Ans. Because there be no other Lords that can stint with like Authority.

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Remon. If *Justin Martyr* said that the Instructor of the People prai'd (as they falsely turn it) according to his ability.

Ans. *ὅς ἐν δόνατος αὐτῷ* will be so render'd to the World's end by those that are not to learn Greek of the *Remonstrant*, and so *Langus* renders it to his face, if he could see; and this ancient Father mentions no Antiphonies, or Responses of the People heer, but the only plain acclamation of *Amen*.

Remon. The instructor of the People prai'd according to his ability 'tis true, so do ours, and yet we have a Liturgy, and so had they.

Ans. A quick come off. The Ancients us'd Pikes and Targets, and therefore Guns and Great Ordnance, because wee use both.

Remon. Neither is this liberty of powring out our selves in our Praiers ever the more impeach't by a publicke form.

Ans. Yes the time is taken up with a tedious number of Liturgicall Tautologies, and Impertinencies.

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Remon. The words of the Councill are full and affirmative.

Ans. Set the grave Councils up upon their shelves again, and string them hard, lest their various and jangling opinions put their leavs into a flutter. I shall not intend this hot season to bid you the Base through the wide and dusty champaine of the Councils, but shall take counsel of that which counsel'd them, Reason: and although I know there is an obsolet reprehension now at your Tongue's end, yet I shall be bold to say that Reason is the gift of God in one Man as well as in a thousand; by that which wee have tasted already of their Cesterns, wee may find that Reason was the only thing, and not any divine Command that mov'd them to enjyne set forms of Liturgy. First lest any thing in general might be missaid in their publick *Prayers* through ignorance, or want of care, contrary to the Faith: and next, lest the Arians, and Pelagians in particular should infect the People by their hymns, and formes of Praier. By the leave of these ancient Fathers, this was no solid prevention of spreading Hæresy, to debarre the Ministers of God the use of their noblest talent, Praier in the Congregation, unlesse they had forbid the use of Sermons, and Lectures too, but such as were ready made to their hands as our Homelies; or else he that was heretically dispos'd, had as fair an opportunity of infecting in his discours, as in his Praier or hymn. As insufficiently, and to say truth, as imprudently did they provide by their contrived Liturgies, lest any thing should be erroneously praid through ignorance, or want of care in the Ministers. For if they were carelesse, and ignorant in their Praiers, certainly they would be more carelesse in their preaching, and yet more carelesse in watching over their Flock; and what prescription could reach to bound them

them in both these? What if Reason, now illustrated by the word of God, shall be able to produce a better prevention then these Councells have left us against heresie, ignorance or want of care in the Ministry, that such wisdom and diligence be us'd in the education of those that would be Ministers, and such strict and serious examination to be undergone ere their admission, as Saint Paul to Timothy sets down at large, and then they need not carry such an unworthy suspicion over the Preachers of God's word, as to tutor their unsoundness with the Abcise of a Liturgy, or to diet their ignorance, and want of care, with the limited draught of a Mattin, and even long drench. And this may suffice after all your laborious scrutiny of the Councils.

Remon. Our Saviour was pleas'd to make use in the celebration of his last and heavenly Banquet both of the fashions, and words which were usual in the Jewish Feasts.

Ans. What he pleas'd to make use of, does not justify what you please to force.

Remon. The set forms of Prayer at the Mincha.

Ans. Wee will not buy your Rabbinical fumes, wee have one that calls us to buy of him pure Gold tri'd in the fire.

Remon. In the Samaritan Chronicle.

Ans. As little do wee esteem your Samaritan trumpery, of which People Christ himselfe testifies, *Ye worship you know not what.*

Remon. They had their severall Songs.

Ans. And so have wee our severall Psalmes for severall occasions, without gramercy to your Liturgy.

Remon. Those forms which wee have under the names of Saint James, &c. though they have some interfections which are plainly spurious, yet the substance of them cannot be taxt for other than holy and ancient.

Ans. Setting aside the odde coinage of your phrase, which no mintmaister of Language would allow for sterling, that a thing should be taxt for no other then holy, and ancient, let it be suppos'd the substance of them may favour of something holy or ancient, this is but the matter; the forme, and the end of the thing may yet render it either superstitious, fruitlesse, or impious, and so worthy to be rejected. The Garments of a Strumpet are often the same materially, that cloath a chaste Matron, and yet ignominious for her to weare; the substance of the Tempters words to our Saviour were holy, but his drift nothing lesse.

Remon. In what sense we hold the Roman a true Church, is so clear'd that this iron is too hot for their fingers.

Ans. Have a care it be not the iron to sear your own Conscience.

Remon. Ye need not doubt but that the alteration of the *Liturgie* will be considered by wiser heads then your owne.

Ans. We doubt it not, because we know your head lookes to be one.

Remon. Our *Liturgie* symbolizeth not with *Popish* Masse, neither as Masse nor as *Popish*.

Ans. A pretty slip-skin conveyance to sift Masse into no Masse, and *Popish* into not *Popish*; yet saving this passing fine sophisticall boulding hutch, so long as she symbolizes in forme, and pranks her selfe in the weeds of *Popish* Masse, it may be justly fear'd shee provokes the jealousy of God, no otherwise then a Wife affecting whorish attire kindles a disturbance in the eye of her discerning Husband.

Remon. If I find Gold in the Channel, shall I throw it away because it was ill laid?

Ans. You have forgot that Gold hath been anathematiz'd for the idolatrous use; and to eat the good creatures of God once offer'd to Idols, is in Saint Paul's account to have fellowship with Devils, and to partake of the Devil's Table. And thus you throttle your self with your own Similies.

Remon. If the Devils confest the Son of God, shall I disclaim that truth?

Ans. You sifted not so clean before, but you shuffle as foully now; as if there were the like necessity of confessing Christ, and using the *Liturgie*: wee do not disclaime that truth; because we never beleev'd it for his testimonie, but wee may well reject a *Liturgie* which had no being that wee can know of, but from the corruptest times: if therefore the Devil should be given

never so much to *Prayer*, I should not therefore cease from that Duty, because I learn't it not from him ; but if he would commend to me a new *Pater noster*, though never so seeming holy, hee should excuse me the forme which was his, but the matter, which was none of his, he could not give me, nor I be said to take it from him. 'Tis not the goodnesse of matter therefore which is not, nor can be ow'd to the *Liturgie*, that will bear it out, if the form, which is the Essence of it, be fantastick and superstitious, the End sinister, and the Imposition violent.

Remonst. Had it beene compos'd into this frame on purpose to bring Papists to our Churches.

Answ. To bring them to our Churches? alas what was that? unless they had beene first fitted by Repentance, and right Instruction. You'l say, the Word was there preach't which is the means of Conversion; you should have given so much honour then to the Word preach't, as to have left it to God's working without the interloping of a Liturgy baited for them to bite at.

Remon. The Project had been charitable and gracious.

Answ. It was Pharisaicall, and vain-glorious, a greedy desire to win Profelites by conforming to them unlawfully; like the desire of *Tamar*, who to raise up Seed to her Husband, sate in the common Road drest like a Curtezian, and he that came to her committed Incest with her. This was that which made the old Christians Paganize, while by their scandalous and base conforming to Heathenisme they did no more, when they had done thir utmost, but bring some Pagans to Christianize; for true Christians they neither were themselves, nor could make other such in this fashion.

Page 25. *Remonst.* If there be found ought in *Liturgie* that may indanger a Scandall, it is under carefull hands to remove it.

Answ. Such careful hands as have showne themselves sooner bent to remove and expell the Men from the Scandals, then the Scandals from the Men, and to lose a Soule rather than a Sillable or a Surplice.

Remonst. It is idoliz'd they say in *England*, they mean at *Amsterdam*.

Answ. Be it Idoliz'd therefore where it will, it is only Idolatriz'd in *England*.

Remonst. Multitudes of People they say distast it; more shame for those that have so mistaught them.

Answ. More shame for those that regard not the troubling of God's Church with things by themselves confest to be indifferent, since true Charity is afflicted, and burns at the offence of every little one. As for the Christian multitude which you affirme to be so mistaught, it is evident enough, though you would declaime never so long to the contrarie, that God hath now taught them to detest your *Liturgie* and *Prelacie*; God who hath promis'd to teach all his Children, and to deliver them out of your hands that hunt and worry their Soules: hence is it that a Man shall commonly find more savoury knowledge in one Lay-man, than in a dozen of Cathedrall *Prelates*; as we read in our Saviour's time that the common people had a reverent esteem of him, and held him a great Prophet, whilst the gowned *Rabbies*, the incomparable, and invincible Doctors were of opinion that hee was a Friend of *Beelzebub*.

Page 26. *Remonst.* If the multitude distast wholsome Doctrine, shall we to humor them abandon it?

Answ. Yet again! as if there were the like necessity of saving Doctrine, and arbitrary if not unlawfull, or inconvenient *Liturgie*: who would have thought a Man could have thwackt together so many incongruous Similitudes, had it not been to defend the motley incoherence of a patch'd Missal?

Remonst. Why did not other Churches conform to us? I may boldly say ours was, and is the more noble Church.

Answ. O *Laodicean*, how vainly and how carnally dost thou boast of noblenesse, and precedency! more Lordly you have made our Church indeed, but not more noble.

Page 27. *Remonst.* The second *quære* is so weak, that I wonder it could fall from the Pens of Wifemen.

Answ. Y^eare but a bad Fencer, for you never make a proffer against another Man's weaknesse; but you leave your owne side alwayes open: mark what follows.

Remonst.

Remonst. Brethren, can you thinke that our Reformers had any other Intentions then all other the Founders of *Liturgies*, the left part of whose care was the help of the Ministers weaknesse?

Answ. Do you not perceiue the noise you have brought your selfe into whilst you were so brieue to taunt other Men with weaknesse? is it cleane out of your mind what you cited from among the Councels; that the principal scope of those *Liturgie*-Founders was to prevent either the malice or the weaknesse of the Ministers, their malice of infusing Heresie in their formes of *Prayer*; their weaknesse, lest something might be composed by them through ignorance or want of care contrary to the Faith? Is it not now rather to be wondred that such a weaknesse could fall from the Pen of such a wise *Remonstrant* Man?

Remonst. Their maine drift was the help of the Peoples Devotion, that they knowing before the matter that should be sued for.

Answ. A sollicitous care, as if the People could be ignorant of the matter to be pray'd for; seeing the heads of publick *Prayer* are either ever constant, or very frequently the same.

Remonst. And the words wherewith it should be cloth'd, might be the more prepar'd, and be so much the more intent, and lesse distracted.

Answ. As for the words, it is more to be fear'd lest the same continually should make them carelesse or sleepe, then that varietie on the same knowne Subject should distract; variety (as both Musick and Rhetorick teacheth us) erects and rouses an Auditory, like the Maisterfull running over many Cords and Divisions; whereas if Men should ever be thumming the Drone of one plaine Song, it would be a dull Opiat to the most wakeful attention.

Remonst. Tell me, is this *Liturgie* good or evil?

Answ. It is evill: repaire the *Acheloian* horne of your *Dilemma* how you can, against the next push.

Remonst. If it be evill, it is unlawfull to be us'd.

Answ. We grant you, and we finde you have not your Salve about you.

Remonst. Were the Imposition amisse, what is that to the People?

Answ. Not a little, because they bear an equall part with the *Priest* in many places, and have their Cues and Versets as well as he.

Remonst. The ears and hearts of our people looke for a settl'd *Liturgie*.

Answ. You deceive your selfe in their ears and hearts, they looke for no such matter.

Remonst. The like answer serves for *Homelies*, surely were they enjoyn'd to all, &c.

Answ. Let it serve for them that will bee ignorant, we know that *Hayward* their owne Creature writes that for defect of *Preachers*, *Homilies* were appointed to bee read in Churches, while *Edw. 6.* reigned.

Remonst. Away then with the Booke whilst it may be supply'd with a more profitable nonsense.

Answ. Away with it rather, because it will bee hardly supply'd with a more unprofitable nonsense; then is in some passages of it to be seene.

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Remonst. Thus their Cavills concerning *Liturgie* are vanish't.

Answ. You wanted but *Hey-passe* to have made your transition like a mysticall Man of *Sturbridge*. But for all your sleight of hand, our just exceptions against *Liturgie* are not vanish't, they stare you still in the face.

Remonst. Certainly had I done so, I had beene no lesse worthy to bee spit upon for my saucy uncharitableness, then they are now for their uncharitable falshood.

Answ. We see you are in choler, therefore till you coole a while we turne us to the ingenuous Reader. See how this *Remonstrant* would invest himselfe conditionally with all the Rheume of the Towne, that he might have sufficient to bespaul his Brethren. They are accus'd by him of uncharitable falshood; whereas their only Crime hath beene, that they have too credulously thought him, if not an over-logicall, yet a well-meaning Man; but now wee find him either grossly deficient in his Principles of *Logick*, or else purposely bent to delude the *Parliament* with equivocal Sophistry, scattering among his Periods ambiguous words, whose interpretation he will afterwards dispence accord-

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according to his pleasure, laying before us universall Propositions, and then thinks when he will to pinion them with a limitation: for say *Remonstrant*.

Remonst. Episcopall Government is cry'd down abroad by either weak or factious Persons.

Answ. Choose you whether you will have this Proposition prov'd to you to be ridiculous, or sophistically, for one of the two it must be. Step againe to Bishop *Downam* your Patron, and let him gently catechise you in the grounds of *Logick*, he will shew you that this Axiom, Episcopall Government is cry'd down abroad by either weak or factious Persons, is as much as to say, they that cry down Episcopacy abroad, are either weak or factious Persons. He will tell you that this Axiom containes a Distribution, and that all such Axioms are general; and lastly, that the Distribution in which any part is wanting, or abundant, is faulty, and fallacious. If therefore distributing by the adjuncts of Faction, and weakens the Persons that decry *Episcopacy*, you made your distribution imperfect for the nonce, you cannot but be guilty of fraud intended toward the honourable Court, to whom you wrote. If you had rather vindicate your honesty, and suffer in your want of Art, you cannot condemn them of uncharitable falshood, that attributed to you more skill then you had, thinking you had beene able to have made a distribution, as it ought to be, generall, and full; and so any Man would take it, the rather as being accompanied with that large word (Abroad) and so take againe either your manifest lesing, or manifest ignorance.

Page 34. *Remonst.* Now come these brotherly Slanderers.

Answ. Goe on dissembling *Joab*, as still your use is, call Brother and smite; call Brother and smite, till it bee said of you, as the like was of *Herod*, a Man had better be your Hog then your Brother.

Remonst. Which never came within the verge of my thoughts.

Answ. Take a Metaphor or two more as good, the Precinct, or the Diocesse of your thoughts.

Remonst. Brethren, if you have any remainders of Modesty or Truth, cry God mercy.

Answ. *Remonstrant*, if you have no ground-worke of *Logick*, or plain-dealing in you, learne both as fast as you can.

Remonst. Of the same straine is their witty descant of my confoundednes.

Answ. Speak no more of it, it was a fatall word, that God put into your mouth when you began to speak for Episcopacy, as boding confusion to it.

Page 35. *Remonst.* I am still, and shall ever be thus self-confounded, as confidently to say that hee is no peaceable, and right affected Son of the Church of *England*, that doth not wish well to *Liturgie*, and *Episcopacie*.

Answ. If this be not that saucie uncharitablenesse, with which in the foregoing Page you voluntarily invested your selfe with thought to have shifted it off, let the *Parliament* judge who now themselves are deliberating whether *Liturgie*, and *Episcopacy* be to be well wish't to, or not.

Remonst. This they say they cannot but rank amongst my notorious — speak out Masters, I would not have that word stick in your Teeth, or in your Throat.

Answ. Take your Spectacles, Sir, it sticks in the Paper, and was a pectorall Roule wee prepar'd for you to swallow down to your Heart.

Page 36. *Remonst.* Wanton Wits must have leave to play with their own sterne.

Answ. A Meditation of yours doubtlesse observ'd at *Lambeth* from one of the *Archiepiscopall-Kit ens*.

Remonst. P.18. *Remonst.* As for that forme of Episcopall Government, surely could those looke with my Eyes, they would see cause to be ashamed of this their injurious misconceit.

Answ. We must call the Barber for this wise Sentence; one Mr. *Ley* the other day writ a Treatise of the *Sabbath*, and in his Preface puts the wisdom of *Balaam's* Ass upon one of our *Bishops*, bold Man for his labour; but we shall have more respect to our *Remonstrant*, and liken him to the Asses Maister, though the Story says he was not so quick-sighted as his Beast. Is not this *Balaam* the Son of *Beor*, the Man whose Eyes are open, that said to the *Parliament* surely could those looke with my Eyes; boast not of your Eyes, 'tis fear'd you have *Balaam's* Disease, a pearle in your Eye, *Mammon's* Prestridion.

Remon.

Remon. Alas we could tell you of *China, Japan, Peru, Brasil, New England, Virginia*, and a thousand others that never had any *Bishops* to this day.

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Answ. O do not foile your Cause thus, and trouble *Ortelius*; we can help you, and tell you where they have bin ever since *Constantine's* time at least, in a place call'd *Mundus alter & idem*, in the spacious and rich Countries of *Crapulia, Pamphagonia, Turonia*, and in the Dukedome of *Orgilia*, and *Variana*, and their *Metropolis* of *Ucalegonium*. It was an oversight that none of your prime *Antiquaries* could think of these venerable Monuments to deduce *Episcopacy* by; knowing that *Mercurius Britannicus* had them forth-comming.

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Remon. Hitherto they have flourish't, now I hope they will strike.

Answ. His former transition was in the Faire about the Jugglers, now he is at the *Pageants* among the Whifflers.

Remon. As if Arguments were *Almanacks*.

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Answ. You will find some such as will prognosticate your Date, and tell you that after your long *Summer Solstice*, the *Aequator* calls for you, to reduce you to the ancient and equal House of *Libra*.

Remon. Truly, Brethren, you have not well taken the heighth of the Pole.

Answ. No marvell, there be many more that doe not take well the heighth of your Pole; but will take better the declination of your Altitude.

Remon. Hee that said I am the Way, said that the old Way was the good Way.

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Answ. He bids ask of the old Paths, or for the old Ways, where or which is the good Way; which implies, that all old Wayes are not good, but that the good Way is to be searcht with diligence among the old Wayes, which is a thing that wee doe in the oldest Records we have, the Gospell. And if others may chance to spend more time with you in canvassing later Antiquity, I suppose it is not for that they ground themselves thereon; but that they endeavour by shewing the corruptions, incertainties, and disagreements of those Volumes, and the easiness of erring, or overslipping in such a boundlesse and vast search, if they may not convince those that are so strongly perswaded thereof; yet to free ingenuous Minds from that over-awfull Esteeme of those more ancient then trusty Fathers, whom Custome and fond Opinion, weake Principles, and the neglect of sounder and superior Knowledge hath exalted so high as to have gain'd them a blind Reverence; whose Books in bignesse, and number so endlesse, and immesurable, I cannot think that either God or Nature, either divine or humane Wisdome, did ever meane should bee a rule or reliance to us in the decision of any weighty and positive Doctrine: For certainly every Rule and Instrument of necessary Knowledge that God hath given us, ought to bee so in proportion, as may bee wielded and manag'd by the Life of Man, without penning him up from the duties of humane Society; and such a rule and instrument of Knowledge perfectly is the Holy Bible. But hee that shall bind himselfe to make Antiquity his Rule, if hee read but part, besides the difficulty of choyce, his Rule is deficient, and utterly unsatisfying; for there may bee other Writers of another mind which he hath not seene; and if hee undertake all, the length of Mans Life cannot extend to give him a full and requisite knowledge of what was done in Antiquity. Why doe wee therefore stand worshipping and admiring this unactive and livelesse *Colossus*, that like a carved Gyant terribly menacing to children and weaklings, lifts up his Club, but strikes not, and is subject to the muting of every Sparrow? If you let him rest upon his *Basis*, hee may perhaps delight the Eyes of some with his huge and mountainous Bulk, and the quaint Workmanship of his massie Limbs: but if yee go about to take him in pieces, yee marre him; and if you thinke, like *Pigmees*, to turne and wind him whole as hee is, besides your vain Toile and Sweat, he may chance to fall upon your own Heads. Go therefore, and use all your Art, apply your Sledges, your Levers, and your Iron crows, to heave and hale your mighty *Polyphem* of Antiquity to the delusion of Novices, and unexperienc't Christians. We shall adhere close to the Scriptures of God, which hee hath left us as the just and adequate measure of Truth, fitted and proportion'd to the diligent study, memory, and use of every faithfull Man, whose every part consenting and making up the

harmonious

2 Tim. 3. 16,
17.

harmonious *Symmetry* of compleat Instruction, is able to set out to us a perfect Man of God, or *Bishop* thoroughly furnish't to all the good Works of his Charge: and with this Weapon, without stepping a foot further, wee shall not doubt to batter and throw down your *Nebuchadnezzar's* Image, and crumble it like the chaffe of the Summer-threshing Floores, as well as the Gold of those Apostolick Successors that you boast of, as your *Constantinian* Silver, together with the Iron, the Brasse, and the Clay of those muddy and strawy Ages that follow.

pag. 45.

Remonst. Let the boldest forehead of them all deny that *Episcopacie* hath continued thus long in our Iland, or that any till this Age contradicted it.

Answ. That bold Forehead you have cleanly put upon your self, 'tis you who deny that any till this Age contradicted it; no forehead of ours dares do so much: you have row'd your selfe fairly between the *Scylla* and *Charibdis*; either of impudence or nonsense, and now betake you to whether you please.

Remon. As for that supply of accessory Strength which I not begg.

Answ. Your whole *Remonstrance* does nothing else but begg it, and your fellow-Prelates do as good as whine to the *Parliament* for their Flesh-pots of *Egypt*, making sad Orations at the Funerall of your dear *Prelacie*, like that doubtie Centurion *Afranius* in *Lucian*; who to imitate the noble *Pericles* in his *Epitaphian* Speech, stepping up after the Battel to bewaile the laine *Severianus*, falls into a pittiful Condolement, to think of those costly Suppers, and drinking Banquets which he must now taste of no more; and by then he had done, lack'd but little to lament the dear-loved Memory, and calamitous losse of his Capon and whitebroth.

Remon. But raise and evince from the light of Nature, and the rules of just Policie, for the continuance of those things which long Use, and many Lawes have firmly establish't as necessary and beneficial.

Answ. Open your Eyes to the light of Grace, a better guide then Nature. Look upon the mean Condition of *Christ* and his *Apostles*, without that accessory strength you take such paines to raise from the light of Nature and Policie: take Divine Counsell, *Labour not for the things that perish*; you would be the salt of the Earth, if that favour be not found in you: doe not thinke much that the time is now come to throw you out, and tread you under foot: Hark how *S. Paul*, writing to *Timothy*, informs a true *Bishop*; *Bishops* (saith he) *must not be greedy of filthy lucre; and having food and raiment, let us bee therewith content: but they* (saith he, meaning more especially in that place *Bishops*) *that will be rich, fall into temptation, and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful Lusts, which drowne Men in destruction, and perdition: for the love of Money is the root of all evil, which while some coveted after, they have erred from the Faith.* How can wee therefore expect sound Doctrin, and the solution of this our Controversie from any covetous and honour-hunting *Bishop* that shall plead so stiffly for these things? while *St. Paul* thus exhorts every *Bishop*; *But thou O man of God flee these things.* As for the just Policie, that long Use and Custome, and those many Lawes which you say have conferr'd these Benefits upon you; it hath been nothing else but the superstitious Devotion of *Princes* and great Men that knew no better, or the base importunity of begging *Friers*, haunting and harassing the deathbeds of Men departing this Life, in a blind and wretched Condition of hope to merit Heaven for the building of *Churches*, *Cloysters*, and *Covents*. The most of your vaunted Possessions, and those proud Endowments that yee as sinfully wast, what are they but the black revnues of *Purgatorie*, the price of abused and murder'd Souls, the damned *Simony* of *Trentals*, and *Indulgences* to mortall Sin? how can ye choose but inherit the Curse that goes along with such a Patrimony? Alas! if there be any releasement, any mitigation, or more tolerable being for the Soules of our misguided Ancestors; could wee imagine there might be any recovery to some degree of ease left for as many of them as are lost, there cannot bee a better way then to take the misbestowed Wealth which they were cheated of, from these our *Prelates*, who are the true Successors of those that popt them into the other World, with this conceit of meriting by their Goods, which was their finall undoing; and to bestow their beneficent Gifts upon Places and meanes of Christian Education, and the faithfull labourers in Gods Harvest, that may incessantly warn the posterity of *Dives*, lest they come where

where their miserable Fore-father was sent by the coufenage and misleading of avaritious and worldly *Prelates*.

Remon. It will stand long enough against the battry of their paper-pellets.

Answ. That must be try'd with a square Cap in the Counsell, and if pellets will not doe, your owne Canons shall be turn'd against you.

Remon. They cannot name any Man in this Nation that ever contradicted *Episcopacie*, till this present Age.

Answ. What an over-worne and bedrid Argument is this, the last refuge ever of old falshood, and therefore a good signe I trust that your Castle cannot hold out long. This was the plea of *Judaisme*, and Idolatry against *Christ* and his *Apostles*, of *Papacie* against Reformation; and perhaps to the frailty of Flesh and Blood in a Man destitute of better enlight'ning, may for some while bee pardonable: for what ha's fleshly apprehension other to subsist by then Succession, Custome, and Visibilty; which onely hold, if in his weakness and blindness he be loath to lose, who can blame? but in a *Protestant* Nation that should have throwne off these tatter'd Rudiments long agoe, after the many strivings of Gods Spirit, and our fourscore Years vexation of him in this our Wildernesse since Reformation began, to urge these rotten Principles, and twit us with the present Age, which is to us an age of ages wherein God is manifestly come downe among us, to doe some remarkable good to our Church or State, is as if a Man should taxe the renovating and re-ingendring Spirit of God with Innovation, and that new Creature for an upstart noveltie; yea the new *Jerusalem*, which without your admired linke of Succession descends from Heaven, could not scape some such like censure. If you require a further answer, it will not misbecome a Christian to bee either more magnanimous, or more devout then *Scipio* was; who in stead of other answer to the frivolous accusations of *Petilius* the Tribune, *This day Romans* (saith he) *I fought with Hanibal prosperously; let us all goe and thank the Gods that gave us so great a Victory*: in like manner will we now say, not caring otherwise to answer this un-Protestant-like Objection; in this Age, *Brittains* God hath reform'd his Church after many hundred yeers of *Popish* corruption; in this Age hee hath freed us from the intolerable yoke of *Prelats*, and *Papall* Discipline; in this Age he hath renewed our *Protestation* against all those yet remaining dregs of Superstition. Let us all goe, every true protested *Brittain* throughout the three *Kingdoms*, and render thanks to God the Father of Light and fountaine of heavenly Grace, and to his son *CHRIST* our Lord; leaving this *Remonstrant* and his Adherents to their owne designs, and let us recount even here without delay, the patience and long suffering that God hath us'd towards our blindness and hardnes time after time. For he being equally neere to his whole Creation of Mankind, and of free power to turne his benefick and fatherly regard to what Region or Kingdome he pleases, hath yet ever had this Island under the special indulgent eye of his Providence: and pittying us the first of all other Nations, after he had decreed to purify and renew his Church that lay wallowing in Idolatrous Pollutions, sent first to us a healing Messenger to touch softly our sores, and carry a gentle hand over our Wounds: he knockt once and twice and came again, opening our droulie Eye-lids leasurely by that glimmering light which *Wicklef*, and his followers dispers't; and still taking off by degrees the inveterat scales from our night perisht sight, purg'd also our deaf Ears, and prepar'd them to attend his second warning Trumpet in our Grandfires dayes. How else could they have been able to have receiv'd the sudden assault of his reforming Spirit, warring against humane Principles, and carnal sense, the pride of Flesh that still cry'd up Antiquity, Custome, Canons, Counsels and Laws, and cry'd down the Truth for Noveltie, Schisme, Profaneness and Sacriledge: when as we that have liv'd so long in abundant Light, besides the sunny reflection of all the neighbouring Churches, have yet our Hearts rivetted with those old Opinions, and so obstructed and benumm'd with the same fleshly reasonings, which in our Forefathers soone melted and gave way, against the morning beam of *Reformation*. If God had left undone this whole worke so contrary to Flesh and Blood, till these times; how should wee have yeilded to his heavenly Call, had wee been taken, as they were, in the starknes of our Ignorance; that yet after all these spiritual Preparatives and Purgations, have our earth-

ly Apprehensions so clamm'd, and furr'd with the old Levin. O if we freeze at noone after their earely Thaw, let us feare lest the Sunne for ever hide himselfe, and turne his orient steps from our ingratefull Horizon, justly condemn'd to be eternally benighted. Which dreadful Judgement, O thou the ever-begotten Light and perfect Image of the Father, intercede, may never come upon us, as we trust thou hast; for thou hast open'd our difficult and sad times, and given us an unexpected breathing after our long Oppressions; thou hast done Justice upon those that tyranniz'd over us, while some Men waver'd and admir'd a vain shadow of Wisdome in a Tongue nothing slow to utter Guile, though thou hast taught us to admire onely that which is good, and to count that onely praise-worthy which is grounded upon thy divine Precepts. Thou hast discover'd the plots, and frustrated the hopes of all the wicked in the Land, and put to shame the Persecutors of thy Church; thou hast made our false *Prophets* to be found a lie in the sight of all the People, and chac'd them with sudden Confusion and Amazement before the redoubled brightnesse of thy descending Cloud, that now covers thy Tabernacle. Who is there that cannot trace thee now in thy beamy Walke through the midst of thy Sanctuary, amidst those golden *Candlesticks*, which have long suffer'd a dimnesse amongst us through the violence of those that had seiz'd them, and were more taken with the mention of their Gold then of their starry Light; teaching the Doctrine of *Balaam*, to cast a stumbling-block before thy servants, commanding them to eat things sacrific'd to Idols, and forcing them to Fornication. Come therefore, O thou that hast the seven Starres in thy right hand, appoint thy chosen *Priests* according to their Orders and Courses of old, to minister before thee, and duely to dresse and powre out the consecrated Oyle into thy holy and ever-burning Lamps. Thou hast sent out the spirit of prayer upon thy Servants over all the Land to this effect, and stirr'd up their vowes as the sound of many waters about thy Throne. Every one can say, that now certainly thou hast visited this Land, and hast not forgotten the utmost corners of the Earth, in a time when Men had thought that thou wast gone up from us to the farthest end of the Heavens, and hadst left to doe marvellously among the sons of these last Ages. O perfect and accomplish thy glorious Acts; for Men may leave their Works unfinished, but thou art a God, thy Nature is Perfection: shouldst thou bring us thus far onward from *Egypt* to destroy us in this Wildernesse, though wee deserve; yet thy great Name would suffer in the rejoycing of thine Enemies, and the deluded hope of all thy Servants. When thou hast settl'd Peace in the Church, and righteous Judgement in the Kingdome, then shall all thy Saints addresse their voyces of Joy, and triumph to thee, standing on the shoare of that red Sea into which our Enemies had almost driven us. And he that now for haste snatches up a plain ungarnish't Present as a Thanke-offering to thee, which could not bee deferr'd in regard of thy so many late deliverances wrought for us one upon another, may then perhaps take up a Harp, and sing thee an elaborate Song to Generations. In that day it shall no more bee said as in scorne, this or that was never held so till this present Age, when Men have better learnt that the times and seasons passe along under thy feet, to goe and come at thy bidding: and as thou didst dignifie our Fathers dayes with many Revelations above all the fore-going Ages, since thou tookst the Flesh; so thou canst vouchsafe to us (though unworthy) as large a portion of thy Spirit as thou pleasest; for who shall prejudice thy all-governing Will? seeing the power of thy Grace is not past away with the primitive times, as fond and faithlesse Men imagine, but thy Kingdome is now at hand, and thou standing at the doore. Come forth out of thy Royall Chambers, O Prince of all the Kings of the Earth, put on the visible Roabes of thy imperiall Majesty, take up that unlimited Scepter which thy Almighty Father hath bequeath'd thee; for now the voyce of thy Bride calls thee, and all Creatures sigh to bee renew'd.

SECT. 5.

Remon. Neglect not the Gift which was given thee by *Prophecie*, and by laying on the hands of *Presbytery*.

Answ. The English Translation expresses the Article (*the*), and renders it *the Presbytery*, which you doe injury to omitt.

Remon.

Remonstrance.

Which I wonder yee can so presse, when *Calvin* himself takes it of the Office, and not of the Men. Pag. 50.

Answer.

You think then you are fairly quit of this prooffe, because *Calvin* interprets it for you, as if we could be put off with *Calvins* name, unlesse we be convinc't with *Calvins* reason; the word *πρεσβυτεριον* is a collective Nowne signifying a certain number of Men in one order, as the word Privy Councell with us, and so *Beza* interprets, that knew *Calvins* mind doubtlesse, with whom he liv'd. If any amongst us should say the Privy Councell ordain'd it, and thereby constraine us to understand one Mans Authoritie, should we not laugh at him? And therefore when you have us'd all your cramping Irons to the Text, and done your utmost to cramme a *Presbyterie* into the skin of one Person, 'twill bee but a piece of frugall nonsense. But if your meaning bee with a violent *Hyperbaton* to transpose the Text, as if the words lay thus in order, neglect not the gift of *Presbyterie*; this were a construction like a *Harquebuze* shot over a file of words twelve deep, without authority to bid them stoop, or to make the word *Gift* like the River *Mole* in *Surrey* to runne under the bottome of a long line, and so start up to governe the word *Presbyterie*, as in immediate *Syntaxis*, a device ridiculous enough to make good that old wives tale of a certaine Queene of *England* that sunk at *Charing-crosse*, and rose up at *Queene-bithe*. No marvell though the *Prelates* bee a troublesome Generation, and which way soever they turne them, put all things into a foule discomposure, when to maintaine their domineering they seeke thus to rout and dis-aray the wise and well-couch't order of *Saint Pauls* owne words, using either a certain textuall Riot to chop off the hands of the word *Presbyterie*, or els a like kind of *Simony* to clap the word *Gift* betweene them. Besides, if the verse must be read according to this transposition, *μὴ ἀμείλει τὸ ἐν σοὶ χερίσματος τὸ πρεσβυτερίας*, it would be improper to call Ordination *χερίσμα*, when as it is rather onely *χερίσματος*, an outward Testimony of Approbation, unless they will make it a Sacrament as the *Papists* doe: But surely the *Prelates* would have *Saint Pauls* words rampe one over another, as they use to clime into their Livings and *Bishopricks*.

Remonstrance.

Neither need wee give any other satisfaction to the point, then from *Saint Paul* himselfe, 2 *Timoth.* 1. 6. *Stirre up the gift of God which is in thee by the imposition of my hands; mine, and not others.*

Answer.

Y' are too quick; this last place is to bee understood by the former, as the Law of Method, which beares chiefe sway in the Art of teaching, requires, that clearest and plainest Expressions bee set formost, to the end they may enlighten any following Obscurity; and wherefore wee should

not attribute a right method to the teachablenesse of Scripture, there can be no reason given: to which Method, if wee shall now goe contrarie, besides the breaking of a Logickall Rule, which the *Remonstrant* hitherto wee see hath made little account of, we shall also put a manifest Violence and Impropriety upon a knowne word against his common signification, in binding a collective to a singular Person. But if we shall, as *Logicke* (or indeed Reason) instructs us, expound the latter place by the former cited, and understand, (by the Imposition of my hands) that is, of mine cheifly as an *Apostle*, with the joynt Authority and Assistance of the *Presbyterie*, there is nothing more ordinary or kindly in Speech then such a Phrase as expresse onely the Chiefe in any Action, and understands the rest. So that the Imposition of Saint *Pauls* hands, without more expression in this place, cannot exclude the joynt Act of the *Presbyterie* affirm'd by the former Text.

Remonstrance.

Pag. 76. In the meane while see Brethren how you have with *Simon* fisht all night, and caught nothing.

Answer.

If we fishing with *Simon* the Apostle can catch nothing, see what you can catch with *Simon Magus*; for all his hooks and fishing Implements he bequeath'd among you.

SECT. 13.

Remonstrance.

Wee doe againe professe, that if our *Bishops* challenge any other Power then was delegated to, and required of *Timothy* and *Titus*, wee shall yeeld them usurpers.

Answer.

Ye cannot compare an ordinary *Bishop* with *Timothy*, who was an extraordinary Man, foretold and promis'd to the Church by many Prophecies, and his name joyn'd as collaterall with Saint *Paul*, in most of his Apostolick Epistles, even where hee writes to the *Bishops* of other Churches, as those in *Philippi*. Nor can you prove out of the Scripture that *Timothy* was *Bishop* of any particular place; for that wherein it is said in the third Verse of the first *Epistle*: *As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus*, will be such a glosse to prove the constitution of a *Bishop* by, as would not onely be not so good as a *Burdeaux* glosse; but scarce be receiv'd to varnish a Visard of *Modona*. All that can bee gather'd out of holy Writ concerning *Timothy* is, that he was either an *Apostle*, or an *Apostles* extraordinary Vice-gerent, not confin'd to the charge of any place. The like may bee said of *Titus*, (as those words import in the 5. verse) that he was for that cause left in *Creet*, that he might supply or proceed to set in order that which Saint *Paul* in Apostolick manner had begun, for which hee had his particular Commission, as those words sound, (*as I had appointed thee.*) So that what hee did in *Creet*, cannot so much

much be thought the exercise of an ordinary Function, as the direction of an inspired mouth. No lesse also may be gather'd from the 2 *Cor.* 8. 23.

Remonstrance.

You descend to the Angels of the seven *Asian* Churches, your shift is, that the Angell is heere taken collectively, not individually.

Answer.

That the Word is collective appeares plainly, *Revel.* 2.

First, Because the Text it selfe expounds it so; for having spoken all the while as to the Angell, the seventh Verse concludes that this was spoken to the Churches. Now if the Spirit conclude collectively, and kept the same Tenor all the way, for we see not where he particularizes; then certainly hee must begin collectively, else the Construction can bee neither *Grammaticall* nor *Logicall*.

Secondly, If the word *Angell* be individuall, then are the faults attributed to him individuall: but they are such as for which God threatens to remove the Candlestick out of his place, which is as much as to take away from that Church the Light of his Truth: and wee cannot thinke he would doe so for one *Bishops* fault. Therefore those faults must be understood collective, and by consequence the subject of them collective.

Thirdly, An Individuall cannot branch it selfe into Subindividuals; but this word *Angel* doth in the tenth Verse. *Feare none of those things which thou shalt suffer; behold the Devill shall cast some of you into prison.* And the like from other places of this and the following Chapter may be observed. Therefore it is no individuall word, but a collective.

Fourthly, In the 24. Verse this word *Angel* is made capable of a *Pronounne plurall*, which could not bee, unlesse it were a Collective. As for the supposed Manuscript of *Tecla*, and two or three other Copies that have expung'd the Copulative, wee cannot preferre them before the more receiv'd reading, and wee hope you will not against the Translation of your Mother the Church of *England*, that past the revise of your chiefeſt *Prelates*: Besides this, you will lay an unjust censure upon the much-praised *Bishop* of *Thyatira*, and reckon him among those that had the Doctrine of *Jesabel*, when the Text sayes, *he onely suffer'd her*. Whereas, if you will but let in a charitable conjunction, as wee know your so much call'd-for Charity will not deny, then you plainly acquit the *Bishop*, if you comprehend him in the name of *Angel*, otherwise you leave his case very doubtfull.

Remonstrance.

Pag. 105. *Thou sufferest thy Wife* JESABEL: was she Wife to the whole Company, or to one *Bishop* alone?

Answer.

Not to the whole Company doubtles, for that had bin worse then to have bin the *Levites* Wife in *Gibeah*: but heere among all those that constantly read it otherwise, whom you trample upon, your good Mother of *England* is downe againe in the throng, who with the rest reads it, *that Woman* Jesabel: but suppose it were Wife, a Man might as well interpret that word figuratively, as her name *Jesabel* no Man doubts to be a borrow'd Name.

Remonstrance.

Pag. 111. Yet what makes this for a *Diocesan Bishop*? much every way.

Answer.

No more then a speciall Endorsement could make to puffe up the Foreman of a Jury. If wee deny you more precedence, then as the *Senior* of any Society, or deny you this priority to bee longer then annuall. Prove you the contrary from hence, if you can. That you thinke to doe from the title of eminence, *Angel*: alas your wings are too short. 'Tis not Ordination nor Jurisdiction that is Angelicall, but the heavenly Message of the Gospell, which is the Office of all Ministers alike; in which sense

Mat. 11. *John the Baptist* is call'd an *Angel*, which in Greeke signifies a Messenger, as oft as it is meant by a Man, and might be so render'd heere without treason to the *Hierarchy*; but that the whole Booke soares to a prophetick pitch in Types, and Allegories. Seeing then the reason of this borrow'd Name is meerly to signifie the preaching of the Gospel, and that this preaching equally appertaines to the whole *Ministry*; hence may bee drawn a fifth argument, that if the reason of this borrowed name *Angel* be equally collective, and communicative to the whole preaching Ministry of the place, then must the name be collectively and communicatively taken; but the reason, that is to say, the office of preaching and watching over the Flock is equally collective and communicative: Therefore the borrow'd name it self is to be understood as equally collective and communicative to the whole preaching Ministry of the place. And if you will contend still for a Superiority in one person, you must ground it better then from this metaphor, which you may now deplore as the Axe-head that fell into the water, and say, Alas Master, for it was borrow'd, unless you have as good a faculty to make Iron swim, as you had to make light froth sink.

Remonstr. What is, if this be not Ordination and Jurisdiction?

P. 12. 124.

Ansiv. Indeed in the Constitution, and founding of a Church, that some Men inspir'd from God should have an extraordinary calling to appoint, to order and dispose, must needs be. So *Moses*, though himselfe no Priest, sanctify'd, and ordain'd *Aaron* and his Sons; but when all needful things be set and regulated by the Writings of the Apostles, whether it be not a meer folly to keep up a superiour degree in the Church onely for Ordination and Jurisdiction, it will be no hurt to debate a while. The Apostles were the Builders, and, as it were, the Architects of the Christian Church; Wherein consisted their Excellence above ordinary Ministers? a Prelate would say in commanding, in controuling, in appointing, in calling to them, and sending from about them to all Countreyes their Bishops and Archbishops as their Deputies, with a kind of Legantine Power. No, no, vaine Prelates, this was but as the Scaffolding of a new Edifice which for the time must board, and overlooke the highest Battlements; but if the Structure once finish'd, any Passenger should fall in love with them, and pray that they might still stand, as being a singular Grace, and strengthening to the House, who would otherwise thinke, but that the Man were presently to be laid hold on, and sent to his Friends and Kindred? The Eminence of the Apostles consisted in their powerful preaching, their unwearied labouring in the Word, their unquenchable Charity, which above all earthly respects like a working flame, had spun up to such a height of pure desire, as might be thought next to that Love which dwells in God to save Souls; which, while they did, they were contented to be the Off-scouring of the World, and to expose themselves willingly to all Afflictions, perfecting thereby their hope through patience to a Joy unspeakable. As for Ordination, what is it, but the laying on of hands, an outward signe or symbol of Admission? It creates nothing, it confers nothing; it is the inward Calling of God that makes a Minister, and his own painful study and diligence that manures and improves his ministeriall Gifts. In the Primitive times, many before ever they had receiv'd Ordination from the Apostles, had done the Church noble service, as *Apollos* and others. It is but an orderly forme of receiving a Man already fitted, and committing to him a particular charge; the imployment of preaching is as holy; and farr more excellent, the care also and judgment to be us'd in the winning of Soules, which is thought to be sufficient in every worthy Minister, is an Ability above that which is requir'd in Ordination: For many may be able to judge who is fit to be made a Minister, that would not be found fit to be made Ministers themselves; as it will not be deny'd that he may be the competent Judge of a neat Picture, or elegant Poem, that cannot limne the like. Why therefore wee should constitute a superiour Order in the Church to performe an Office which is not onely every Minister's Function, but inferior also to that which he has a confest right to; and why this Superiority should remaine thus usurp'd, some wise *Epimenides* tell us. Now for Jurisdiction this deare Saint of the Prelates, it will be best to consider, first, what it is: That Sovereigne Lord, who in the discharge of his holy Anointment from God the Father, which made him supream Bishop of our Soules, was so humble as to say, Who made me a Judge, or a Divider over yee? hath taught us that a Church-mans Jurisdiction is no more but to watch over his Flock in season, and out of season, to deal by sweet and efficacious Instructions, gentle Admonitions, and sometimes rounder Reproofs; against negligence or obstinacy, will be requir'd a rousing Vollie of pastorly Threatnings; against a persisting stubbornes, or the fear of a reprobate sence, a timely separation from the Flock by that interdictive Sentence, lest his Conversation unprohibited, or unbranded, might breath a pestilential murrein into the other Sheepe. In summe, his jurisdiction is to see to the thriving and prospering of that which he hath planted: what other work the Prelates have found for Chancellours and Suffragans, Delegates and Officials, with all the hell-pestering rabble of Sumners and Apparitors, is but an invasion upon the temporall Magistrate, and affected by them as men that are not asham'd of the Ensigne and Banner of Antichrist. But true Evangelical Jurisdiction or Discipline, is no more, as was said, then for a Minister to see to the thriving and prospering of that which he hath planted. And which is the

worthiest

worthiest worke of these two, to plant, as every Ministers Office is equally with the Bishops, or to tend that which is planted, which the blind and undiscerning Prelates call Jurisdiction, and would appropriate to themselves as a business of higher dignity? Have patience therefore a little, and heare a Law case: A certain man of large Possessions, had a faire Garden, and kept therein an honest and laborious Servant, whose skill and profession was to set or sow all wholsome Herbs, and delightfull Flowers, according to every season, and what-ever else was to be done in a well-husbanded Nursery of Plants and Fruits; now, when the time was come that he should cut his Hedges, prune his Trees, looke to his tender Slips, and pluck up the Weeds that hinder'd their growth, he gets him up by break of day, and makes account to doe what was needfull in his Garden; and who would thinke that any other should know better than he how the days work was to be spent? Yet for all this there comes another strange Gardner that never knew the Soyle, never handl'd a Dibble or Spade to set the least Pot-herb that grew there, much lesse had endur'd an hours sweat or chilnesse, and yet challenges as his right the binding or unbinding of every Flower, the clipping of every Bush, the weeding and worming of every Bed, both in that and all other Gardens thereabout: the honest Gardener, that ever since the day-peepe, till now the Sunne was grown somewhat ranke, had wrought painfully about his Bankes and Seed-plots, at his commanding Voice turnes suddenly about with some wonder; and although he could have well betem'd to have thank't him of the ease hee prefer'd, yet loving his own handiworke, modestly refus'd him, telling him withall, that for his part, if he had thought much of his owne paines, he could for once have committed the Worke to one of his fellow-labourers, for as much as it is well knowne to be a matter of lesse skill and lesse labour to keepe a Garden handsome, then it is to plant it, or contrive it, and that he had already perform'd himselfe. No, said the stranger, this is neither for you nor your fellows to meddle with, but for me onely that am for this purpose in dignity farre above you; and the provision which the Lord of the Soyle allowes me in this Office is, and that with good reason, ten-fold your wages: the Gardener smil'd and shooke his head; but what was determin'd I cannot tell you till the end of this Parliament.

Pag. 127.

Remon. If in time you shall see wooden Chalicees, and wooden Priests, thanke your selves.

Ans. It had beene happy for this land, if your Priests had beene but only wooden; all *England* knowes they have been to this Iland not wood, but wormewood, that have infected the third part of our waters, like that Apostate Starre in the Revelation, that many Soules have di'd of their bitternesse; and if you meane by wooden, illiterate, or contemptible, there was no want of that sort among you, and their number increasing daily, as their lazinesse, their Tavern-hunting, their neglect of all sound literature, and their liking of doltish and monastickall Schoolemen daily increast. What should I tell you how the Universities, that Men looke should be fountaines of Learning and Knowledg, have beene poyson'd and choak'd under your Governance? and if to be wooden be to be base, where could there be found among all the reformed Churches, nay, in the Church of *Rome* it self, a baser brood of flattering and time-serving Priests, according as God pronounces by *Isaiab*, the Prophet that teacheth lies he is the taile. As for your young schollers that petition for Bishopricks and Deanaries to encourage them in their studies, and that many Gentlemen else will not put their Sons to learning, away with such young mercenary Striplings and their Simoniackal Fathers, God has no neede of such, they have no part or lot in his Vineyard, they may as well sue for Nunneries, that they may have some convenient stowage for their wither'd daughters, because they cannot give them portions answerable to the pride and vanity they have bred them in; this is the root of all our mischief, that which they alleage for the encouragement of their studies, should be cut away forthwith as the very bait of pride and ambition, the very garbage that drawes together all the fowles of prey and ravin in the land to come and gorge upon the Church. How can it be but ever unhappy to the Church of *England*, while shee shall think to intice Men to the pure service of God by the same meanes that were us'd to tempt our Saviour to the service of the

Devill,

Devoll, by laying before him honour and preferment. Fit professors indeed are they like to be, to teach others that Godlinesse with content is great gaine, whenas their godlinesse of teaching had not been but for worldly gaine. The heathen Philosophers thought that vertue was for its owne sake inestimable, and the greatest gaine of a teacher to make a soule vertuous; so *Xenophon* writes of *Socrates*, who never bargain'd with any for teaching them; he fear'd not lest those who had receiv'd so high a benefit from him, would not of their owne free-will returne him all possible thanks. Was morall vertue so lovely, and so alluring; and heathen men so enamour'd of her, as to teach and study her with greatest neglect and contempt of worldly profit and advancement? and is Christian Piety so homely and so unpleasant, and Christian men so cloy'd with her, as that none will study and teach her, but for lucre and preferment! O stale-growne Piety! O Gospell rated as cheap as thy Master, at thirty pence, and not worth the study, unless thou canst buy those that will sell thee! O race of Capernaitans, senselesse of divine doctrine, and capable onely of loaves and belly-cheer! But they will grant, perhaps, piety may thrive, but learning will decay: I would faine ask these men at whose hands they seeke inferior things, as wealth, honour, their dainty fare, their lofty houses? No doubt but they will soone answer, that all these things they seek at God's hands. Doe they thinke then that all these meaner and superfluous things come from God, and the divine gift of Learning from the den of *Plutus*, or the cave of *Mammon*? Certainly never any cleare spirit nurst up from brighter influences, with a soule enlarg'd to the dimensions of spacious art and high knowledg, ever enter'd there but with scorn, and thought it ever foule disdain to make pelf or ambition the reward of his studies, it being the greatest honor, the greatest fruit and proficiency of learned studies to despise these things. Not liberal science, but illiberal must that needs be that mounts in contemplation merely for money. And what would it avail us to have a hireling Clergy though never so learned? For such can have neither true wisdom nor grace, and then in vain do Men trust in learning, where these be wanting. If in lesse noble and almost mechanick Arts, according to the definitions of those Authors, he is not esteem'd to deserve the name of a compleat Architect, an excellent Painter, or the like, that bears not a generous mind above the peasantly regard of wages and hire; much more must we thinke him a most imperfect, and incomplete Divine, who is so farre from being a contemner of filthy lucre, that his whole Divinity is moulded and bred up in the beggarly, and brutish hopes of a fat Prebendary, Deanery, or Bishoprick; which poore and low pitch't desires, if they do but mixe with those other heavenly intentions that draw a man to this study, it is justly expected that they should bring forth a base born issue of Divinity, like that of those imperfect, and putrid creatures that receive a crawling life from two most unlike procreants, the Sun and Mudd. And in matters of Religion, there is not any thing more intollerable then a learned Foole, or a learned Hypocrite; the one is ever coopt up at his empty speculations, a sot, an ideot for any use that mankind can make of him, or else sowing the World with nice and idle questions, and with much toyle and difficulty wading to his auditors up to the eyebrows in deep shallows that wet not the instep: a plaine unlearned man that lives well by that light which he has, is better and wiser, and edifies others more towards a godly and happy life than he. The other is still using his sophisticated arts, and bending all his studies how to make his insatiate avarice and ambition seem pious and orthodoxall, by painting his lewd and deceitfull Principles with a smooth and glossy varnish in a doctrinall way, to bring about his wickedest purposes. Instead of the great harme therefore that these men feare upon the dissolving of Prelates, what an ease, and happiness will it be to us, when tempting rewards are taken away, that the cunningest and most dangerous mercenaries will cease of themselves to frequent the fold, whom otherwise scarce all the prayers of the faithful could have kept back from devouring the flock? But a true Pastor of Christ's sending hath this especiall mark, that for greatest labours, and greatest merits in the Church, he requires either nothing, if he could so subsist, or a very common and reasonable supply of humane necessities: We cannot therefore do better then to leave this care of ours to God, he can easily send labourers

into his Harveſt, that ſhall not cry, Give, give, but be contented with a moderate and beſeeming allowance ; nor will he ſuffer true learning to be wanting, where true grace and our obedience to him abounds : for if he give us to know him aright, and to praſtiſe this our knowledg in right eſtabliſht diſcipline, how much more will hee replenish us with all abilities in tongues and arts, that may conduce to his glory, and our good ? He can ſtirre up rich Fathers to beſtow exquiſite education upon their Children, and ſo dedicate them to the ſervice of the Goſpell ; he can make the ſons of Nobles his Miniſters, and Princes to be his Nazarites ; for certainly there is no employment more honourable, more worthy to take up a great ſpirit, more requiring a generous and free nurture, then to be the meſſenger and Herald of heavenly Truth from God to man, and by the faithful worke of holy doctrine, to procreate a number of faithful men, making a kind of creation like to God's, by infuſing his Spirit and likenesse into them, to their ſalvation, as God did into him ; ariſing to what climat ſoever he turne him, like that Sun of righteouſneſſe that ſent him, with healing in his wings, and new light to break in upon the chill and gloomy hearts of his hearers, raiſing out of darkſome barrenneſſe a delicious and fragrant ſpring of ſaving knowledge, and good workes. Can a man thus imployd, find himſelfe diſcontented, or diſhonour'd for want of admittance to have a pragmaticall voyce at Seſſions, and Jayle deliveries ? or becauſe hee may not as a Judge ſit out the wrangling noiſe of litigious Courts to ſhreeve the purſes of unconfeſſing and unmortify'd ſinners, and not their ſoules, or be diſcourag'd though men call him not Lord, when as the due performance of his office would gaine him even from Lords and Princes, the voluntary title of Father ? Would he tugge for a Barony to ſit and vote in Parliament, knowing that no man can take from him the gift of wiſdome and ſound doctrine, which leaves him free, though not to be a member, yet a teacher, and perſwader of the Parliament ? And in all wiſe apprehenſions the perſwaſive power in Man to win others to goodneſſe by inſtruction is greater, and more divine, then the compulſive power to reſtraine men from being evil by terrour of the Law ; and therefore Chriſt left Moſes to be the Law-giver, but himſelfe came downe amongſt us to bee a teacher, with which office his heavenly Wiſdome was ſo well pleas'd, as that he was angry with thoſe that would have put a piece of temporall Judicature into his hands, diſclaiming that he had any commiſſion from above for ſuch matters.

Such a high Calling therefore as this, ſends not for thoſe droſſy ſpirits that need the lure, and whistle of earthly preferment, like thoſe animals that fetch and carry for a morſell ; no. She can find ſuch as therefore ſtudy her precepts, becauſe ſhe teaches to deſpiſe preferment. And let not thoſe wretched Fathers thinke they ſhall impoveriſh the Church of willing and able ſupply, though they keep back their ſordid ſperm begotten in the luſtineſſe of their avarice, and turne them to their malting-kils ; rather let them take heed what leſſons they inſtill into that lump of fleſh which they are the cauſe of, leſt, thinking to offer him as a preſent to God, they diſh him out for the Devill. Let the novice learn firſt to renounce the world, and ſo give himſelfe to God, and not therefore give himſelfe to God that hee may cloſe the better with the World, like that falſe Shepheard *Palinode* in the Eclogue of *May*, under whom the Poet lively perſonates our Prelates, whoſe whole life is a recantation of their paſtorall vow, and whoſe profeſſion to forſake the World, as they uſe the matter, boggs them deeper into the world : Thoſe our admired *Spencer* inveighs againſt, not without ſome preſage of theſe reforming times.

*The time was once, and may again returne
(For oft may happen that hath been beforne)
When Shepheards had none inheritance,
Ne of land, nor ſee in ſufferance,
But what might ariſe of the bare ſheep
(Were it more or leſſe) which they did keep.
Well ywis was it with Shepheards, tho
Nought having, nought feared they to forgo :*

For Pan himfelfe was their inheritance,
 And little them serv'd for their maintenance :
 The Shepheards God fo well them guided,
 That of naught they were unprovided.
 Butter enough, honey, milk, and whey,
 And their flock fleeces them to array.
 But tract of Time, and long prosperity
 (That nurse of vice, this of infolency)
 Lulled the Shepheards in fuch security,
 That not content with loyall obeysance,
 Some gan to gape for greedy governance,
 And match themfelves with mighty Potentates,
 Lovers of Lordships, and troublers of States.
 Tho gan Shepheards Swaines to looke aloft,
 And leave to live hard, and learne to lig soft.
 Tho under colour of Shepheards fome while
 There crept in wolves full of fraud and guile,
 That often devoured their owne Sheep,
 And often the Shepheard that did them keep.
 This was the first fource of Shepheards sorrow,
 That now nill be quit with bale, nor borrow.

By all this we may conjecture, how little wee neede fear that the unguilding of our Prelates will prove the woodening of our Priests. In the meane while, let no Man carry in his head either fuch narrow, or fuch evil eyes, as not to looke upon the Churches of *Belgia* and *Helvetia*, and that envied City *Geneva* : Where in the Christian World doth Learning more flourish than in these places ? Not among your beloved Jesuits, nor their favourers, though you take all the Prelates into the number, and instance in what kinde of learning you please. And how in *England* all noble sciences attending upon the traine of Christian doctrine may flourish more than ever ; and how the able professors of every Art may with ample stipends be honestly provided ; and finally, how there may be better care had that their hearers may benefit by them, and all this without the Prelates, the courses are fo many and fo easie, that I shall passe them over.

Remon. It is God that makes the Bishop, the King that gives the Bishoprick ; What can you say to this ?

Self. 14.
Pag. 129.

Anfw. What you shall not long stay for : we say it is God that makes a Bishop, and the Devil that makes him take a prelaticall Bishoprick ; as for the King's gift, regall bounty may be excusable in giving, where the Bishops covetousnesse is damnable in taking.

Remon. Many eminent Divines of the Churches abroad have earnestly wish'd themselves in our condition. *Pag.* 137.

Anfw. I cannot blame them, they were not onely eminent, but supereminent Divines, and for stomach much like to *Pompey* the great, that could indure no equall.

Remon. The Babylonian note sounds well in your Ears, downe with it, downe with it even to the ground. *Pag.* 139.

Anfw. You mistake the matter, it was the Edomitish note, but change it, and if you be an Angel, cry with the Angel, It is falne, it is falne.

Remon. But the God of Heav'n will, we hope, vindicate his owne Ordinance so long perpetuated to the Church.

Anfw. Goe rather to your God of this World, and see if he can vindicate your Lordships, your temporall and spirituall Tyrannies, and all your pelfe ; for the God of Heaven is already come downe to vindicate his own Ordinance from your so long perpetuated Usurpation.

Remon. If yet you can blush.

Self. 15.
Pag. 141.

Anfw. This is a more Edomitish conceit than the former, and must be silenced with a counter-quip of the same Countrey. So often and so unfavourably has it been repeated, that the Reader may well cry, Downe with it, downe with it for shame. A Man would thinke you had eaten over liberally of *Esaus* red Porrage, and from thence dreame continually of blushing ; or perhaps,

to heighthen your fancy in writing, are wont to sit in your Doctors scarlet, which through your eyes infecting your pregnant imaginative with a red Suffusion, begets a continual thought of blushing: That you thus persecute ingenuous Men over all your Book, with this one over-tir'd rubricall conceit still of blushing; but if you have no mercy upon them, yet spare your selfe, lest you bejade the good Galloway, your owne opiniafter Wit, and make the very Conceit it selfe blush with spur-galling.

Señ. 16.
Pag. 148.

Remon. The scandalls of our inferiour Ministers I desir'd to have had lesse publique.

Answ. And what your superiour Archbishop or Bishops? O forbid to have it told in *Gath*! say you. O dauber! and therefore remove not Impieties from *Israel*. *Constantine* might have done more justly to have punish'd those Clergicall faults which he could not conceale, than to leave them unpunish'd, that they might remaine conceal'd: better had it beene for him that the Heathen had heard the fame of his Justice, than of his wilfull connivence and partiality; and so the name of God and his Truth had been lesse blasphem'd among his enemies, and the Clergie amended, which daily by this impunitie grew worse and worse. But, O to publish it in the streetes of *Ascalon*! Sure some Colonie of Puritans have taken *Ascalon* from the *Turke* lately, that the Remonstrant is so afraid of *Ascalon*. The Papists we know condole yee, and neither *Constantinople* nor your neighbors of *Marocco* trouble you. What other *Ascalon* can you allude to?

Remonstrance.
Pag. 37.

Remon. What a death it is to thinke of the sport and advantage these watchful enemies, these opposite Spectators will be sure to make of our sinne and shame?

Answ. This is but to sing and struggle under the inevitable net of God, that now begins to inviron you round.

Remonstrance.
Pag. 38.

Remon. No one Clergie in the whole Christian World yeelds so many eminent Schollers, learned Preachers, grave, holy and accomplish'd Divines, as this Church of *England* doth at this day.

Answ. Ha, ha, ha.

Remon. And long, and ever may it thus flourish.

Answ. O pestilent imprecation! flourish as it does at this day in the Prelates?

Remon. But oh forbid to have it told in *Gath*!

1 Pet. 5.

Ezek. 13.

Answ. Forbid him rather, sacred Parliament, to violate the sense of Scripture, and turne that which is spoken of the afflictions of the Church under her Pagan enemies, to a pargetted concealment of those prelati cal crying sins: for from these is profanenesse gone forth into all the Land; they have hid their eyes from the Sabbaths of the Lord; they have fed themselves, and not their Flocks; with force and cruelty have they ruled over Gods People: They have fed his Sheep (contrary to that which Saint *Peter* writes) not of a ready mind, but for filthy lucre; not as examples to the Flock, but as being Lords over Gods heritage: and yet this Dauber would daub still with his untempered Morter. But hearken what God sayes by the Prophet *Ezekiel*, Say unto them that daub this Wall with untempered Morter, that it shall fall; there shall be an overflowing shower, and yee O great hailstones shall fall, and a stormy wind shall rend it, and I will say unto you, the Wall is no more, neither they that daub'd it.

Pag. 149.

Remon. Whether of us shall give a better account of our Charity to the God of Peace, I appeale.

Answ. Your Charity is much to your fellow-offenders, but nothing to the numberless Soules that have beene lost by thir false feeding: use not therefore so sillily the name of Charity, as most commonly you doe, and the peacefull attribute of God to a preposterous end.

Señ. 17.

Remon. In the next Section, like ill bred Sons, you spit in the face of your Mother the Church of *England*.

Answ. What should wee doc or say to this Remonstrant? that by his idle and shallow reasonings, seemes to have been conversant in no Divinity, but that which is colourable to uphold Bishopricks. Wee acknowledge, and beleieve the Catholick reformed Church; and if any man be dispos'd to use a trope or figure, as Saint *Paul* once did in calling her the common Mother of us all,

let

let him doe as his own rethorick shall perswade him. If therefore we must needs have a Mother, and if the Catholick Church onely be, and must be she, let all Genealogie tell us, if it can, what we must call the Church of *England*, unlesse wee shall make every English Protestant a kind of poetickall *Bacchus*, to have two Mothers: but marke, Readers, the crafty scope of these Prelates, they endeavour to presse deeply into weak and superstitious fancies, the awful notion of a Mother, that hereby they might cheat them into a blind and implicate Obedience to whatsoever they shall decree, or think fit. And if we come to aske a reason of ought from our deare Mother, she's invisable, under the lock and key of the Prelates her spiritual adulterers; they onely are the internuntio's, or the go-betweens, of this trim devis'd mummerie: whatsoever they say, she sayes must be a deadly sin of disobedience not to beleve. So that wee who by Gods special grace, have shak'n off the servitude of a great male Tyrant, our pretended Father the Pope, should now, if wee be not betimes aware of these wily Teachers, sink under the slavery of a female notion, the cloudy conception of a demy-Iland Mother; and while we think to be obedient Sonnes, should make our selves rather the Bastards, or the Centaurs of thir spiritual Fornications.

Remon. Take heed of the Ravens of the Vally.

Ansiv. The Ravens wee are to take heede on are your selves, that would peck out the Eyes of all knowing Christians.

Remon. Sit you merry Brethren.

Ansiv. So we shall when the furies of Prelaticall consciences will not give them leave to doe so.

Queries. Whether they would not jeopard their Eares rather, &c.

Ansiv. A punishment that awaites the merits of your bold accomplices for the lopping, and stigmatizing of so many free borne Christians.

Remon. Whether the professed slovenlinesse in Gods service, &c.

Ansiv. We have heard of *Aaron* and his linnen Amice, but those dayes are past; and for your Priest under the Gospell, that thinks himselfe the purer, or the cleaner in his Office for his new washt Surplesse, we esteem him for sanctitie little better than *Apollonius Thyanæus* in his white Frocke, or the Priest of *Isis* in his lawne Sleeves, and they may all for Holinesse lie together in the suds.

Remon. Whether it were not most lawfull and just to punish your presumption and disobedience.

Ansiv. The punishing of that which you call our presumption and disobedience, lies not now within the execution of your fangs; the mercifull God above, and our just Parliament will deliver us from your *Ephesian* Beasts, your cruell *Nimrods*, with whom we shall be ever fearelesse to encounter.

Remon. God give you wisdom to see the Truth, and grace to follow it.

Ansiv. I wish the like to all those that resist not the Holy Ghost; for of such God commands *Jeremie*, saying, Pray not thou for them, neither lift up cry or prayer for them, neither make intercession to me, for I will not hear thee; and of such Saint *John* saith, He that bids them God speed, is partaker of their evill Deeds.

To the Postscript.

Remon. A goodly Pasquin borrow'd for a great part out of *Sions* plea, or the Breviate consisting of a Rhapsody of Histories.

Ansiv. How wittily you tell us what your wonted course is upon the like occasion: the Collection was taken, be it knowne to you, from as authentique Authors in this kinde, as any in a Bishops Library; and the collector of it sayes moreover, that if the like occasion come againe, hee shall lesse need the help of Breviates, or historicall Rhapsodies, than your Reverence to eek out your sermonings shall need repaire to *Postills*, or *Polyantheas*.

Remon. They were Bishops you say, true, but they were Popish Bishops.

Ansiv. Since you would bind us to your jurisdiction by their Canon-law, since you would inforce upon us the old riff-raffe of *Sarum*, and other monastickall reliques; since you live upon their unjust purchases, alleage their authorities, boast of their succession, walke in their steps, their pride, their titles, their covetousnesse, their persecuting of Gods people; since you disclaime their

Self. 18.

Pag. 160.

Pag. 161.

Pag. 165.

their actions, and build their Sepulchres, it is most just, that all their faults should be imputed to yee, and their Iniquities visited upon yee.

Page. 166.

Remon. Could yee see no Colleges, no Hospitals built?

Answ. At that *priméro* of Piety, the Pope and Cardinals are the better Gamesters, and will cogge a Die into Heav'n before you.

Remon. No Churches re-edified?

Answ. Yes, more Churches then Soules.

Remon. No learned Volumes writ?

Answ. So did the miscreant Bishop of *Spalatto* write learned Volumes against the Pope, and run to *Rome* when he had done; yee write them in your Closets, and unwrite them in your Courts; hot Volumists and cold Bishops; a swash buckler against the Pope, and a dormouse against the Devil, while the whole Diocesse be sown with tares, and none to resist the enemy, but such as let him in at the Posterne; a rare superintendent at *Rome*, and a cipher at home. Hypocrites, the Gospell faithfully preach'd to the poore, the desolate Parishes visited and duely fed; Loyterers throwne out, Wolves driven from the fold, had beene a better confutation of the Pope and Masse, than whole Hecatontomes of Controversies; and all this careering with Speare in rest, and thundring upon the Steele Cap of *Baronius* or *Bellarmino*.

Remon. No seduced Persons reclaim'd?

Answ. More reclaimed Persons seduc'd.

Remon. No hospitality kept?

Answ. Bacchanalia's good store in every Bishops Family, and good gleeking.

Remon. No great offenders punish'd?

Answ. The trophies of your high Commission are renown'd.

Remon. No good Offices done for the publike?

Answ. Yes, the good Office of reducing Monarchie to Tyrannie, of breaking pacifications, and calumniating the People to the King.

Remon. No care of the peace of the Church?

Answ. No, nor of the Land; witnesse the two Armies in the North that now lies plunder'd, and over-run by a Liturgie.

Remon. No diligence in preaching?

Answ. Scarce any preaching at all.

Remon. No holinesse in living?

Answ. No.

Remon. Truly, Brethren, I can say no more, but that the fault is in your Eyes.

Answ. If you can say no more than this, you were a proper Remonstrant to stand up for the whole Tribe.

Remon. Wipe them, and looke better.

Answ. Wipe your fat Corpulencies out of our light.

Remon. Yea, I beseech God to open them rather that they may see good.

Answ. If you mean good Prelates, let be your prayer, aske not impossibilities.

Remon. As for that proverb, the Bishops foot hath been in it, it were more fit for a *Scurra* in *Trivio*, or some Ribald upon an Ale-bench.

Answ. The fitter for them then of whom it was meant.

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Remon. I doubt not but they will say, the Bishops foot hath been in your Booke, for I am sure it is quite spoil'd by this just confutation; for your proverb, *Sapit Ollam*.

Answ. Spoyld quoth ye? indeed it is so spoyld, as a good Song is spoyld by a lewd finger, or as the saying is, God sends meat, but the Cooks worke their wills: in that sence we grant your Bishops foot may have spoyld it, and made it *Sapere ollam*, if not *Sapere aulam*; which is the same in old Latin, and perhaps in plaine English. For certaine your confutation hath atchiev'd nothing against it, and left nothing upon it, but a foule taste of your skillet foot, and a more perfect and distinguishable odour of your Socks, then of your Night-cap. And how the Bishop should confute a Booke with his Foot; unlesse his Braines were dropt into his great Toe, I cannot meet with any man that can resolve me, onely they tell me that certainly such a Confutation must needs be goutie. So much for the Bishops foot.

Remonst. You tell us of *Bonnors* Broth; it is the fashion in some Countries to send in their Keal in the last Service, and this it seems is the manner amongst our *Smeety*mnans.

Answ.

Answ. Your latter Service at the high Altar you mean ; but soft Sir, the Feast was but begun, the Broth was your own, you have been inviting the Land to it this fourescore years ; and so long we have been your slaves to serve it up for you, much against our wills : we know you have the Beefe to it, ready in your Kitchens, we are sure it was almost sod before this Parliament begun ; what direction you have given since to your Cooks to set it by in the Pantry till some fitter time, we know not, and therefore your deare Jest is lost ; this Broth was but your first Service : Alas, Sir, why doe you delude your Guests ? Why doe not those goodly Flanks and Briskets march up in your stately Chargers ? doubtlesse, if need be, the Pope that owes you for mollifying the matter so well with him, and making him a true Church, will furnish you with all the fat Oxen of *Italy*.

Remonst. Learned and worthy Doctor *Moulin* shall tell them.

Answ. *Moulin* sayes in his Booke of the calling of Pastors, that because Bishops were the Reformers of the English Church, therefore they were left remaining : This Argument is but of small force to keepe you in your Cathedrals. For first it may be deny'd that Bishops were our first Reformers, for *Wickliffe* was before them, and his egregious Labours are not to be neglected ; besides, our Bishops were in this worke but the Disciples of Priests, and began the Reformation before they were Bishops. But what though *Luther* and other Monks were the Reformers of other places ? does it follow therefore that Monks ought to continue ? no, though *Luther* had taught so. And lastly, *Moulins* Argument directly makes against you ; for if there be nothing in it but this, Bishops were left remaining because they were the Reformers of the Church, by as good a Consequence therefore they are now to be remov'd, because they have been the most certaine deformers and ruiners of the Church. Thus you see how little it avails you to take Sanctuary among those Churches which in the generall scope of your actions formerly you have disregarded, and despis'd, however your faire words would now smoothe it over otherwise.

Remonst. Our Bishops, some whereof being crown'd with Martyrdome, subscribed the Gospel with their Blood. Pag. 162.

Answ. You boast much of Martyrs to uphold your Episcopacy ; but if you would call to mind what *Eusebius* in his 5. l. recites from *Apollinarius* of *Hierapolis*, you should then heare it esteem'd no other then an old hereticall Argument, to prove a Position true, because some that held it were Martyrs : This was that which gave boldnesse to the *Marcionists*, and *Cataphryges* to avouch their impious Heresies for pious Doctrine, because they could reckon many Martyrs of their Sect ; and when they were confuted in other Points, this was ever their last and stoutest Plea.

Remonst. In the mean time I beseech the God of Heaven to humble you.

Answ. We shall beseech the same God to give you a more profitable and pertinent Humiliation then yet you know, and a lesse mistaken charitableness, with that peace which you have hitherto so perversely misaffected.

An APOLOGY for Smectymnuus.

IF, Readers, to that same great difficulty of well-doing what we certainly know, were not added in most men as great a carelesnes of knowing what they and others ought to do, we had bin long ere this, no doubt but all of us, much farther on our way to some degree of Peace and Happinesse in this Kingdome. But since our sinfull neglect of practising that which we know to be undoubtedly true and good, hath brought forth among us, through Gods just Anger, so great a difficulty now to know that which otherwise might be soone learnt, and hath divided us by a Controversie of great importance indeed, but of no hard solution, which is the more our punishment, I resolv'd (of what small moment soever I might be thought) to stand on that side where I saw both the plain Authority of Scripture leading, and the reason of Justice and Equity perswading; with this opinion which esteemes it more unlike a Christian to be a cold neuter in the cause of the Church, then the Law of *Solon* made it punishable after a Sedition in the State. And because I observe that Feare and dull Disposition, Lukewarmenesse and Sloth, are not seldomer wont to cloak themselves under the affected name of Moderation, then true and lively Zeale is customably disparag'd with the terme of Indiscretion, Bitternesse, and Choler, I could not to my thinking honor a good Cause more from the heart, then by defending it earnestly, as oft as I could judge it to behoove me, notwithstanding any false name that could be invented to wrong or undervalue an honest meaning. Wherein although I have not doubted to single forth more then once such of them as were thought the chiefe and most nominated Opposers on the other side, whom no Man else undertooke: If I have done well either to be confident of the Truth, whose force is best seene against the ablest Resistance, or to be jealous and tender of the hurt that might be done among the weaker by the intrapping Authority of great Names titl'd to false Opinions; or that it be lawful to attribute somewhat to Gifts of Gods imparting, which I boast not, but thankfully acknowledge, and feare also lest at my certaine account they be reckon'd to me many rather then few; or if lastly it be but Justice not to defraud of due esteeme the wearisome labours and studious watchings, wherein I have spent and tir'd out almost a whole Youth, I shall not distrust to be acquitted of presumption: knowing, that if heretofore all ages have receav'd with favour and good acceptance the earliest industry of him that hath beene hopefull, it were but hard measure now, if the freedome of any timely spirit should be oppress'd meerely by the big and blunted fame of his elder adversary; and that his sufficiency must be now sentenc't, not by pondering the reason he shewes, but by calculating the years he brings. However, as my purpose is not, nor hath beene formerly, to looke on my Adversary abroad, through the deceaving glasse of other Mens great opinion of him, but at home, where I may finde him in the proper light of his owne worth, so now against the rancor of an evill tongue, from which I never thought so absurdly, as that I of all Men should be exempt, I must be forc't to proceed from the unfained and diligent inquiry of mine owne Conscience at home (for better way I know not, Readers) to give a more true account of my selfe abroad then this modest Confuter, as he calls himselfe, hath given of me. Albeit that in doing this I shall be sensible of two things which to me will be nothing pleasant; the one is, that not unlikely I shall be thought too much a Party in mine own Cause, and therein to see least: the other, that I shall be put unwillingly to molest the publick view with the vindication of a private name; as if it were worth the while that the People should care whether such a one were thus, or thus. Yet those I intreat who have found the leasure to read that Name, however of small repute, unworthily defam'd, would be so good and so patient as to heare the same Person not unneedfully defended. I will not deny but that the best Apology against false Accusers is silence and sufferance, and honest deeds set against dishonest words. And that I could at this time most easily and securely, with the least losse of Reputation, use no other defence, I need not despaire to win believe; whether I

consider both the foolish contriving and ridiculous aiming of these his slanderous bolts, shot so wide of any suspicion to be fastn'd on me, that I have oft with inward contentment perceav'd my friends congratulating themselves in my innocence, and my Enemies asham'd of their partners folly: Or whether I look at these present times wherein most men, now scarce permitted the liberty to think over their owne concerns, have remov'd the seat of their thoughts more outward to the expectation of publick events. Or whether the examples of Men, either noble or religious, who have sat downe lately with a meeke silence and sufferance under many libellous Endorsements, may be a rule to others, I might well appease my self to put up any reproaches in such an honourable Society of fellow-sufferers, using no other Defence. And were it that Slander would be content to make an end where it first fixes, and not seek to cast out the like infamy upon each thing that hath but any relation to the Person traduc'd, I should have pleaded against this Confuter by no other Advocates then those which I first commended, Silence and Sufferance, and speaking deeds against faltering words. But when I discern'd his intent was not so much to finite at me, as through me to render odious the Truth which I had written, and to staine with ignominy that Evangelick Doctrine which opposes the tradition of Prelaty, I conceav'd my selfe to be now not as mine own Person, but as a Member incorporate into that Truth whereof I was perswaded, and whereof I had declar'd openly to be a partaker. Whereupon I thought it my duty, if not to my selfe, yet to the religious Cause I had in hand, not to leave on my garment the least spot or blemish in good name so long as God should give me to say that which might wipe it off. Left those disgraces which I ought to suffer, if it so befall me, for my Religion, through my default Religion be made liable to suffer for me. And, whether it might not something reflect upon those reverent Men whose friend I may be thought in writing the Animadversions, was not my last care to consider; if I should rest under these reproaches, having the same common Adversary with them, it might be counted small credit for their cause to have found such an assistant as this babler hath devis'd me. What other thing in his Book there is of dispute or question, in answering thereto I doubt not to be justifi'd; except there be who will condemne me to have wasted time in throwing downe that which could not keep it selfe up. As for others, who notwithstanding what I can allege have yet decreed to mis-interpret the intents of my Reply, I suppose they would have found as many causes to have misconceav'd the reasons of my silence.

TO beginne therefore an Apology for those Animadversions which I writ against the Remonstrant in defence of *Smectymnus*; since the Preface, which was purposely set before them, is not thought apologeticall enough, it will be best to acquaint ye, Readers, before other things, what the meaning was to write them in that manner which I did. For I do not look to be askt wherefore I writ the Book, it being no difficulty to answer that I did it to those ends which the best Men propose to themselves when they write: But wherefore in that manner neglecting the maine bulk of all that specious Antiquity, which might stunne Children, but not Men, I chose rather to observe some kinde of military advantages to await him at his forragings, at his watrings, and when ever he felt himselfe secure, to solace his veine in derision of his more serious opponents. And here let me have pardon, Readers, if the remembrance of that which he hath licenc't himselfe to utter contemptuously of those reverend Men provoke me to doe that over againe which some expect I should excuse as too freely done; since I have two provocations, his latest insulting in his short answer, and their finall patience. I had no fear but that the Authors of *Smectymnus*, to all the shew of solidity which the Remonstrant could bring, were prepar'd both with skill and purpose to returne a suffizing answer, and were able enough to lay the dust and pudder in antiquity, which he and his, out of stratagem, are wont to raise; but when I saw his weake Arguments headed with sharpe taunts, and that his designe was, if he could not refute them, yet at least with quips and snapping Adagies to vapour them out, which they bent only upon the businesse were minded to let passe, by how much I saw them taking little thought for their own Injuries, I must confesse

I took it as my part the lesse to endure that my respected Friends, through their own unnecessary patience, should thus lye at the Mercy of a coy flurting stile ; to be girded with frumps and curtall gibes, by one who makes sentences by the Statute, as if all above three inches long were confiscat. To me it seem'd an indignity, that whom his whole wisdom could not move from their place, them his impetuous Folly should presume to ride over. And if I were more warme then was meet in any passage of that Booke, which yet I do not yeild, I might use therein the patronage of no worse an Author then *Gregory Nyssen*, who mentioning his sharpnesse against *Eunomius* in the defence of his brother *Basil*, holds himselfe irreprovable in that it was not for himselfe, but in the cause of his Brother ; and in such cases, saith he, perhaps it is worthier pardon to be angry then to be cooler. And whereas this Confuter taxes the whole Discourse of Levity, I shall shew ye, Readers, wheresoever it shall be objected in particular, that I have answer'd with as little lightnesse as the Remonstrant hath given example. I have not beene so light as the palme of a Bishop, which is the lightest thing in the world when he brings out his Book of Ordination : For then, contrary to that which is wont in releasing out of prison, any one that will pay his fees is layd hands on. Another reason, it would not be amiss though the Remonstrant were told, wherefore he was in that unusuall manner beleaguerr'd ; and this was it, to pluck out of the heads of his Admirers the conceit that all who are not Prelaticall, are grosse-headed, thick-witted, illiterat, shallow. Can nothing then but Episcopacy teach Men to speak good English, to pick and order a set of words judiciously ? Must we learne from Canons and quaint Sermonings, interlin'd with barbarous Latin, to illumin a period, to wreath an Enthymema with maistrous dexterity ? I rather encline, as I have heard it observ'd, that a Jesuits Italian when he writes, is ever naught, though he be borne and bred a *Florentine* ; so to thinke that from like causes we may go neere to observe the same in the stile of a Prelat. For doubtlesse that indeed according to Art is most eloquent, which returnes and approaches neere to Nature from whence it came ; and they expresse Nature best, who in their lives least wander from her safe leading, which may be call'd regenerate Reason. So that how he should be truly eloquent who is not withall a good Man, I see not. Neverthelesse as oft as is to be dealt with Men who pride themselves in their supposed Art, to leave them unexcusable wherin they will not be better'd ; there be of those that esteeme Prelaty a signment, who yet can pipe if they can dance, nor will be unfurnisht to shew that what the Prelats admire and have not, others have and admire not. The knowledge whereof, and not of that only, but of what the Scripture teacheth us how we ought to withstand the perverters of the Gospell, were those other motives which gave the Animadversions no leave to remit a continuall vehemence throughout the Book. For as in teaching doubtlesse the spirit of meeknesse is most powerfull, so are the meeke only fit persons to be taught : as for the proud, the obstinate, and false Doctores of Mens devices, be taught they will not, but discover'd and laid open they must be. For how can they admit of teaching, who have the Condemnation of God already upon them for refusing divine Instruction ? that is, to be fill'd with their own devices, as in the Proverbs we may reade : therefore we may safely imitate the method that God uses ; *with the froward to be froward, and to throw scorne upon the scorner*, whom if any thing, nothing else will heale. And if *the righteous shall laugh at the destruction of the ungodly*, they may also laugh at their pertinacious and incurable obstinacy, and at the same time be mov'd with detestation of their seducing malice, who imploy all their wits to defend a Prelaty usurpt, and to deprave that just Government which Pride and Ambition, partly by fine fetches and pretences, partly by force, hath shoulder'd out of the Church. And against such kind of deceavers openly and earnestly to protest, lest any one should be inquisitive wherefore this or that Man is forwarder then others, let him know that this Office goes not by Age or Youth, but to whomsoever God shall give apparently the Will, the Spirit, and the Utterance. Ye have heard the reasons for which I thought not my selfe exempted from associating with good Men in their labours toward the Churches wellfare : to which if any one brought opposition, I brought my best resistance. If in requital of this, and for that I have not been negligent toward the reputation of my friends, I have

gain'd a name bestuck, or as I may say, bedeck't with the reproaches and reviles of this modest Confuter, it shall be to me neither strange nor unwelcome, as that which could not come in a better time.

Having render'd an account what induc'd me to write those Animadversions in that manner as I writ them, I come now to see what the Confutation hath to say against them ; but so as the Confuter shall hear first what I have to say against his Confutation. And because he pretends to be a great Conjector at other Men by their Writings, I will not faile to give ye, Readers, a present taste of him from his own title, hung out like a toling signe-post to call Passengers, not simply a *Confutation*, but a *modest Confutation*, with a Laudatory of it selfe obtruded in the very first word. Whereas a modest title should only informe the buyer what the Book containes without further intinuation ; this officious Epithet so hastily assuming the modesty which others are to judge of by reading, not the Author to anticipate to himselfe by forestalling, is a strong presumption that his modesty set there to sale in the frontispice, is not much addicted to blush. A surer signe of his lost shame he could not have given, then seeking thus unseasonably to prepossesse Men of his modesty. And seeing he hath neither kept his word in the sequel, nor omitted any kinde of boldnesse in slandering, 'tis manifest his purpose was only to rub the forehead of his title with this word *modest*, that he might not want colour to be the more impudent throughout his whole Confutation. Next what can equally favour of Injustice and plaine Arrogance, as to prejudice and forecondemne his Adversary in the title for *slandorous and scurrilous*, and as the Remonstrants fashion is, for *frivolous, tedious, and false*, not staying till the Reader can hear him prov'd so in the following Discourse ; which is one cause of a suspicion that in setting forth this Pamphlet the Remonstrant was not unconsulted with : thus his first addresse was *an humble Remonstrance by a dutifull Son of the Church*, almost as if he had said her white-boy. His next was a *Defence* (a wonder how it scapt some praising adjunct) *against the frivolous and false Exceptions of Smeectymnus*, sitting in the chaire of his Title-page upon his poore cast Adversaries both as a Judge and Party, and that before the Jury of Readers can be impannell'd. His last was a *short Answer to a tedious Vindication* ; so little can he suffer a Man to measure either with his eye or judgement, what is short or what tedious, without his preoccupying direction : and from hence is begotten this *modest Confutation against a slanderous and scurrilous Libell*. I conceive, Readers, much may be guest at the Man and his Book, what depth there is, by the framing of his Title ; which being in this Remonstrant so rash and unadvised as ye see, I conceit him to be neere a kin to him who set forth a Passion Sermon with a formall Dedictory in great Letters to our Saviour. Although I know that all we do ought to begin and end to his Praise and Glory, yet to inscribe him in a void place with flourishes, as a Man in complement uses to trick up the name of some Esquire, Gentleman, or Lord Paramount at Common Law, to be his Book-patron, with the appendant form of a ceremonious presentment, will ever appeare among the judicious to be but an insuls and frigid affectation. As no lesse was that before his Book against the Brownists, to write a Letter to a *Protopopæa*, a certain rhetoriz'd Woman whom he calls Mother, and complains of some that laid Whoredome to her charge ; and certainly had he folded his Epistle with a Superscription to be deliver'd to that female figure by any Post or Carrier who were not a Ubiquitary, it had beene a most miraculous greeting. We finde the Primitive Doctors as oft as they writ to Churches, speaking to them as to a number of faithfull Brethren and Sons, and not to make a cloudy Transmigration of Sexes in such a familiar way of writing as an Epistle ought to be, leaving the track of common adresse, to run up, and tread the Aire in metaphoricall Compellations, and many fond utterances better let alone. But I step again to this Emblazoner of his Title-page, (whether it be the same Man or no I leave it in the midst) and here I finde him pronouncing, without reprieve, those Animadversions to be a *slanderous and scurrilous Libell*. To which I, Readers, that they are neither slanderous, nor scurrilous, will answer in what place of his Book he shall be found with reason, and not inke only in his mouth. Nor can it be a Libell more than his owne, which is both namelesse and full of slanders ; and if in this that it freely speaks of things amisse in Religion, but establisht by act of State,

I see not how *Wickleffe* and *Luther*, with all the first Martyrs and Reformers, could avoid the imputation of libelling. I never thought the humane frailty of erring in cases of Religion Infamy to a State, no more then to a Councell; it had therefore beene neither civill nor christianly, to derogate the Honour of the State for that cause, especially when I saw the Parliament it selfe piously and magnanimously bent to supply and reforme the defects and oversights of their Fore-fathers, which to the godly and repentant ages of the Jewes were often matter of humble confelling and bewailing, not of confident asserting and maintaining. Of the State therefore I found good reason to speak all honourable things; and to joyne in petition with good Men that petition'd: but against the Prelats who were the only seducers and mis-leaders of the State to constitute the Government of the Church not rightly, methought I had not vehemence enough. And thus, Readers, by the example which hee hath set mee I have given yee two or three notes of him out of his Title-page; by which his firstlings feare not to guesse boldly at his whole lump, for that guesse will not faile ye; and altho I tell him keen truth, yet he may beare with me, since I am like to chafe him into some good knowledge, and others, I trust, shall not mis-spend their leasure. For this my aime is, if I am forc't to be unpleasing to him whose fault it is, I shall not forget at the same time to be usefull in some thing to the stander-by.

As therefore he began in the Title, so in the next leafe he makes it his first businesse to tamper with his Reader by sycophanting and misnaming the worke of his Adversary. He calls it a *Mime thrust forth upon the stage to make up the breaches of those solemn Scenes betweene the Prelats and the Smeetynnuans*. Wherein while he is so over-greedy to fix a name of ill sound upon another, note how stupid he is to expose himselfe or his own friends to the same ignominy; likening those grave Controversies to a piece of Stagery, or Scene-worke, where his owne Remonstrant, whether in Buskin or Sock, must of all right be counted the chiefe Player, be it boasting *Thraso*, or *Davus that troubles all things*, or one who can shift into any shape, I meddle not; let him explicate who hath resembl'd the whole Argument to a Comedy, for *Tragicall*, he says, were too ominous. Nor yet doth he tell us what a Mime is, whereof we have no pattern from ancient writers except some fragments, which containe many acute and wise sentences. And this we know in *Laertius*, that the Mimes of *Sophron* were of such reckning with *Plato*, as to take them nightly to read on, and after make them his pillow. *Scaliger* describes a Mime to be a Poem imitating any action to stirre up laughter. But this being neither Poem, nor yet ridiculous, how is it but abusively taxt to be a Mime? For if every Book which may by chance excite to laugh here and there, must be term'd thus, then may the Dialogues of *Plato*, who for those his writings hath obtain'd the surname of Divine, be esteem'd as they are by that DetraCTOR in *Athenæus*, no better then *Mimes*. Because there is scarce one of them, especially wherein some notable Sophister lies sweating and turmoyling under the inevitable and mercilesse Dilemma's of *Socrates*, but that hee who reads, were it *Saturne* himselfe, would be often rob'd of more then a smile. And whereas he tels us that *scurrilous Mime was a personated grim lowring Foole*, his foolish language unwittingly writes Foole upon his owne friend, for he who was there *personated*, was only the Remonstrant; the Author is ever distinguish'd from the person he introduces. But in an ill houre hath his unfortunate rashnesse stumbl'd upon the mention of miming, that hee might at length cease, which he hath not yet since he stept in, to gall and hurt him whom hee would aide. Could he not beware, could he not bethink him, was he so uncircumspect, as not to foresee, that no sooner would that word *Mime* be set eye on in the Paper, but it would bring to minde that wretched Pilgrimage over *Minshews* Dictionary call'd *Mundus alter & idem*, the idlest and the patriest Mime that ever mounted upon banke? Let him ask the Author of those toothlesse Satyrs who was the maker, or rather the anticreator of that universall foolery, who he was, who like that other principle of the *Maniches* the *Arch evil* one, when he had look't upon all that he had made and mapt out, could say no other but contrary to the Divine Mouth, that it was all very foolish. That grave and noble invention which the greatest and sublimest Wits in sundry ages, *Plato in Critias*, and our two famous country-men; the one in his *Utopia*, the other in his

his new *Atlantis* chose; I may not say as a Feild, but as a mighty Continent, wherein to display the largeness of their Spirits, by teaching this our world better and exacter things then were yet known or us'd : this petty Prevaricator of *America*, the Zanie of *Columbus* (for so he must be till his worlds end) having rambld over the huge topography of his own vain thoughts, no marvell if he brought us home nothing but a meer tankard drollery, a venerous parjetory for a stewes. Certainly he that could indure with a sober pen to sit and devise Laws for Drunkards to carouse by, I doubt me whether the very soberness of such a one, like an unlicour'd *Silenus*, were not stark drunk. Let him go now and brand another man injuriously with the name of *Mime*, being himselfe the loosest and most extravagant *Mime* that hath been heard of, whom no lesse then almost halfe the world could ierve for stage roome to play the *Mime* in. And let him advise again with Sir *Francis Bacon*, whom he cites to confute others, what it is to *turn the sinnes of Christendome into a mimical mockery, to rip up the saddest vices with a laughing countenance*, especially where neither reproofe nor better teaching is adjoynd. Nor is my meaning, Readers, to shift off a blame from my selfe, by charging the like upon my accuser, but shall only desire that Sentence may be respited, till I can come to some instance whereto I may give answer.

Thus having spent his first Onset, not in confuting, but in a reasonlesse defaming of the Book, the method of his Malice hurries him to attempt the like against the Author; not by Proofes and Testimonies, but *having no certaine notice of me*, as he professes, *further then what he gathers from the Animadversions*, blunders at me for the rest, and flings out stray Crimes at a venture, which he could never, though he be a Serpent, suck from any thing that I have written, but from his own stufft magazin, and hoard of slanderous Inventions, over and above that which he converted to venome in the drawing. To me, Readers, it happens as a singular contentment; and let it be to good Men no slight satisfaction, that the Slanderer here confesses, he has *no further notice of mee then his owne conjecture*. Although it had been honest to have inquir'd, before he utter'd such infamous words, and I am credibly inform'd he did inquire; but finding small comfort from the intelligence which he receav'd, whereon to ground the Falsities which he had provided, thought it his likeliest course under a pretended ignorance to let drive at randome, lest he should lose his odde Ends, which from some penurious Book of Characters he had been culling out and would faine apply. Not caring to burden me with those Vices, whereof, among whom my Conversation hath been, I have been ever least suspected; perhaps not without some suttlety to cast me into envie, by bringing on me a necessity to enter into mine own praises. In which Argument I know every wise Man is more unwillingly drawn to speak, then the most repining care can be averse to heare. Nevertheless since I dare not wish to passe this Life unpersecuted of slanderous tongues, for God hath told us that to be generally prais'd is wofull, I shall relye on his Promise to free the Innocent from causelesse Aspersions: whereof nothing sooner can assure me, then if I shall feele him now assisting me in the just vindication of my selfe, which yet I could deferre, it being more meet that to those other matters of publick debatement in this Book, I should give attendance first, but that I feare it would but harme the Truth for me to reason in her behalf. so long as I should suffer my honest estimation to lye unpurg'd from these insolent suspicions. And if I shall be large, or unwonted in justifying my selfe to those who know me not, for else it would be needlesse, let them consider that a short Slander will oft-times reach farder then a long Apology; and that he who will do justly to all Men, must begin from knowing how, if it so happen, to be not unjust to himself. I must be thought, if this Libeller (for now he shews himself to be so) can finde believe, after an inordinat and riotous Youth spent at the *University*, to have bin at length vomited out thence. For which commodious Lye, that he may be encourag'd in the trade another time, I thank him, for it hath given me an apt occasion to acknowledge publickly with all gratefull minde, that more then ordinary favour and respect which I found above any of my Equals at the hands of those curteous and learned Men, the Fellowes of that Colledge wherein I spent some Years: who at my parting, after I had taken two Degrees, as the manner is, signifi'd ma-

ny wayes, how much better it would content them that I would stay ; as by many Letters full of kindnesse and loving respect, both before that time, and long after, I was assur'd of their singular good affection towards me. Which being likewise propense to all such as were for their studious and civil Life worthy of esteeme, I could not wrong their Judgments, and upright Intentions, so much as to think I had that regard from them for other cause then that I might be still encourag'd to proceed in the honest and laudable courses, of which they apprehended I had given good prooffe. And to those ingenuous and friendly Men who were ever the countenancers of vertuous and hopefull Wits, I wish the best and happiest things that Friends in absence wish one to another. As for the common approbation or dislike of that place, as now it is, that I should esteeme or disesteeme my selfe or any other the more for that, too simple and too credulous is the Confuter, if he thinke to obtaine with me, or any right Discerner. Of small practize was that Physician who could not judge by what both she or her Sister hath of long time vomited, that the worser stuffe she strongly keeps in her stomack, but the better she is ever keeking at, and is queasie. She vomits now out of sicknesse ; but ere it be well with her, she must vomit by strong Physick. In the meane while that *Suburb sinke*, as this rude Scavenger calls it, and more then scurrilously taunts it with the *plague*, having a worse plague in his middle Entraile, that Suburb wherein I dwell, shall be in my account a more honourable place then his University. Which as in the time of her better health, and mine owne younger judgement, I never greatly admir'd, so now much lesse. But he follows me to the City, still usurping and forging beyond his Book notice, which only he affirms to have had ; and *where my morning haunts are he misses not*. 'Tis wonder, that being so rare an Alchymist of slander, he could not extract that, as well as the University vomit, and the Suburb sinke which his Art could distill so cunningly ; but because his Limbeck failes him, to give him and envie the more vexation, Ple tell him. Those morning haunts are where they should be at home, not sleeping, or concocting the surfets of an irregular Feast, but up and stirring, in Winter often ere the sound of any Bell awake men to labour, or to devotion ; in Summer as oft with the Bird that first rouses, or not much tardier, to reade good Authors, or cause them to be read, till the Attention be weary, or Memory have its full fraught : Then with usefull and generous labours preserving the Bodies health and hardinesse ; to render lightsome, cleare, and not lumpish obedience to the minde, to the cause of Religion, and our Countries liberty, when it shall require firme hearts in sound bodies to stand and cover their stations, rather then to see the ruine of our Protestation, and the inforcement of a slavish Life. These are the morning Practises, proceed now to the afternoon ; in *Playhouses*, he sayes, and the *Bordelloes*. Your intelligence, unfaithful Spie of *Canaan* : he gives in his evidence, that *there he hath trac't me*. Take him at his word, Readers, but let him bring good Sureties ere ye dismisse him, that while he pretended to dogge others, he did not turne in for his own pleasure ; for so much in effect he concludes against himselfe, not contented to be caught in every other Gin, but he must be such a novice, as to be still hamper'd in his own Hempe. In the Animadversions, saith he, I finde the mention of old Clokes, false Beards, Night-walkers, and salt Lotion ; therefore the Animadverter haunts Playhouses and Bordelloes ; for if he did not, how could hee speake of such Gear ? Now that he may know what it is to be a Childe, and yet to meddle with edg'd tooles, I turn his *Antistrephon* upon his own head ; the Confuter knowes that these things are the furniture of Playhouses and Bordelloes, therefore by the same reason the *Confuter himselfe hath been trac't in those places*. Was it such a dissolute Speech, telling of some Politicians who were wont to eavesdrop in disguises, to say they were often liable to a night-walking Cudgeller, or the emptying of a Urinall : What if I had writ as your Friend the Author of the aforesaid *Mime*, *Mundus alter & idem*, to have bin raviisht like some young *Cephalus* or *Hylas*, by a troope of camping Hufwives in *Viraginea*, and that he was there forc't to sweare himselfe to an uxorious Varlet ; then after a long servitude to have come into *Aphrodisia* that pleasant Countrey, that gave such a sweet sinell to his Nostrils among the shamelesse Courtezans of *Desvergonia* ? Surely he would have then concluded me as constant at the Bordello, as the Gally-slave at his

his Oare. But since there is such necessity to the hear-say of a Tire, a Periwig, or a Vizard, that Playes must have bin seene, what difficulty was there in that? when in the Colleges so many of the young Divines, and those in next aptitude to Divinity, have bin seene so often upon the Stage, writhing and unboning their Clergie-limmes to all the antick and dishonest gestures of Trinculo's, Buffons, and Bawds; prostituting the shame of that Ministry, which either they had, or were nigh having, to the eyes of Courtiers and Court-Ladies, with their Groomes and *Madamoisellæ*. There while they acted, and overacted, among other young Scholars, I was a Spectator; they thought themselves gallant Men, and I thought them fools; they made sport, and I laugh't; they mispronounc't, and I mislik't; and to make up the *atticisme*, they were out, and I hift. Judge now whether so many good Text men were not sufficient to instruct me of false beards and vizards, without more Expositors: and how can this Confuter take the face to object to me the seeing of that which his reverent Prelats allow, and incite their young disciples to act? For if it be unlawfull to sit and behold a mercenary Comedian performing that which is least unseemly for a hireling to doe, how much more blamefull is it to indure the sight of as vile things acted by Persons either enter'd, or presently to enter into the Ministry; and how much more foule and ignominious for them to be the Actors?

But because as well by this upraiding to me the Bordello's, as by other suspicious glancings in his Book, he would seem privily to point me out to his Readers, as one whose custome of Life were not honest, but licentious; I shall intreat to be born with, though I digresse; and in a way not often trod, acquaint yee with the summe of my thoughts in this matter, through the course of my Yeares and Studies. Although I am not ignorant how hazardous it will be to do this under the nose of the Envious, as it were in skirmish to change the compact Order, and instead of outward Actions, to bring inmost thoughts into front. And I must tell yee Readers, that by this sort of Men I have bin already bitten at; yet shall they not for me know how slightly they are esteem'd, unlesse they have so much learning as to reade what in Greek *Απεροχλία* is, which together with envie, is the common disease of those who censure Books that are not for their reading. With me it fares now, as with him whose outward garment hath bin injur'd and ill-bedighted; for having no other shift, what helpe but to turne the inside outwards, especially if the lining be of the same, or, as it is sometimes, much better? So if my name and outward demeanour be not evident enough to defend me, I must make tryall, if the discovery of my inmost thoughts can: Wherein of two purposes both honest, and both sincere, the one perhaps I shall not misse; although I faile to gaine believe with others, of being such as my perpetuall thoughts shall here disclose me, I may yet not faile of successe in perswading some to be such really themselves, as they cannot believe me to be more then what I fain. I had my time, Readers, as others have, who have good learning bestow'd upon them, to be sent to those Places, where the opinion was, it might be soonest attain'd; and as the manner is, was not unstudied in those Authors which are most commended; whereof some were grave Orators and Historians, whose matter methought I lov'd indeed, but as my Age then was, so I understood them; others were the smooth Elegiack Poets, whereof the Schooles are not scarce, whom both for the pleasing sound of their numerous Writing, which in imitation I found most easie, and most agreeable to natures part in me, and for their matter, which what it is, there be few who know not, I was so allur'd to read, that no recreation came to me better welcome: For that it was then those Years with me which are excus'd, though they be least severe, I may be sav'd the labour to remember ye. Whence having observ'd them to account it the chiefe glory of their wit, in that they were ablest to judge, to praise, and by that could esteeme themselves worthiest to love those high perfections, which under one or other name they took to celebrate; I thought with my selfe by every instinct and presage of Nature, which is not wont to be false, that what imboldn'd them to this task, might with such diligence as they us'd imbolden me; and that what judgment, wit, or elegance was my share, would herein best appeare, and best value it selfe, by how much more wisely, and with more love of Vertue

I should choose (let rude eares be absent) the object of not unlike praises : For albeit these thoughts to some will seeme vertuous and commendable, to others only pardonable, to a third sort perhaps idle ; yet the mentioning of them now will end in serious. Nor blame it, Readers, in those Years to propose to themselves such a reward, as the noblest Dispositions above other things in this Life have sometimes preferr'd : whereof not to be sensible, when good and faire in one Person meet, argues both a grosse and shallow Judgement, and withall an ungentle, and swainish brest. For by the firme setting of these perswasions, I became, to my best memory, so much a proficient, that if I found those Authors any where speaking unworthy things of themselves, or unchaste of those Names which before they had extoll'd ; this effect it wrought with me, from that time forward their Art I still applauded, but the Men I deplor'd ; and above them all, preferr'd the two famous renowned of *Beatrice* and *Laura*, who never write but honour of them to whom they devote their Verse, displaying sublime and pure thoughts, without transgression. And long it was not after, when I was confirm'd in this opinion, that he who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himselfe to bee a true Poem ; that is, a composition and patterne of the best and honourablest things ; not presuming to sing high praises of heroick Men, or famous Cities, unlesse he have in himselfe the experience and the practice of all that which is praiseworthy. These reasonings, together with a certaine nicenesse of Nature, an honest haughtinesse, and self-esteem either of what I was, or what I might be, (which let envie call pride) and lastly that Modesty, whereof though not in the Title-page, yet here I may be excus'd to make some befeeming profession ; all these uniting the supply of their naturall aid together, kept me still above those low descents of Minde, beneath which he must deject and plunge himself, that can agree to salable and unlawfull prostitutions. Next, (for heare me out now Readers) that I may tell ye whither my younger feet wander'd ; I betook me among those lofty Fables and Romances, which recount in solemne Canto's, the deeds of Knighthood founded by our victorious Kings, and from hence had in renowne over all Christendome : There I read it in the Oath of every Knight, that he should defend to the expence of his best Blood, or of his Life, if it so befell him, the honour and chastity of Virgin or Matron : From whence even then I learnt what a noble vertue Chastity sure must be, to the defence of which so many Worthies by such a deare adventure of themselves had sworne ; and if I found in the story afterward, any of them by word or deed, breaking that Oath, I judg'd it the same fault of the Poet, as that which is attributed to *Homer*, to have written undecent things of the Gods : Only this my mind gave me, that every free and gentle spirit, without that Oath, ought to be borne a Knight, nor needed to expect the gilt Spurre, or the laying of a Sword upon his shoulder to stir him up both by his counsell and his arme, to secure and protect the weaknesse of any attempted Chastity. So that even those Books, which to many others have bin the fuell of wantonnesse and loose living, I cannot thinke how, unlesse by divine indulgence, prov'd to me so many incitements, as you have heard, to the love and steadfast observation of that Vertue which abhorres the society of Bordello's. Thus from the Laureat fraternity of Poets, riper yeares, and the ceaselesse round of study and reading, led me to the shady spaces of Philosophy ; but chiefly to the divine Volumes of *Plato*, and his equall *Xenophon* : where if I should tell ye what I learnt of Chastity and Love, I meane that which is truly so, whose charming cup is only Vertue, which she bears in her hand to those who are worthy ; the rest are cheated with a thick intoxicating potion, which a certain Sorceresse, the abuser of Loves name carries about, and how the first and chiefeest office of Love begins and ends in the Soule, producing those happy twins of her divine generation, Knowledg and Vertue ; with such abstracted sublimities as these, it might be worth your listning, Readers, as I may one day hope to have ye in a still time, when there shall be no chiding ; not in these noises, the Adversary, as ye know, barking at the doore, or searching for me at the Burdello's, where it may be he has lost himselfe, and raps up without pitty the sage and Rheumatick old *Prelate* with all her young *Corinthian Laitie*, to inquire for such a one. Last of all,

not in time, but as perfection is last, that care was ever had of me, with my earliest capacity, not to be negligently train'd in the precepts of Christian Religion: This that I have hitherto related, hath bin to shew, that though Christianity had bin but slightly taught me, yet a certain reserv'dnesse of naturall disposition, and morall discipline learnt out of the noblest Philosophy, was enough to keep me in disdain of farre lesse incontinences then this of the Bordello. But having had the doctrine of Holy Scripture, unfolding those chaste and high Mysteries, with timeliest care infus'd, that *the body is for the Lord, and the Lord for the body*; thus also I argu'd to my selfe, that if unchastity in a Woman, whom Saint *Paul* termes the glory of Man, be such a scandall and dishonour, then certainly in a Man who is both the image and glory of God, it must, though commonly not so thought, be much more deflouring and dishonourable; in that he sins both against his owne body, which is the perfecter Sex, and his own glory which is in the Woman; and that which is worst, against the image and glory of God which is in himselfe. Nor did I slumber over that place, expressing such high rewards of ever accompanying the Lamb, with those celestially Songs to others inapprehensible, but not to those who were not defil'd with Women, which doubtlesse meanes Fornication: For Mariage must not be call'd a defilement. Thus large I have purposely bin, that if I have bin justly taxt with this Crime, it may come upon me after all this my confession, with a tenne-fold shame: But if I have hitherto deserv'd no such opprobrious word, or suspicion, I may hereby ingage my selfe now openly to the faithfull observation of what I have profest. I go on to shew you the unbridl'd impudence of this loose rayler, who having once begun his race, regards not how farre he flies out beyond all truth and shame; who from the single notice of the Animadversions, as he protests, will undertake to tell ye the very cloaths I weare, though he be much mistaken in my Wardrobe: And like a son of *Belial*, without the hire of *Jesabel*, charges me of blaspheming God and the King, as ordnarily as he imagines me to drink Sack and swear, meerely because this was a shred in his common place-Book, and seem'd to come off roundly, as if he were some Empirick of false Accusations to try his poisons upon me, whether they would work or no. Whom what should I endeavour to refute more, when as that Book which is his only Testimony returnes the lye upon him; not giving him the least hint of the Author to be either a Swearer, or a Sack-drinker. And for the Readers, if they can believe me, principally for those reasons which I have alleg'd, to be of Life and Purpose neither dishonest, nor unchaste, they will be easily induc't to thinke me sober both of wine, and of word; but if I have bin already successelesse in perswading them, all that I can further say, will be but vaine; and it will be better thrift to save two tedious labours, mine of excusing, and theirs of needlesse hearing.

Proceeding further, I am met with a whole ging of words and phrascs not mine, for he hath maim'd them, and like a flye depraver mangl'd them in this his wicked Limbo, worse then the ghost of *Deiphobus* appear'd to his friend *Aeneas*. Here I scarce know them, and he that would, let him repaire to the place in that Booke where I set them: For certainly this tormenter of Semicolons is as good at dismembring and slitting sentences, as his grave Fathers the Prelates have bin at stigmatizing and slitting Noses. By such handy-craft as this what might he not traduce? Only that odour which being his own must needs offend his sense of smelling, since he will needes bestow his foot among us, and not allow us to think he weares a Sock, I shall endeavour it may be offencelesse to other mens eares. The Remonstrant having to do with grave and reverend Men his adversaries, thought it became him to tell them in scorn, that *the Bishops foot had beene in their Book and confuted it*; which when I saw him arrogate, to have done that with his heels that surpast the best consideration of his head, to spurn a confutation among respected Men, I question'd not the lawfulnessse of moving his jollity to bethink him, what odor a Sock would have in such a painful businesse. And this may have chanc't to touch him more neerly then I was aware; for indeed a Bishops foot that hath all his toes mauger the Gout, and a linnen Sock over it, is the aptest embleme of the Prelate himselfe; who being a Pluralist, may under one Surplice which is also linnen, hide foure Benefices besides the metropolitane

litan toe, and sends a fouler stench to Heaven, then that which this young queatinesse reches at. And this is the immediate reason here why our inrag'd Confuter, that he may be as perfect an hypocrite as *Caiaphas*, ere he be a High Priest, cries out, *Horrid blasphemy!* and like a recreant Jew calls for stones. I beseech ye friends, ere the brickbats flye, resolve me and your selves, is it blasphemy, or any whit disagreeing from Christian meeknesse, when as Christ himselve speaking of unsavory traditions, scruples not to name the Dunghill and the Jakes, for me to answer a slovenly wincer of a confutation, that, if he would needs put his foot to such a sweaty service, the odour of his Sock was like to be neither Musk, nor Benjamin? Thus did that foolish Monk in a barbarous Declamation accuse *Petrarch* of blasphemy for dispraising the French Wines. But this which follows is plaine bedlam stuffe, this is the *Demoniack Legion* indeed, which the Remonstrant feard had been against him, and now he may see is for him: *You that love Christ*, saith he, *and know this miscreant wretch*, stone him to death, lest you smart for his impunity. What thinks the Remonstrant? does he like that such words as these should come out of his shop, out of his Trojan horse? to give the watch-word like a *Guisian* of *Paris* to a mutiny or massacre; to proclaim a *Crusada* against his fellow Christian now in this troublous and divided time of the Kingdom? If he do, I shall say that to be the Remonstrant is no better then to be a Jesuit; and that if he and his accomplices could do as the rebels have done in *Ireland* to the Protestants, they would do in *England* the same to them that would no Prelats. For a more seditious and butcherly Speech no Cell of *Loyola* could have belch'd against one who in all his writing spake not, that any mans skin should be rais'd. And yet this cursing *Shimei*, a hurler of stones, as well as a rayler, wants not the face instantly to make as though he despair'd of victory unless a modest defence would get it him. Did I erre at all, Readers, to foretell ye, when first I met with his title, that the epithet of modest there, was a certain red portending sign, that he meant ere long to be most tempestuously bold, and shameless? Nevertheless he dares not say but there may be hid in his nature as much venomous Atheisme and profanation, as he thinks, hath broke out at his adversaries lips; but he hath not the soare running upon him, as he would intimate I have. Now trust me not, Readers, if I be not already weary of pluming and footing this Seagull, so open he lies to strokes, and never offers at another, but brings home the dorre upon himself. For if the fore be running upon me, in all judgment I have scapt the disease; but he who hath as much infection hid in him, as he hath voluntarily confest, and cannot expell it, because he is dull, for venomous Atheism were no treasure to be kept within him selfe, let him take the part he hath chosen, which must needs follow, to swell and burst with his own inward venom.

SECTION I.

But mark, Readers, there is a kind of justice observ'd among them that do evil, but this Man loves injustice in the very order of his malice. For having all this while abus'd the good name of his adversary with all manner of licence in revenge of his Remonstrant, if they be not both one person, or as I am told, Father and Son, yet after all this he calls for satisfaction, when as he himself hath already taken the utmost farding. *Violence hath been done*, says he, *to the person of a holy and religious Prelat*. To which, something in effect to what *S. Paul* answer'd of *Ananias*, I answer, *I wist not brethren that he was a holy and religious Prelat*; for evil is written of those who would be Prelats. And finding him thus in disguise without his superscription or *Phylactery* either of *holy* or *Prelat*, it were no sin to serve him as *Longchamp* Bishop of *Elie* was serv'd in his disguise at *Dover*: He hath begun the measure nameless, and when he pleases we may all appear as we are. And let him be then what he will, he shall be to me so as I find him principl'd. For neither must Prelat or Arch-Prelat hope to exempt himself from being reckon'd as one of the vulgar, which is for him only to hope whom true wisdom and the contempt of vulgar opinions exempts, it being taught us in the Psalmes, that he who is in honour and understandeth not, is as the beasts that perish. And now first the manner of handling that Cause which I undertook, he thinks is suspicious, as if the wisest, and the best words were not ever to some or other suspicious. But where is the offence, the disagreement from Christian meekness, or the

precept of Solomon in answering folly? When the Remonstrant talks of *froth and scum*, I tell him there is none, and bid him *spare his Ladle*: when he brings in the mess with *Keale, Beef and Brewesse*, what stomach in *England* could forbear to call for flanks and briskets? Capon and white broth having been likely sometimes in the same room with Christ and his Apostles, why does it trouble him that it should be now *in the same lease*, especially, where the discourse is not continu'd but interrupt? And let him tell me, is he wont to say grace, doth he not then name holiest names over the steame of costliest superfluities? Does he judge it foolish or dishonest to write that among religious things, which when he talks of religious things he can devoutly chew? Is he afraid to name Christ where those things are written in the same lease, whom he fears not to name while the same things are in his mouth? Doth not Christ himself teach the highest things by the similitude of *old bottles and patcht cloaths*? Doth he not illustrate best things by things most evil? his own coming to be as a *thiefe in the night*, and the righteous Mans wisdom to that of an *unjust Steward*? He might therefore have done better to have kept in his canting beggars and heathen Altar to sacrifice his thredbare criticism of *Bomolochus* to an unseasonable Goddess fit for him call'd Importunity, and have reserv'd his Greek derivation till he lecture to his fresh Men, for here his itching pedantry is but flouted.

But to the end that nothing may be omitted which may further satisfy any conscientious man, who notwithstanding what I could explain before the Animadversions, remains yet unsatisfy'd concerning that way of writing which I there defended, but this confuter whom it pinches, utterly disapproves, I shall assay once again, and perhaps with more success. If therefore the question were in oratory, whether a vehement vein throwing out indignation or scorn upon an object that merits it, were among the aptest Ideas of speech to be allow'd, it were my work, and that an easie one, to make it clear both by the rules of best Rhetoricians, and the famousst examples of the Greek and Roman Orations. But since the Religion of it is disputed, and not the Art, I shall make use only of such reasons and authorities, as Religion cannot except against. It will be harder to gainsay, then for me to evince that in the teaching of men diversly temper'd different ways are to be try'd. The Baptist we know was a strict man, remarkable for austerity and set-order of life. Our Saviour who had all gifts in him, was Lord to express his indoctrinating power in what sort him best seem'd; sometimes by a mild and familiar converse, sometimes with plain and impartial home-speaking, regardless of those whom the auditors might think he should have had in more respect; other-whiles with bitter and ireful rebukes, if not teaching, yet leaving excuseless those his wilful Impugners. What was all in him, was divided among many others the teachers of his Church; some to be severe and ever of a sad gravity that they may win such, and check sometimes those who be of nature over-confident and jocond; others were sent more cheerful, free, and still as it were at large, in the midst of an untrespassing honesty, that they who are so temper'd may have by whom they might be drawn to salvation, and they who are too scrupulous, and dejected of spirit, might be often strengthn'd with wise consolations and revivings: no man being forc'd wholly to dissolve that groundwork of nature which God created in him, the sanguine to empty out all his sociable liveliness, the cholerick to expel quite the unfinning predominance of his anger; but that each radical humour and passion wrought upon and corrected as it ought, might be made the proper mould and foundation of every mans peculiar gifts and vertues. Some also were indu'd with a staid moderation, and soundness of argument, to teach and convince the rational and sober-minded; yet not therefore that to be thought the only expedient course of teaching, for in times of opposition when either against new heresies arising, or old corruptions to be reform'd, this cool unpassionate mildness of positive wisdom is not enough to damp and astonish the proud resistance of carnal and false Doctors, then (that I may have leave to soare a while as the Poets use) then Zeal, whose substance is ethereal, arming in compleat diamond, ascends his fiery Chariot drawn with two blazing Meteors figur'd like beasts, but of a higher breed then any the Zodiack yields, resembling two of those four which Ezechiel and S. John saw, the one visag'd like

like a Lion to exprefs power, high authority and indignation; the other of count'nance like a Man to caft derifion and fcorn upon perverfe and fraudulent feducers: with thefe the invincible warrior Zeal fhaking loofely the flack reins drives over the heads of fcarlet Prelats, and fuch as are insolent to maintain traditions, bruifing their ftiffe necks under his flaming wheels. Thus did the true Prophets of old combat with the falfe; thus Chrift himfelf the fountain of meeknefs found acrimony enough to be ftill galling and vexing the Prelatical Pharifees. But ye will fay thefe had immediat warrant from God to be thus bitter; and I fay, fo much the plainlier is it prov'd, that there may be a fanctifi'd bitternefs againft the enemies of truth. Yet that ye may not think Infpiration only the warrant thereof, but that it is as any other virtue, of moral and general obfervation, the example of *Luther* may ftand for all, whom God made choice of before others to be of higheft eminence and power in reforming the Church; who not of revelation, but of judgment writ fo vehemently againft the chief defenders of old untruths in the Romifh Church, that his own friends and favourers were many times offended with the fiercenefs of his fpirit; yet he being cited before *Charles* the fifth to answer for his Books, and having divided them into three forts, whereof one was of thofe which he had fharpely written, refus'd, though upon deliberation giv'n him, to retract or unfay any word therein, as we may read in *Sleidan*. Yea he defends his eagernefs, as being of an ardent fpirit, and one who could not write a dull ftile: and affirm'd he thought it Gods will to have the inventions of men thus laid open, feeing that matters quietly handled were quickly forgot. And herewithal how ufeul and available God had made this tart Rhetorick in the Churches caufe, he often found by his own experience. For when he betook himfelf to lenity and moderation, as they call it, he reapt nothing but contempt both from *Cajetan* and *Erasmus*, from *Cocleus*, from *Ecchius* and others; infomuch that blaming his friends who had fo counsell'd him, he resolv'd never to run into the like error: if at other times he feem to excufe his vehemence, as more then what was meet, I have not examin'd through his works to know how far he gave way to his own fervent mind; it fhall fuffice me to look to mine own. And this I fhall eafily aver, though it may feem a hard faying, that the Spirit of God who is purity it felf, when he would reprove any fault feverly, or but relate things done or faid with indignation by others, abftains not from fome words not civil at other times to be spok'n. Omitting that place in *Numbers* at the killing of *Zimri* and *Cosbi* done by *Phineas* in the heighth of zeal, related, as the Rabbins expound, not without an obfcene word, we may find in *Deuteronomy* and three of the Prophets, where God denouncing bitterly the punifhments of Idolaters, tells them in a term immodest to be utter'd in cool blood, that their wives fhall be defil'd openly. But thefe, they will fay, were honeft words in that age when they were spok'n. Which is more then any Rabbia can prove; and certainly had God been fo minded, he could have pickt fuch words as fhould never have come into abufe. What will they fay to this? *David* going againft *Nabal*, in the very fame breath when he had but juft before nam'd the name of God, he vows not to leave any alive of *Nabals* houle that piffeth againft the Wall. But this was unadvisedly spok'e, you will answer, and fet down to aggravate his infirmity. Turn then to the firft of *Kings*, where God himfelf ufes the phrafe, *I will cut off from Jeroboam him that piffeth againft the wall*. Which had it been an unfeemly fpeech in the heat of an earneft expreffion, then we muft conclude that *Jonathan* or *Onkelos* the *Targumifts* were of cleaner language then he that made the tongue; for they render it as briefly, *I will cut off all who are at years of difcretion*, that is to fay, fo much difcretion as to hide nakednefs. Whereas God who is the author both of purity and eloquence, chofe this phrafe as fitteft in that vehement character wherein he fpake. Otherwife that plain word might have eafily bin forborn: Which the *Maforeths* and Rabbinical *Scholiafts* not well attending, have often us'd to blur the margent with *Keri*, inftead of *Ketiv*, and gave us this infuls rule out of their *Talmud*, *That all words which in the Law are writ obfcenely, muft be chang'd to more civil words*: Fools who would teach men to reade more decently then God thought good to write. And thus I take it to be manifef, that indignation againft men and their actions notoriously bad, hath leave and authority oft times to utter fuch words and phrafes

phrases as in common talk were not so mannerly to use. That ye may know, not only as the Historian speaks, *that all those things for which Men plough, build, or sail, obey vertue*, but that all words, and whatsoever may be spoken, shall at some time in an unwonted manner wait upon her purposes.

Now that the Confutant may also know as he desires, what force of teaching there is sometimes in Laughter; I shall return him in short, that Laughter being one way of answering a Fool according to his folly, teaches two sorts of Persons; first, the Fool himself *not to be wise in his own conceit*, as Solomon affirms; which is certainly a great document, to make an unwise Man know himself. Next, it teacheth the Hearers, in as much a scorn is one of those Punishments which belong to Men carnally wise, which is oft in Scripture declar'd; for when such are punisht, *the simple are thereby made wise*, if Salomons rule be true. And I would ask, to what end *Eliab* mockt the false Prophets? was it to shew his wit, or to fulfill his humour? doubtless we cannot imagine that great servant of God had any other end in all which he there did, but to teach and instruct the poore misledde People. And we may frequently read, that many of the Martyrs in the midst of their troubles, were not sparing to deride and scoff their superstitious persecutors. Now may the Confutant advise again with Sir Francis Bacon, whether *Eliab* and the Martyrs did well to turn Religion into a Comedy, or Satyr; *to rip up the wounds of Idolatry and Superstition with a laughing Countenance*: So that for pious gravity his Author here is matcht and overmatcht, and for wit and morality in one that follows.

—laughing to teach the truth

*What hinders? as some teachers give to Boys
Junkets and knacks, that they may learne apace.*

Thus *Flaccus* in his first Satyr, and his tenth:

—*Jesting decides great things
Stronglier, and better oft then earnest can.*

I could urge the same out of *Cicero*, and *Seneca*, but he may content him with this. And henceforward, if he can learn, may know as well what are the bounds, and objects of laughter and vehement Reproof, as he hath known hitherto how to deserve them both. But lest some may haply think, or thus expostulat with me after all this debatement, who made you the busy Almoner to deal about this dole of laughter and reprehension, which no Man thanks your bounty for? To the urbanity of that Man I shold answer much after this sort: That I, friend Objecter, having read of heathen Philosophers, some to have taught, that whosoever would but use his ear to listen, might hear the voice of his guiding *Genius* ever before him, calling and as it were pointing to that way which is his part to follow; others, as the Stoicks, to account Reason, which they call the *Hegemonicon*, to be the common *Mercury* conducting without error those that give themselves obediently to be led accordingly: having read this, I could not esteem so poorly of the Faith which I profess, that God had left nothing to those who had forsaken all other doctrines for his, to be an inward witness and warrant of what they have to do, as that they should need to measure themselves by other Mens measures, how to give scope or limit to their proper actions; for that were to make us the most at a stand, the most uncertaine and accidentall wanderers in our doings, of all Religions in the World. So that the question ere while mov'd, who he is that spends thus the benevolence of laughter and reproof so liberally upon such Men as the Prelats, may return with a more just demand, who he is not of place and knowledg never so mean, under whose contempt and jerk these men are not deservedly faln? Neither can Religion receive any wound by disgrace thrown upon the Prelats, since Religion and they surely were never in such amity. They rather are the men who have wounded Religion, and their stripes must heal her. I might also tell them, what *Electra* in *Sophocles*, a wise Virgin answer'd her wicked Mother, who thought her self too violently reprov'd by her the Daughter:

*'Tis you that say it, not I; you do the deeds,
And your ungodly deeds find me the words.*

If therefore the Remonstrant complain of Libels, it is because he feels them to be right aim'd. For I ask again, as before in the Animadversions, how long is it since he hath disrelisht Libels? we never heard the least mutter of his voice against them while they flew abroad without controul or check, defaming the Scots and Puritans. And yet he can remember of none but *Lyfsmachus Niccanor*, and that he mislik'd and censur'd. No more but of one can the Remonstrant remember? What if I put him in mind of one more? What if of one more whereof the Remonstrant in many likelihoods may be thought the Author? Did he never see a Pamphlet intitl'd after his own fashion, *A Survey of that foolish, seditious, scandalous, profane Libel, the Protestation protested?* The Child doth not more expressly refigure the visage of his Father, then that Book resembles the stile of the Remonstrant, in those idioms of speech, wherein he seems most to delight: and in the seventeenth Page three lines together taken out of the Remonstrance word for word, not as a Citation, but as an Author borrows from himself. Whoever it be, he may as justly be said to have libell'd, as he against whom he writes: there ye shall find another man then here is made shew of, there he bites as fast as this whines. *Vinegar in the Ink* is there the antidote of *Vipers*. *Laughing* in a religious Controversy is there a *thristy Physick* to expel his melancholy. In the mean time the Testimony of Sir Francis Bacon was not misalleg'd, complaining that Libels on the Bishops part were utter'd openly; and if he hop'd the Prelats had no intelligence with the Libellers, he delivers it but as his favourable opinion. But had he contradicted himself, how could I assoil him here, more then a little before, where I know not how, by entangling himself, he leaves an aspersion upon *Job*, which by any else I never heard laid to his charge? For having affirm'd that *there is no greater confusion then the confounding of jest and earnest*, presently he brings the example of *Job* glancing at conceits of mirth, when he sat among the people with the gravity of a Judge upon him. If Jest and Earnest be such a confusion, then were the people much wiser then *Job*, for he smil'd, and they believ'd him not. To defend Libels, which is that whereof I am next accus'd, was far from my purpose. I had not so little share in good name, as to give another that advantage against my self. The sum of what I said was, that a more free permission of writing at some times might be profitable, in such a question especially wherein the Magistrates are not fully resolv'd; and both sides have equal liberty to write, as now they have. Not as when the Prelats bore sway, in whose time the Books of some men were confuted, when they who should have answer'd were in close prison, deny'd the use of pen or paper. And the divine Right of Episcopacy was then valiantly asserted, when he who would have been respondent must have bethought himself withal how he could refute the *Clink* or the *Gate-house*. If now therefore they be persu'd with bad words, who persecuted others with bad deeds, it is a way to lessen tumult rather then to encrease it; whenas anger thus freely vented spends it self ere it break out into action, though *Machiavel* whom he cites, or any *Machiavilian* Priest think the contrary.

SECT. 3.

Now Readers I bring ye to his third Section; wherein very cautiously, and no more than needs, lest I should take him for some Chaplain at hand, some Squire of the body to his Prelat, one that serves not at the Altar only, but at the Court cup-board, he will bestow on us a pretty model of himself; and fobs me out half a dozen tizical Mottoes where-ever he had them, hopping short in the measure of Convulsion-fits; in which labour the agony of his Wit having scap'd narrowly, instead of well siz'd periods, he greets us with a quantity of thum-ring posies. *He has a fortune therefore good, because he is content with it.* This is a piece of sapience not worth the brain of a fruit-trencher; as if Content were the measure of what is good or bad in the guist of Fortune. For by this rule a bad Man may have a good fortune, because he may be oft times content with it for many reasons which have no affinity with Vertue, as love of ease, want of spirit to use more, and the like. *And therefore content*, he says, *because it neither goes before, nor comes behind his merit.* Be-like then if his fortune should go before his merit, he would not be content, but resign, if we believe him, which I do the less, because he implies, that if it came behind his merit, he would be content as little: Whereas if a wise Man's

Man's content should depend upon such a *Therefore*, because his fortune came not behind his merit, how many wise Men could have content in this world? In his next pithy symbol I dare not board him, for he passes all the *seven wise Masters of Greece*, attributing to himself that which on my life *Salomon* durst not; to have affections so equally temper'd, that they neither too hastily adhere to the truth before it be fully examin'd, nor too lazily afterward. Which unless he only were exempted out of the corrupt mass of *Adam*, born without Sin original, and living without actual, is impossible. Had *Salomon* (for it behoves me to instance in the wisest, dealing with such a transcendent Sage as this) had *Salomon* affections so equally temper'd, as not adhering too lazily to the truth, when God warn'd him of his halting in Idolatry? do we read that he repented hastily? did not his affections lead him hastily from an examin'd truth, how much more would they lead him slowly to it? Yet this Man beyond a *Stoick Apathy* fees truth as in a rapture, and cleaves to it; not as through the dim glass of his affections, which in this frail mansion of flesh, are ever unequally temper'd, pushing forward to error, and keeping back from truth oft times the best of Men. But how far this boaster is from knowing himself, let his *Preface* speak. Something I thought it was that made him so quick-sighted to gather such strange things out of the *Animadversions*, whereof the least conception could not be drawn from thence, of *Suburb-sinks*, sometimes out of wit and cloaths, sometimes in new *Serge*, drinking *Sack*, and swearing; now I know it was this equal temper of his affections that gave him to see clearer than any fenel rub'd *Serpent*. Lastly, he has resolv'd that neither person nor cause shall improper him. I may mistake his meaning, for the word ye hear is *improper*. But whether if not a Person, yet a good Parsonage or Impropration bought out for him would not *improper* him, because there may be a quirk in the word, I leave it for a Canonist to resolve.

SECT. 4.

And thus ends this Section, or rather Dissection of himself, short ye will say both in breath and extent, as in our own praises it ought to be, unless wherein a good name hath bin wrongfully attainted. Right, but if ye look at what he ascribes to himself, that temper of his affections which cannot any where be but in Paradise, all the judicious *Panegyricks* in any language extant are not half so prolix. And that well appears in his next removal. For what with putting his fancy to the tiptoe in this description of himself, and what with adventuring presently to stand upon his own legs without the crutches of his margent, which is the sluice most commonly that feeds the drouth of his Text, he comes so lazily on in a Similie, with his arm full of weeds, and demeans himself in the dull expression so like a dough kneaded thing, that he has not spirit enough left him so far to look to his *Syntaxis*, as to avoid nonsense. For it must be understood there that the *Stranger*, and not he who brings the bundle, would be deceav'd in censuring the field, which this hip-shot *Grammarians* cannot set into right frame of construction, neither here in the Similitude, nor in the following *Reddition* thereof; which being to this purpose, that the faults of the best pickt out, and presented in gross, seem monstrous, this, saith he, you have done, in pinning on his sleeve the faults of others; as if to pick out his own faults, and to pin the faults of others upon him, were to do the same thing. To answer therefore how I have cull'd out the evil actions of the Remonstrant from his Vertues, I am acquitted by the dexterity and conveyance of his nonsense, loosing that for which he brought his parable. But what of other Mens faults I have pinn'd upon his sleeve, let him shew. For whether he were the Man who term'd the Martyrs *Foxian* Confessors, it matters not; he that shall step up before others to defend a Church-Government, which wants almost no circumstance, but only a name to be a plain Popedom, a Government which changes the fatherly and ever-teaching Discipline of Christ into that lordly and uninstructing Jurisdiction which properly makes the Pope Antichrist, makes himself an accessory to all the evil committed by those, who are arm'd to do mischief by that undue Government; which they by their wicked deeds do with a kind of passive and unwitting Obedience to God destroy. But he by plausible words and traditions against the Scripture obstinately seeks to maintain. They by their own wickedness ruining their own unjust authority, make room for good to succeed. But he by a shew
of

of good upholding the evil which in them undoes it self, hinders the good which they by accident let in. Their manifest crimes serve to bring forth an ensuing good, and hasten a remedy against themselves; and his seeming good tends to reinforce their self-punishing crimes and his own, by doing his best to delay all redress. Shall not all the mischief which other men do be laid to his charge, if they do it by that unchurchlike power which he defends? Christ saith, *he that is not with me is against me, and he that gathers not with me scatters.* In what degree of enmity to Christ shall we place that man then, who so is with him, as that it makes more against him, and so gathers with him, that it scatters more from him? Shall it avail that man to say he honours the Martyrs memory, and treads in their steps? No; the Pharisees confest as much of the holy Prophets. Let him and such as he, when they are in their best actions, even at their prayers, look to hear that which the Pharisees heard from John the Baptist when they least expected, when they rather lookt for praise from him; *Generation of Vipers, who hath warn'd ye to flee from the wrath to come?* Now that ye have started back from the purity of Scripture, which is the only rule of Reformation, to the old vomit of your traditions; now that ye have either troubl'd or leaven'd the people of God, and the Doctrine of the Gospel with scandalous Ceremonies and mass-borrow'd Liturgies, do ye turn the use of that truth which ye profess, to countenance that falshood which ye gain by? We also reverence the Martyrs, but rely only upon the Scriptures. And why we ought not to rely upon the Martyrs; I shall be content with such reasons as my Confuter himself affords me; who is, I must needs say for him, in that point as officious an Adversary as I would wish to any man. For, *first*, saith he, *there may be a Martyr in a wrong Cause, and as courageous in suffering as the best; sometimes in a good Cause with a forward ambition displeasing to God. Other whiles they that story of them out of blind zeal or malice, may write many things of them untruly.* If this be so, as ye hear his own confession, with what safety can the Remonstrant rely upon the Martyrs as *Patrons of his Cause*, when as any of those who are alledg'd for the approvers of our Liturgy or Prelaty, might have bin, though not in a wrong cause, Martyrs? yet whether not vainly ambitious of that honour, or whether not misreported or misunderstood in those their opinions, God only knows. The Testimony of what we believe in Religion must be such as the Conscience may rest on to be infallible and incorruptible, which is only the Word of God.

S E C T. 5.

His fifth Section finds it self agriev'd that the Remonstrant should be taxt with the illegal proceeding of the high Commission, and Oath *ex officio*: And first *whether they were illegal or no, 'tis more than he knows.* See this malevolent Fox; that Tyranny which the whole Kingdom cry'd out against as stung with Adders and Scorpions, that Tyranny which the Parliament in compassion of the Church and Commonwealth hath dissolv'd and fetch'd up by the roots, for which it hath receav'd the publick Thanks and Blessings of thousands, this obscure thorn-eater of Malice and Detraction; as well as of *Quodlibets* and *Sophisms*, knows not whether it were illegal or not. Evil, evil would be your reward ye Worthies of the Parliament, if this Sophister and his Accomplices had the censuring or the founding forth of your labours. And that the Remonstrant cannot wash his hands of all the cruelties exercis'd by the Prelats, is past doubting. They scourg'd the Confessors of the Gospel, and he held the Scourgers garments. They executed their rage, and he, if he did nothing else, defended the Government with the Oath that did it, and the Ceremonies which were the cause of it: does he think to be counted guiltless?

S E C T. 6.

In the following Section I must foretel ye, Readers, the doings will be rough and dangerous, the bating of a *Satyr*. And if the work seem more trivial or boistrous then for this Discourse, let the Remonstrant thank the folly of this Confuter, who could not let a private word pass, but he must make all this blaze of it. I had said, that because the Remonstrant was so much offended with those who were tart against the Prelats, sure he lov'd toothless Satyrs, which I took were as improper as a toothed Sleekstone. This Champion from behind the Arras cries out, that those toothless Satyrs were of the Remonstrants making; and arms himself here tooth and nail, and *born* to boot, to

supply the want of teeth, or rather of gums in the Satyrs. And for an onset tells me, that the simily of a Sleekstone *shows I can be as bold with a Prelat as familiar with a Laundress*. But does it not argue rather the lascivious promptness of his own fancy, who from the harmless mention of a Sleekstone could neigh out the remembrance of his old conversation among the *Viraginian* trollops? For me, if he move me, I shall claim his own Oath, the Oath *ex officio* against any Priest or Prelat in the Kingdom, to have ever as much hated such pranks as the best and chastest of them all. That exception which I made against toothless Satyrs the Confuter hopes I had from the *Satyrist*, but is far deceav'd: neither had I ever read the hobbling *Distich* which he means. For this good hap I had from a careful education, to be inur'd and season'd betimes with the best and elegantest Authors of the learned Tongues, and thereto brought an ear that could measure a just cadence, and scan without articulating; rather nice and humorous in what was tolerable, then patient to read every drawling Versifier. Whence lighting upon this title of *toothless Satyrs*, I will not conceal ye what I thought, Readers, that sure this must be some sucking Satyr, who might have done better to have us'd his coral, and made an end of breeding, ere he took upon him to weild a Satyrs whip. But when I heard him talk of *scouring the rusted swords of elvish Knights*, do not blame me, if I chang'd my thought, and concluded him some desperate Cutler. But why *his scornful muse could never abide with tragick shoos her ancles for to hide*, the pace of the verse told me that her maukin knuckles were never shapen to that royal buskin. And turning by chance to the sixth Satyr of his second Book, I was confirm'd; where having begun loftily in *Heavens universal Alphabet*, he falls down to that wretched poorness and frigidity as to talk of *Bridge-street in Heav'n*, and the *Ostler of Heav'n*; and there wanting other matter to catch him a heat, (for certain he was in the frozen Zone miserably benumm'd) with thoughts lower then any Beadle betakes him to whip the sign-posts of *Cambridge Alehouses*, the ordinary subject of freshmens tales, and in a strain as pitiful. Which for him who would be counted the *first English Satyr*, to abase himself to, who might have learnt better among the Latin and Italian Satyrists, and in our own tongue from the *Vision and Creed of Pierce plowman*, besides others before him, manifested a presumptuous undertaking with weak and unexamined shoulders. For a Satyr as it was born out of a *Tragedy*, so ought to resemble his parentage, to strike high, and adventure dangerously at the most eminent vices among the greatest persons, and not to creep into every blind Taphouse that fears a Constable more then a Satyr. But that such a Poem should be toothless, I still affirm it to be a bull, taking away the essence of that which it calls it self. For if it bite neither the persons nor the vices, how is it a Satyr? and if it bite either, how is it toothless? so that toothless Satyrs are as much as if he had said toothless teeth. What we should do therefore with this learned Comment upon *Teeth and Horns*, which hath brought this Confutant into his *pedantick Kingdom of Cornucopia*, to reward him for glossing upon *Horns* even to the *Hebrew root*, I know not unless we should commend him to be Lecturer in *East-cheap* upon St. Luke's day, when they send their Tribute to that famous hav'n by *Detford*. But we are not like to scape him so. For now the worm of *Criticism* works in him, he will tell us the derivation of *German Rutters*, of *Meat*, and of *Ink*, which doubtless, rightly apply'd with some gall in it, may prove good to heal this tetter of *Pedagoguism* that bespreads him, with such a *Tenasmus* of originating, that if he be an Arminian, and deny original Sin, all the *Etymologies* of his Book shall witness that his brain is not meanly tainted with that infection.

SECT. 7.

His seventh Section labours to caviil out the flaws which were found in the Remonstrants Logick; who having laid down for a general proposition, that *civil Polity is variable and arbitrary*, from whence was inferr'd logically upon him that he had concluded the Polity of *England* to be arbitrary, for general includes particular; here his Defendant is not asham'd to confess that the Remonstrants proposition was sophistical by a *Fallacy* call'd, *ad plures interrogationes*: which sounds to me somewhat strange that a Remonstrant of that pretended sincerity should bring deceitful and double dealing Propositions to the Parliament. The truth is, he had let slip a shrewd passage ere he was aware, not

not thinking the conclusion would turn upon him with such a terrible edge, and not knowing how to wind out of the briars, he or his substitute seems more willing to lay the integrity of his Logick to pawn, and grant a fallacy in his own *Major* where none is, then be forc't to uphold the Inference. For that distinction of *possible and lawful* is ridiculous to be sought for in that proposition; no man doubting that it is possible to change the form of civil Polity; and that it is held lawful by that *Major*, the word *arbitrary* implies. Nor will this help him, to deny that it is arbitrary *at any time or by any undertakers*, (which are two limitations invented by him since) for when it stands as he will have it now by his second Edition, *civil Polity is variable, but not at any time or by any undertakers*, it will result upon him, belike then at some time, and by some undertakers it may. And so he goes on mincing the matter, till he meets with something in Sir *Francis Bacon*, then he takes heart again, and holds his *Major* at large. But by and by, as soon as the shadow of Sir *Francis* hath left him, he falls off again warping and warping till he come to contradict himself in diameter; and denies flatly that it is *either variable or arbitrary, being once settl'd*. Which third shift is no less a piece of laughter: For before the Polity was settl'd, how could it be variable, whenas it was no Polity at all, but either an *Anarchy* or a *Tyranny*? That limitation therefore of *after settling* is a mere *Tautology*. So that in fine his former Assertion is now recanted, and *civil Polity is neither variable nor arbitrary*.

SECT. 8.

Whatever else may perswade me that this Confutation was not made without some assistance or advice of the Remonstrant, yet in this eighth Section that his hand was not greatly intermixt, I can easily believe. For it begins with this surmise, that *not having to accuse the Remonstrant to the King, I do it to the Parliament*; which conceit of the man cleanly shoves the King out of the Parliament, and makes two bodies of one. Whereas the Remonstrant in the Epistle to his last short answer, gives his supposal that *they cannot be sever'd in the Rights of their several Concernments*. Mark, Readers, if they cannot be sever'd in what is several (which casts a Bull's eye to go yoke with the toothless Satyrs) how should they be sever'd in their common concerns, the welfare of the Land, by due accusation of such as are the common grievances, among which I took the Remonstrant to be one? And therefore if I accus'd him to the Parliament, it was the same as to accuse him to the King. Next he casts it into the dish of I know not whom, that *they flatter some of the House, and libel others whose Consciences made them vote contrary to some proceedings*. Those some proceedings can be understood of nothing else but the *Deputies* execution. And can this private Concocter of male-content, at the very instant when he pretends to extol the Parliament, afford thus to blur over, rather then to mention that publick triumph of their justice and constancy so high, so glorious, so reviving to the fainted Common-wealth, with such a suspicious and murmuring expression as to call it *some proceedings*? and yet immediately he falls to glozing, as if he were the only man that rejoyc'd at these times. But I shall discover to ye Readers, that this his praising of them is as full of nonsense and scolastick foppery, as his meaning he himself discovers to be full of close malignity. His first *Encomium* is, that *the Sun looks not upon a braver, nobler Convocation then is that of King, Peers, and Commons*. One thing I beg of ye Readers, as ye bear any zeal to learning, to elegance, and that which is call'd *Decorum* in the writing of Praise, especially on such a noble Argument, ye would not be offended, though I rate this cloister'd Lubber according to his deserts. Where didst thou learn to be so aguish, so pusillanimous, thou lozel Bachelour of Art, as against all custom and use of Speech to term the high and sovran Court of Parliament, a Convocation? Was this the flower of all thy *Synonyma's* and voluminous *Papers*, whose best *Folio's* are predestin'd to no better end then to make winding sheets in Lent for Pilchers? Could'st thou presume thus with one word's speaking to clap as it were under hatches the King with all his Peers and Gentry into square Caps, and Monkish Hoods? How well dost thou now appear to be a chip of the old block, that could find *Bridge-street and Ale-houses in Heav'n*? why didst thou not, to be his perfect imitator, liken the King to the Vice-chancellour, and the Lords to the Doctors? Neither is this an indignity only but a reproach, to call that inviolable Resi-

dence of Justice and Liberty, by such an odious name as now a *Convocation* is become, which would be nothing injur'd, though it were stil'd the house of bondage, whereout so many cruel tasks, so many unjust burdens have been laden upon the bruised consciences of so many Christians throughout the land. But which of those worthy deeds, whereof we and our posterity must confess this Parliament to have done so many and so noble, which of those memorable acts comes first into his praises? none of all, not one. What will he then praise them for? not for any thing doing, but for deferring to do, for deferring to chastise his leud and insolent *Compriests*: Not that they have deferr'd all, but that he hopes they will remit what is yet behind. For the rest of his Oratory that follows, so just is it in the language of stall epistle nonsense, that if he who made it can understand it, I deny not but that he may deserve for his pains a cast Doublet. When a man would look he should vent something of his own, as ever in a set speech the manner is with him that knows any thing, he, lest we should not take notice enough of his barren stupidity, declares it by Alphabet, and refers us to odd remnants in his Topicks. Nor yet content with the wonted room of his margent, but he must cut out large flocks and creeks into his text to unlade the foolish frigate of his unseasonable Authorities, not wherewith to praise the Parliament, but to tell them what he would have them do. What else there is, he jumbles together in such a lost construction, as no man either letter'd or unletter'd will be able to piece up. I shall spare to transcribe him, but if I do him wrong, let me be so dealt with.

Now although it be a digression from the ensuing matter, yet because it shall not be said I am apter to blame others than to make trial my self, and that I may after this harsh discord touch upon a smoother string awhile to entertain my self and him that list, with some more pleasing fit, and not the least to testify the gratitude which I owe to those publick benefactors of their Country, for the share I enjoy in the common peace and good by their incessant labours; I shall be so troublesome to this Declamer for once, as to shew him what he might have better said in their praise: Wherein I must mention only some few things of many, for more then that to a digression may not be granted. Although certainly their Actions are worthy not thus to be spoken of by the way, yet if hereafter it befall me to attempt something more answerable to their great Merits, I perceive how hopeless it will be to reach the height of their prayes at the accomplishment of that expectation that weights upon their noble Deeds, the unfinished whereof already surpasses what others before them have left enacted with their utmost performance through many ages. And to the end we may be confident that what they do, proceeds neither from uncertain opinion, nor sudden counsels, but from mature wisdom, deliberate vertue, and deer affection to the publick good, I shall begin at that which made them likeliest in the eyes of good men to effect those things for the recovery of decay'd Religion and the Commonwealth, which they who were best minded had long wisht for, but few, as the times then were desperate, had the courage to hope for. First therefore, the most of them being either of ancient and high Nobility, or at least of known and well reputed Ancestry, which is a great advantage towards Vertue one way, but in respect of wealth, ease and flattery, which accompanies a nice and tender education, is as much a hindrance another way; the good which lay before them they took, in imitating the worthiest of their Progenitors; and the evil which assaulted their younger years by the temptation of riches, high birth, and that usual bringing up, perhaps too favourable and too remiss, through the strength of an inbred goodness, and with the help of divine Grace, that had markt them out for no mean purposes, they nobly overcame. Yet had they a greater danger to cope with; for being train'd up in the knowledg of learning, and sent to those places which were intended to be the seed-plots of Piety and the liberal Arts, but were become the nurseries of Superstition and empty Speculation, as they were prosperous against those vices which grow upon youth out of idleness and superfluity, so were they happy in working off the harms of their abused studies and labours, correcting by the clearness of their own judgment the errors of their mis-instruction, and were as *David* was, wiser then their teachers. And although their lot fell into
such

such times, and to be bred in such places, where if they chanc'd to be taught any thing good, or of their own accord had learn'd it, they might see that presently untaught them by the custom and ill example of their Elders; so far in all probability was their youth from being milled by the single power of Example, as their riper years were known to be unmov'd with the baits of preferment, and undaunted for any discouragement and terror which appear'd often to those that lov'd Religion and their native Liberty: which two things God hath inseparably knit together, and hath disclos'd to us that they who seek to corrupt our Religion are the same that would enthrall our civil Liberty. Thus in the midst of all disadvantages and disrespects (some also at last not without imprisonment and open disgraces in the cause of their Country) having given proof of themselves to be better made and fram'd by nature to the love and practise of Vertue, then others under the holiest precepts and best examples have been headstrong and prone to vice; and having in all the trials of a firm ingrafted honesty not oftner buckl'd in the conflict, then giv'n every opposition the foil, this moreover was added by favour from Heav'n, as an ornament and happiness to their Vertue, that it should be neither obscure in the opinion of men, nor eclips'd for want of matter equal to illustrate it self; God and man consenting in joyn't approbation to choose them out as worthiest above others to be both the great reformers of the Church, and the restorers of the Common-wealth. Nor did they deceive that expectation which with the eyes and desires of their Countrey was fixt upon them; for no sooner did the force of so much united Excellence meet in one Globe of brightness and efficacy, but encountering the dazzl'd resistance of Tyranny, they gave not over, though their enemies were strong and suttle, till they had laid her groveling upon the fatal block; with one stroke winning again our lost Liberties and Charters, which our Fore-fathers after so many battels could scarce maintain. And meeting next, as I may so resemble, with the second life of Tyranny (for she was grown an ambiguous monster, and to be slain in two shapes) guarded with Superstition which hath no small power to captivate the minds of men otherwise most wise, they neither were taken with her miter'd hypocrisy, nor terrifi'd with the push of her bestial horns, but breaking them immediately forc't her to unbend the pontifical brow, and recoil: Which repulse only given to the Prelats (that we may imagine how happy their removal would be) was the producement of such glorious effects and consequences in the Church, that if I should compare them with those exploits of highest fame in Poems and *Panegyrics* of old, I am certain it would but diminish and impair their worth, who are now my Argument: For those ancient Worthies deliver'd men from such Tyrants as were content to inforce only an outward obedience, letting the Mind be as free as it could; but these have freed us from a doctrine of Tyranny that offer'd violence and corruption even to the inward persuasion. They set at liberty Nations and Cities of men good and bad mixt together; but these opening the prisons and dungeons, call'd out of darkness and bonds the elect Martyrs and Witnesses of their Redeemer. They restor'd the Body to ease and wealth; but these the oppress'd Conscience to that freedom which is the chief prerogative of the Gospel, taking off those cruel burdens impos'd not by necessity, as other Tyrants are wont for the safeguard of their lives, but laid upon our necks by the strange wilfulness and wantonness of a needless and jolly persecuter call'd Indifference. Lastly, some of those ancient Deliverers have had immortal praises for preserving their Citizens from a famine of corn. But these by this only repulse of an unholy *Hierarchy*, almost in a moment replenisht with saving knowledg their Countrey nigh famisht for want of that which should feed their souls. All this being done while two Armies in the field stood gazing on, the one in reverence of such Nobleness quietly gave back and dislodg'd; the other, spight of the unruliness, and doubted fidelity in some Regiments, was either perswaded or compell'd to disband and retire home. With such a Majesty had their Wisdom begint it self, that whereas others had levied war to subdue a Nation that fought for peace, they sitting here in peace could so many miles extend the force of their single words as to overawe the dissolute stoutness of an armed Power secretly stir'd up and almost hir'd against them. And having by a solemn protestation vow'd themselves and the Kingdom anew to God and

his service, and by a prudent foresight above what their Fathers thought on, prevented the dissolution and frustrating of their designs by an untimely breaking up, notwithstanding all the treasonous Plots against them, all the rumours either of Rebellion or Invasion, they have not bin yet brought to change their constant resolution, ever to think fearlessly of their own safeties, and hopefully of the Common-wealth: which hath gain'd them such an admiration from all good men, that now they hear it as their ord'nary surname, to be saluted the Fathers of their Country, and sit as Gods among daily Petitions and publick Thanks flowing in upon them. Which doth so little yet exalt them in their own thoughts, that with all gentle affability, and curteous acceptance they both receive and return that tribute of thanks which is tender'd them; testifying their zeal and desire to spend themselves as it were piecemeal upon the grievances and wrongs of their distressed Nation: insomuch that the meanest Artizans and Labourers, at other times also Women, and often the younger sort of Servants assembling with their complaints, and that sometimes in a less humble guise then for Petitioners, have gone with confidence, that neither their meanness would be rejected, nor their simplicity condemn'd, nor yet their urgency distast'd either by the dignity, wisdom, or moderation of that supreme Senate; nor did they depart unsatisfi'd. And indeed, if we consider the general concourse of Suppliants, the free and ready admittance, the willing and speedy redress in what is possible, it will not seem much otherwise, then as if some divine Commission from Heav'n were descended to take into hearing and commiseration the long remediless afflictions of this Kingdom; were it not that none more then themselves labour to remove and divert such thoughts, lest men should place too much confidence in their Persons, still referring us and our Prayers to him that can grant all, and appointing the monthly return of publick Fasts and Supplications. Therefore the more they seek to humble themselves, the more does God by manifest signs and Testimonies, visibly honour their proceedings; and sets them as the mediators of this his Cov'nant which he offers us to renew. Wicked men daily conspire their hurt, and it comes to nothing; Rebellion rages in our Irish Province, but with miraculous and lossless victories of few against many, is daily discomfited and broken; if we neglect not this early pledge of Gods inclining towards us, by the slackness of our needful aids. And whereas at other times we count it ample honour when God vouchsafes to make man the instrument and subordinate worker of his gracious Will, such acceptance have their Prayers found with him, that to them he hath bin pleas'd to make himself the Agent, and immediat performer of their desires; dissolving their difficulties when they are thought inexplicable, cutting out ways for them where no passage could be seen; as who is there so regardless of Divine Providence, that from late occurrences will not confess? If therefore it be so high a grace when men are prefer'd to be but the inferior officers of good things from God, what is it when God himself condescends, and works with his own Hands to fulfil the requests of Men? which I leave with them as the greatest praise that can belong to human Nature: Not that we should think they are at the end of their glorious Progress, but that they will go on to follow his Almighty leading, who seems to have thus cov'nanted with them; that if the Will and the Endeavour shall be theirs, the performance and the perfecting shall be his. Whence only it is that I have not fear'd, though many wise men have miscarried in praising great designs before the utmost event, because I see who is their assistant, who their confederat, who hath engag'd his omnipotent Arm to support and crown with success their Faith, their Fortitude, their just and magnanimous Actions, till he have brought to pass all that expected good which his Servants trust is in his thoughts to bring upon this Land in the full and perfect Reformation of his Church.

Thus far I have digress'd, Readers, from my former Subject; but into such a Path, as I doubt not ye will agree with me, to be much fairer and more delightful then the rode-way I was in. And how to break off suddenly into those jarring notes which this Confuter hath set me, I must be wary, unless I can provide against offending the Ear, as some Musicians are wont skillfully to fall out of one key into another, without breach of Harmony. By
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luck therefore his ninth Section is spent in mournful Elegy, certain passionat Soliloquies; and two whole pages of interrogatories that praise the Remonstrant even to the sonetting of *his fresh Cheeks, quick Eyes, round Tongue, agil Hand, and nimble Invention.*

In his tenth Section he will needs erect Figures, and tell Fortunes; *I am no Bishop*, he says, *I was never born to it*: let me tell therefore this Wizzard, since he calculats so right, that he may know there be in the World, and I among those, who nothing admire his Idol a Bishoprick, and hold that it wants so much to be a Blessing, as that I rather deem it the meereft, the falseft, the most unfortunate gift of Fortune. And were the punishment and misery of being a Prelat Bishop, terminated only in the Person, and did not extend to the affliction of the whole Diocess, if I would wish any thing in the bitterness of Soul to mine enemy, I would wish him the biggest and fattest Bishoprick. But he proceeds; and the Familiar belike informs him, that *a rich Widow, or a Lecture, or both, would content me*: whereby I perceive him to be more ignorant in his art of divining then any Gipsy. For this I cannot omit without ingratitude to that Providence above, who hath ever bred me up in plenty, although my Life hath not bin unexpensive in Learning, and voyaging about; so long as it shall please him to lend me what he hath hitherto thought good, which is enough to serve me in all honest and liberal occasions, and something over besides, I were unthankful to that highest Bounty, if I should make my self so poor, as to sollicite needily any such kind of *rich hopes* as this Fortune-teller dreams of. And that he may further learn how his Astrology is wide all the houses of Heav'n in spelling Marriages, I care not if I tell him thus much profestly, though it be to the losing of my *rich hopes*, as he calls them, that I think with them who both in prudence and elegance of Spirit, would choose a Virgin of mean fortunes honestly bred, before the wealthiest Widow. The Feind therefore that told our *Chaldean* the contrary was a lying Feind. His next venom he utters against a Prayer which he found in the Animadversions, angry it seems to find any prayers but in the Service-book; he dislikes it, and I therefore like it the better. *It was theatrical*, he says; and yet it consisted most of Scripture language; it had no *Rubrick* to be sung in an antick Coap upon the Stage of a High Altar. *It was big-mouth'd*, he says; no marvel, if it were fram'd as the Voice of three Kingdoms: neither was it a Prayer so much as a Hymn in prose, frequent both in the Prophets, and in human Authors; therefore the stile was greater then for an ordinary Prayer. *It was an astonishing Prayer.* I thank him for that confession, so it was intended to astound and to astonish the guilty Prelats; and this Confuter confesses that with him it wrought that effect. But in that which follows, he does not play the Soothsayer, but the diabolick slanderer of Prayers. *It was made*, he says, *not so much to please God, or to benefit the weal-publick* (how dares the Viper judge that?) *but to intimate*, saith he, *your good abilities to her that is your rich hopes, your Maronilla.* How hard is it when a man meets with a Fool to keep his Tongue from folly? That were miserable indeed to be a Courter of *Maronilla*, and withal of such a hapless invention, as that no way should be left me to present my meaning, but to make my self a canting Probationer of orisons. The Remonstrant when he was as young as I, could

*Toothless Teach each hollow Grove to sound his love,
Satyrs, Wearying Eccho with one changeless word.*

And so he well might, and all his Auditory besides with his *teach each.*

*Toothless Whether so me list my lovely Thoughts to sing,
Satyrs, Come dance ye nimble Dryads by my side,
 Whiles I report my Fortunes or my Loves.*

Delicious! he had that whole Bevie at command whether in Morrice or at Maypole; whilest I by this figure-caster must be imagin'd in such distress as to sue to *Maronilla*, and yet left so impoverisht of what to say, as to turn my Liturgy into my Ladies Psalter. Believe it Graduat, I am not altogether so rustick, and nothing so irreligious, but as far distant from a Lecturer, as
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the meerest Laick, for any consecrating hand of a Prelat that shall ever touch me. Yet I shall not decline the more for that, to speak my opinion in the Controversy next mov'd, *Whether the People may be allow'd for competent judges of a Ministers ability.* For how else can be fulfill'd that which God hath promis'd, to pour out such abundance of knowledg upon all sorts of Men in the times of the Gospel? how should the People examine the Doctrine which is taught them, as Christ and his Apostles continually bid them do? how should they discern and beware of false Prophets, and try every Spirit, if they must be thought unfit to judg of the Ministers abilities? The Apostles ever labour'd to perswade the Christian flock that they were call'd in Christ to all perfectness of spiritual knowledg, and full assurance of understanding in the mystery of God. But the non-resident and plurality-gaping Prelats, the gulphs and whirlpools of Benefices, but the dry pits of all sound Doctrine, that they may the better preach what they list to their sheep, are still possessing them that they are sheep indeed, without judgment, without understanding, *the very Beasts of Mount Sinai*, as this Confuter calls them; which words of theirs may serve to condemn them out of their owne mouths, and to shew the gross contrarieties that are in their opinions: For while none think the people so void of knowledg as the Prelats think them, none are so backward and malignant as they to bestow knowledg upon them; both by suppressing the frequency of Sermons, and the printed explanations of the English Bible. No marvel if the people turn beasts, when their Teachers themselves, as *Isaiah* calls them, *are dumb and greedy dogs that can never have enough, ignorant, blind, and cannot understand*; who while they all look their own way, every one for his gain from his quarter, how many parts of the Land are fed with windy Ceremonies instead of sincere Milk; and while one Prelat enjoys the nourishment and right of twenty Ministers, how many waste places are left as dark as *Galilee of the Gentiles*, sitting in the region and shadow of Death, without preaching Minister, without light. So little care they of Beasts to make them Men, that by their forcereous doctrine of Formalities, they take the way to transform them out of Christian men into *Judaizing* beasts. Had they but taught the Land, or suffer'd it to be taught, as Christ would it should have bin, in all plenteous dispensation of the Word, then the poor Mechanick might have so accusom'd his ear to good teaching, as to have discern'd between faithful teachers and false. But now with a most inhumane cruelty they who have put out the peoples eyes, reproach them of their blindness; just as the Pharisees their true Fathers were wont, who could not indure that the People should be thought competent judges of Christs doctrine, although we know they judg'd far better then those great Rabbies: yet *this People*, said they, *that knows not the law is accurst.* We need not the authority of *Pliny* brought to tell us, the People cannot judg of a Minister: yet that hurts not. For as none can judg of a Painter, or Statuary, but he who is an Artist, that is, either in the *Practick* or *Theory*, which is often separated from the practick, and judges learnedly without it; so none can judg of a Christian Teacher, but he who hath either the practice, or the knowledg of Christian Religion, though not so artfully digested in him. And who almost of the meanest Christians hath not heard the Scriptures often read from his childhood, besides so many Sermons and Lectures more in number then any Student hath heard in Philosophy, whereby he may easily attain to know when he is wisely taught, and when weakly? Whereof three ways I remember are set down in Scripture: The one is to read often that best of Books written to this purpose, that not the wise only, but the simple and ignorant may learn by them; the other way to know of a Minister, is by the life he leads, whereof the meanest understanding may be apprehensive. The last way to judg aright in this point is, when he who judges, lives a Christian life himself. Which of these three will the Confuter affirm to exceed the capacity of a plain Artizan? And what reason then is there left wherefore he should be deny'd his voice in the election of his Minister, as not thought a competent discerner? It is but arrogance therefore, and the pride of a *metaphysical* fume, to think that *the mutinous rabble* (for so he calls the Christian Congregation) would be so mistaken in a Clerk of the *University* that were to be their Minister. I doubt me those Clerks that think so, are more mistaken in themselves; and what with truanting and debauchery,

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what with false grounds and the weakness of natural faculties in many of them (it being a Maxim in some men to send the simplest of their sons thither) perhaps there would be found among them, as many unsolid and corrupted judgments both in doctrine and life, as in any other two Corporations of like bigness. This is undoubted that if any Carpenter, Smith, or Weaver, were such a bungler in his Trade, as the greater number of them are in their Profession, he would starve for any custom. And should he exercise his Manufacture as little as they do their Talents, he would forget his Art : and should he mistake his Tools as they do theirs, he would marr all the work he took in hand. How few among them that know to write, or speak in a pure stile, much less to distinguish the *idea's*, and various kinds of stile ; in Latin barbarous, and oft not without *solecisms*, declaiming in rugged and miscellaneous geare blown together by the four winds, and in their choice preferring the gay rankness of *Apuleius*, *Arnobius*, or any modern Sustianist, before the native *Latinisms* of *Cicero*. In the Greek tongue most of them unletter'd, or unenter'd to any sound proficiency in those Attick Masters of moral Wisdom and Eloquence. In the Hebrew Text, which is so necessary to be understood, except it be some few of them, their lips are utterly uncircumcis'd. No less are they out of the way in Philosophy, pestring their heads with the sapless dotages of old *Paris* and *Salamanca*. And that which is the main point, in their Sermons affecting the Comments and postils of Friars and Jesuits, but scorning and slighting the reformed Writers : Insomuch that the better sort among them will confess it a rare matter to hear a true edifying Sermon in either of their great Churches ; and that such as are most humm'd and applauded there, would scarce be suffer'd the second hearing in a grave Congregation of pious Christians. Is there cause why these men should overween, and be so queasy of the rude multitude, lest their deep worth should be undervalu'd for want of fit Umpires ? No my *matriculated Confutant*, there will not want in any Congregation of this Island, that hath not been altogether famisht, or wholly perverted with Prelatish leaven ; there will not want divers plain and solid men, that have learnt by the experience of a good Conscience, what it is to be well taught, who will soon look through and through both the lofty nakedness of your *latinizing* Barbarian, and the finical goosery of your neat Sermon-actor. And so I leave you and your fellow *Stars*, as you term them, of either *Horizon*, meaning I suppose either *Hemisphere*, unless you will be ridiculous in your Astronomy : For the rational Horizon in Heav'n is but one, and the sensible Horizons in Earth are innumerable ; so that your Allusion was as erroneous as your Stars. But that you did well to prognosticat them all at lowest in the Horizon ; that is, either seeming bigger then they are through the mist and vapour which they raise, or else sinking, and wasted to the snuff in their Western socket.

SECT. II.

His eleventh Section intends I know not what, unless to clog us with the residue of his phlegmatick sloth, discussing with a heavy pulse the *expediencie of set formes* : which no question but to some, and for some time may be permitted, and perhaps there may be usefully set forth by the Church a common *Directory* of publick Prayer, especially in the administration of the Sacraments. But that it should therefore be inforc't where both Minister and People profess to have no need, but to be scandaliz'd by it, that, I hope, every sensible Christian will deny : And the reasons of such denial the Confuter himself, as his bounty still is to his Adversary, will give us out of his affirmation. First saith he, *God in his Providence hath chosen some to teach others, and pray for others ; as Ministers and Pastors*. Whence I gather, that however the faculty of others may be, yet that they whom God hath set apart to his Ministry, are by him endu'd with an ability of Prayer ; because their Office is to pray for others, and not to be the lip-working Deacons of other mens appointed words. Nor is it easily credible, that he who can preach well, should be unable to pray well ; when as it is indeed the same ability to speak affirmatively, or doctrinally, and only by changing the mood, to speak prayingly. In vain therefore do they pretend to want utterance in prayer, who can find utterance to preach. And if prayer be the gift of the Spirit, why do they admit those to the Ministry, who want a main gift of their Function, and prescribe gift-

ed men to use that which is the remedy of another man's want ; setting them their task to read, whom the Spirit of God stands ready to assist in his Ordinance with the gift of free conceptions? What if it be granted to the infirmity of some Ministers (though such seem rather to be half-Ministers) to help themselves with a set form, shall it therefore be urg'd upon the plenteous graces of others? And let it be granted to some people while they are Babes in Christian Gifts, were it not better to take it away soon after, as we do loitering Books, and *interlineary* translations from Children; to stir up and exercise that portion of the Spirit which is in them, and not impose it upon Congregations who not only deny to need it, but as a thing troublesome and offensive, refuse it? Another reason which he brings for Liturgy is *the preserving of Order, Unity, and Piety*; and the same shall be my reason against Liturgy. For I, Readers, shall always be of this opinion, that obedience to the Spirit of God, rather than to the fair seeming pretences of Men, is the best and most dutiful order that a Christian can observe. If the Spirit of God manifest the gift of Prayer in his Minister, what more seemly order in the Congregation, then to go along with that man in our devoutest affections? for him to abridg himself by reading, and to forestal himself in those petitions, which he must either omit, or vainly repeat, when he comes into the Pulpit under a shew of order, is the greatest disorder. Nor is Unity less broken, especially by our Liturgy; though this Author would almost bring the Communion of Saints to a Communion of Liturgical words. For what other reformed Church holds Communion with us by our Liturgy, and does not rather dislike it? and among our selves who knows it not to have been a perpetual cause of disunion?

Lastly, it hinders Piety rather than sets it forward, being more apt to weaken the spiritual faculties, if the people be not wean'd from it in due time; as the daily pouring in of hot waters quenches the natural heat. For not only the body and the mind, but also the improvement of God's Spirit is quickn'd by using. Whereas they who will ever adhere to Liturgy, bring themselves in the end to such a pass by over-much leaning, as to lose even the legs of their devotion. These inconveniencies and dangers follow the compelling of set forms: but that the toleration of the English Liturgy now in use, is more dangerous then the compelling of any other which the reformed Church use, these reasons following may evince. To contend that it is fantastical, if not senseless in some places, were a copious argument, especially in the *Recessories*. For such Alternations as are there us'd must be by several persons; but the Minister and the People cannot so sever their interests, as to sustain several persons; he being the only mouth of the whole body which he presents. And if the people pray, he being silent, or they ask one thing, and he another, it either changes the property, making the Priest the People, and the People the Priest by turns, or else makes two Persons and two Bodies Representative where there should be but one. Which if it be nought else, must needs be a strange quaintness in ordinary prayer. The like, or worse may be said of the *Litany*, wherein neither Priest nor People speak any intire sense of themselves throughout the whole, I know not what to name it; only by the timely contribution of their parted stakes, closing up as it were the *Schism* of a slic'd prayer; they pray not in vain, for by this means they keep Life between them in a piece of gasping sense, and keep down the sawciness of continual rebounding nonsense. And hence it is that as it hath been far from the imitation of any warranted prayer; so we all know it hath been obvious to be the pattern of many a jig. And he who hath but read in good Books of Devotion and no more, cannot be so either of ear or judgment unpractis'd to distinguish what is grave, *pathetical*, devout, and what not, but will presently perceive this Liturgy all over in conception lean and dry, of affections empty and unmoving, of passion, or any height whereto the Soul might soar upon the wings of zeal, destitute and barren; bristles Errors, *Tautologies*, Impertinences, as those thanks in the Womans Churching for her delivery from Sun-burning and Moon blasting, as if she had been travelling not in her bed, but in the deserts of *Arabia*. So that while some men cease not to admire the incomparable frame of our Liturgy, I cannot but admire as fast what they think is become of judgment and taste in other men, that they can

can hope to be heard without laughter. And if this were all, perhaps it were a comphable matter. But when we remember this our Liturgy where we found it, whence we had it, and yet where we left it, still serving to all the abominations of the Antichristian Temple, it may be wonder'd how we can demur whether it should be done away or no, and not rather fear we have highly offended in using it so long. It hath indeed been pretended to be more ancient then the Masse, but so little prov'd, that whereas other corrupt Liturgies have had withal such a seeming Antiquity, as that their publishers have ventur'd to ascribe them with their worst corruptions either to St. *Peter*, St. *James*, St. *Mark*, or at least to *Chrysostome* or *Basil*, ours hath been never able to find either Age or Author allowable, on whom to father those things therein which are least offensive, except the two Creeds, for *Te Deum* has a smack in it of *Limbus Patrum*: As if Christ had not open'd the Kingdom of Heaven before he had overcome the sharpness of Death. So that having receiv'd it from the Papal Church as an original Creature, for ought can be shewn to the contrary, form'd and fashion'd by work-masters ill to be trusted, we may be assur'd that if God loath the best of an Idolater's prayer, much more the conceited fangle of his prayer. This Confuter himself confesses that a Community of the same set form in prayers, is that which makes Church and Church truly one; we then using a Liturgy far more like to the Mass-book then to any Protestant set-form, by his own words must have more Communion with the *Romish Church*, then with any of the Reformed. How can we then not partake with them the curse and vengeance of their superstition, to whom we come so near in the same set-form and dress of our devotion? Do we think to list the matter finer then we are sure God in his jealousy will, who detested both the Gold and the Spoil of idolatrous Cities, and forbid the eating of things offer'd to Idols? Are we stronger then he, to brook that which his heart cannot brook? It is not surely because we think that prayers are no where to be had but at *Rome*; that were a foul scorn and indignity cast upon all the reformed Churches, and our own: if we imagine that all the godly Ministers of *England* are not able to new mould a better and more pious Liturgy then this which was conceiv'd and infanted by an idolatrous Mother, how basely were that to esteem of God's Spirit, and all the holy blessings and privileges of a true Church above a false? Heark ye Prelats, is this your glorious Mother of *England*, who whenas Christ hath taught her to pray, thinks it not enough unless she add thereto the teaching of Antichrist? How can we believe ye would refuse to take the stipend of *Rome*, when ye shame not to live upon the alms-basket of her prayers? Will ye perswade us that ye can curse *Rome* from your hearts, when none but *Rome* must teach ye to pray? *Abraham* disdain'd to take so much as a thred or a shoo-latchet from the King of *Sodom*, though no foe of his, but a wicked King; and shall we receive our prayers at the bounty of our more wicked Enemies, whose gifts are no gifts, but the instruments of our bane? Alas that the Spirit of God should blow as an uncertain wind, should so mistake his inspiring, so misbestow his gifts promis'd only to the elect, that the idolatrous should find words acceptable to present God with, and abound to their neighbours, while the true professors of the Gospel can find nothing of their own worth the constituting, wherewith to worship God in publick. Consider if this be to magnify the Church of *England*, and not rather to display her nakedness to all the world. Like therefore as the retaining of this *Romish* Liturgy is a provocation to God, and a dishonour to our Church, so is it by those ceremonies, those purifyings and offerings at the Altar, a pollution and disturbance to the Gospel it self; and a kind of driving us with the foolish *Galatians* to another Gospel. For that which the Apostles taught hath freed us in Religion from the Ordinances of men, and commands that burdens be not laid upon the Redeemed of Christ; though the Formalist will say, what no decency in God's worship? Certainly Readers, the worship of God singly in it self, the very act of prayer and thanksgiving, with those free and unimpos'd expressions which from a sincere heart unbidden come into the outward gesture, is the greatest decency that can be imagin'd. Which to dress up and garnish with a devis'd bravery abolisht in the Law, and disclam'd by the Gospel, adds nothing but a deformed ugliness; and hath ever afforded a colourable pretence to bring in all those traditions and carnalities that are

so killing to the power and virtue of the Gospel. What was that which made the Jews, figur'd under the names of *Abolab* and *Abolibab*, go a whoring after all the Heathens inventions, but that they saw a Religion gorgeously attir'd and desirable to the eye? What was all that the false Doctors of the primitive Church, and ever since have done, but to *make a fair shew in the flesh*, as *St. Paul's* words are? If we have indeed given a bill of Divorce to Popery and Superstition, why do we not say as to a divorc'd wife; Those things which are yours take them all with you, and they shall sweep after you? Why were not we thus wise at our parting from *Rome*? Ah like a crafty Adulteress she forgot not all her smooth looks and inticing words at her parting; yet keep these letters, these tokens, and these few ornaments; I am not all so greedy of what is mine, let them preserve with you the memory, of what I am? No, but of what I was, once fair and lovely in your eyes. Thus did those tender hearted Reformers dotingly suffer themselves to be overcome with Harlots language. And she like a Witch, but with a contrary policy, did not take something of theirs, that she might still have power to bewitch them, but for the same intent left something of her own behind her. And that her whorish cunning should prevail to work upon us her deceitful ends, though it be sad to speak, yet such is our blindness, that we deserve. For we are deep in dotage. We cry out *Sacrilege and Misdevotion* against those who in zeal have demolish'd the dens and cages of her unclean wallowings. We stand for a Popish Liturgy as for the Ark of our Cov'nant. And so little does it appear our prayers are from the heart, that multitudes of us declare, they know not how to pray but by rote. Yet they can learnedly invent a prayer of their own to the Parliament, that they may still ignorantly read the prayers of other men to God. They object; that if we must forsake all that is *Rome's*, we must bid adieu to our Creed; and I had thought our Creed had been of the Apostles, for so it bears title. But if it be hers, let her take it. We can want no Creed, so long as we want not the Scriptures. We magnify those who in reforming our Church have inconsiderately and blamefully permitted the old leaven to remain and sour our whole lump. But *they were Martyrs*; true, and he that looks well into the book of God's providence, if he read there that God for this their negligence and halting, brought all that following persecution upon this Church, and on themselves, perhaps will be found at the last day not to have read amiss.

SECT. 12.

But now, Readers, we have the Port within sight; his last Section which is no deep one, remains only to be boarded, and then the wisht shoar. And here first it pleases him much, that he hath descri'd me, as he conceives, to be unread in the Councils. Concerning which matter it will not be unnecessary to shape him this answer; That some years I had spent in the stories of those Greek and Roman Exploits, wherein I found many things both nobly done, and worthily spoken: when coming in the method of time to that age wherein the Church had obtain'd a Christian Emperor, I so prepar'd my self, as being now to read examples of wisdom and goodness among those who were formost in the Church, not else where to be parallel'd: But to the amazement of what I expected, Readers, I found it all quite contrary; excepting in some very few, nothing but Ambition, Corruption, Contention, Combustion: insomuch that I could not but love the Historian *Socrates*, who in the proem to his fifth Book professes, *He was fain to intermix affairs of State, for that it would be else an extream annoyance to hear in a continu'd Discourse the endless brabbles and counterplottings of the Bishops*. Finding therefore the most of their actions in single to be weak, and yet turbulent, full of strife, and yet flat of spirit, and the sum of their best Councils there collected, to be most commonly in questions either trivial and vain, or else of short and easy decision, without that great bustle which they made; I concluded that if their single ambition and ignorance was such, then certainly united in a Council it would be much more; and if the compendious recital of what they there did was so tedious and unprofitable, then surely to fit out the whole extent of their tattle in a dozen volumes, would be a loss of time irrecoverable. Besides that which I had read of *St. Martin*, who for his last sixteen years could never be perswaded to be at any Council of the Bishops. And *Gregory Nazianzen* be-

took him to the same resolution, affirming to *Procopius*, that of any Council or Meeting of Bishops he never saw good end; nor any remedy thereby of evil in the Church, but rather an increase. For, saith he, their Contentions and desire of Lording no tongue is able to express. I have not therefore, I confess, read more of the Councils save here and there; I should be sorry to have been such a prodigal of my time: but that which is better, I can assure this Confuter, I have read into them all. And if I want any thing yet, I shall reply something toward that which in the defence of *Murena* was answer'd by *Cicero* to *Sulpitius* the Lawyer. If ye provoke me (for at no hand else will I undertake such a frivolous labour) I will in three months be an expert Councilist. For be not deceiv'd, Readers, by men that would overawe your ears with big Names and huge Tomes that contradict and repeal one another, because they can cram a margin with Citations. Do but winnow their chaffe from their wheat, ye shall see their great heap shrink and wax thin past belief. From hence he passes to enquire wherefore I should blame the vices of the Prelats only, seeing the inferiour Clergy is known to be as faulty. To which let him hear in brief; that those Priests whose vices have been notorious, are all Prelatical, which argues both the impiety of that opinion, and the wicked remissness of that government. We hear not of any which are call'd *Nonconformists*, that have been accus'd for scandalous living; but are known to be pious, or at least sober men. Which is a great good argument that they are in the truth, and Prelats in the error. He would be resolv'd next, *What the corruptions of the Universities concern the Prelats?* and to that let him take this, That the Remonstrant having spok'n as if Learning would decay with the removal of Prelats, I shew'd him that while Books were extant and in print, Learning could not readily be at a worse pass in the Universities then it was now under their government. Then he seeks to justify the pernicious Sermons of the Clergy, as if they upheld Soveranty, whenas all Christian Soveranty is by law, and to no other end but to the maintenance of the common good. But their Doctrine was plainly the dissolution of Law, which only sets up Sov'ranty, and the erecting of an arbitrary sway according to privat will, to which they would enjoin a slavish obedience without Law; which is the known definition of a Tyrant, and a tyranniz'd people. A little beneath he denies that great riches in the Church are the baits of pride and ambition: of which error to undeceive him, I shall allege a reputed divine Authority, as ancient as *Constantine*, which his love to Antiquity must not except against; and to add the more waight, he shall learn it rather in the words of our old Poet *Gower* then in mine, that he may see it is no new opinion, but a truth deliver'd of old by a voice from Heav'n, and ratify'd by long experience.

This Constantine which he hath found,
 Within Rome anon let found
 Two Churches which he did make
 For Peter and for Pauls sake:
 Of whom he had a vision,
 And gave therto possession
 Of Lordship and of worlds good;
 But how so that his will was good
 Toward the Pope and his Franchise,
 Yet hath it proved otherwise
 To see the working of the deed:
 For in Cronick thus I read,
 Anon as he hath made the vest,
 A voice was heard on high the best,
 Of which all Rome was adrad,
 And said, This day be him is shad
 In holy Church, of temporall
 That medleth with the spirituall:

And how it stant in that degree,
 Yet may a man the sooth see.
 God amend it what he will,
 I can thereto none other skill.

But there were beasts of prey, saith he, before wealth was bestow'd on the Church. What though? because the Vulturs had then but small pickings, shall we therefore go and fling them a full gorge? if they for lucre use to creep into the Church undiscernably, the more wisdom will it be so to provide that no revenue there may exceed the golden mean: For so, good Pastors will be content, as having need of no more, and knowing withal the precept and example of Christ and his Apostles, and also will be less tempted to ambition. The bad will have but small matter whereon to set their mischief awork: And the worst and subtlest heads will not come at all, when they shall see the crop nothing answerable to their capacious greediness: For small temptations allure but dribbling offenders; but a great purchase will call such as both are most able of themselves, and will be most inabl'd hereby to compass dangerous projects. But saith he, *A widows house will tempt as well as a Bishops Palace.* Acutely spok'n! Because neither we nor the Prelats can abolish widows houses, which are but an occasion taken of evil without the Church, therefore we shall set up within the Church a Lottery of such prizes as are the direct inviting causes of avarice and ambition, both unnecessary and harmful to be propos'd, and most easie, most convenient and needful to be remov'd. *Yea but they are in a wise Dispencers hand:* Let them be in whose hand they will, they are most apt to blind, to puff up and pervert the most seeming good. And how they have bin kept from Vultures, what ever the dispensers care hath bin, we have learnt by our miseries. But this which comes next in view, I know not what good vein or humor took him when he let drop into his paper: I that was ere while the ignorant, the loyterer, on the sudden by his permission am now granted to know something. And that such a volley of expressions he hath met withal, as he would never desire to have them better cloth'd. For me, Readers, although I cannot say that I am utterly untrain'd in those rules which best Rhetoricians have giv'n, or unacquainted with those examples which the prime authors of eloquence have written in any learned tongu, yet true eloquence I find to be none, but the serious and hearty love of truth: And that whose mind so ever is fully possess'd with a fervent desire to know good things, and with the dearest charity to infuse the knowledg of them into others, when such a man would speak, his words (by what I can expresse) like so many nimble and airy servitors trip about him at command, and in well-order'd files, as he would wish, fall aptly into their own places. But now to the remainder of our discourse. Christ refus'd great riches, and large honours at the Devils hand. But why, saith he, *as they were tender'd by him from whom it was a sin to receive them.* Timely remember'd: why is it not therefore as much a sin to receive a Liturgy of the masses giving, were it for nothing else but for the giver? *But he could make no use of such a high estate,* quoth the Confuter; opportunely. For why then should the servant take upon him to use those things which his master had unfitted himself to use, that he might teach his ministers to follow his steps in the same ministry? *But they were offer'd him to a bad end:* So they prove to the Prelats, who after their preferment most usually change the teaching labour of the Word, into the unteaching ease of Lordship over consciences and purses. But he proceeds, *God entic'd the Israelites with the promise of Canaan.* Did not the Prelats bring as slavish minds with them, as the Jews brought out of Egypt, they had left out that instance. Besides that it was then the time, when as the best of them, as Saint Paul saith, *was shut up unto the faith under the Law* their School-master, who was forc't to intice them as children with childish enticements. But the Gospel is our manhood, and the Ministry should be the manhood of the Gospel, not to look after, much less so basely to plead for earthly Rewards. *But God incited the wisest man Solomon with these means.* Ah Confuter of thy self, this example hath undone thee; Solomon askt an understanding heart, which the Prelats have little care

care to ask. He askt no riches, which is their chief care: therefore was the prayer of *Solomon* pleasing to God; he gave him wisdom at his request, and riches without asking, as now he gives the Prelats riches at their seeking, and no wisdom because of their perverse asking. But he gives not over yet, *Moses* had an eye to the reward. To what Reward, thou man that lookst with *Balaams* eyes? to what Reward had the faith of *Moses* an eye? He that had forsaken all the greatness of *Egypt*, and chose a troublesome journey in his old age through the Wilderness, and yet arriv'd not at his journeys end: His faithful eyes were fixt upon that incorruptible Reward, promis'd to *Abraham* and his seed in the *Messiah*; he sought a heav'nly Reward which could make him happy, and never hurt him, and to such a Reward every good man may have a respect: But the Prelats are eager of such Rewards as cannot make them happy, but can only make them worse. *Jacob*, a Prince born, vow'd, that if God would but give him bread to eat, and raiment to put on, then the Lord should be his God. But the Prelats of mean birth, and oft-times of lowest, making shew as if they were call'd to the spiritual and humble ministry of the Gospel, yet murmur, and think it a hard service, unless contrary to the tenour of their Profession, they may eat the bread and wear the honours of Princes: So much more covetous and base they are then *Simon Magus*, for he proffer'd a Reward to be admitted to that work, which they will not be meanly hir'd to.

But faith he, *Are not the Clergy members of Christ, why should not each member thrive alike?* Carnal Textman! As if worldly thriving were one of the privileges we have by being in Christ, and were not a providence oft-times extended more liberally to the Infidel then the Christian. Therefore must the Ministers of Christ not be over rich or great in the World, because their Calling is spiritual, not secular; because they have a special Warfare, which is not to be intangl'd with many impediments; because their Master Christ gave them this Precept, and set them this Example, told them this was the mystery of his coming, by mean things and persons to subdue mighty ones: and lastly, because a middle estate is most proper to the office of teaching, whereas higher dignity teaches far less, and blinds the Teacher. Nay, faith the Confuter, fetching his last indeavour, *The Prelats will be very loth to let go their Baronies, and Votes in Parliament, and calls it Gods Cause, with an unsufferable impudence. Not that they love the Honours and the Means; good men and generous, but that they would not have their Country made guilty of such a sacrilege and injustice.* A worthy Patriot for his owne corrupt ends! That which he imputes a sacrilege to his Countrey, is the only way left them to purge that abominable sacrilege out of the Land, which none but the Prelats are guilty of: Who for the discharge of one single duty receive and keep that which might be enough to satisfy the labours of many painful Ministers better deserving then themselves: Who possess huge Benefices for lazie Performances, great Promotions only for the execution of a cruel disgosselling Jurisdiction: Who ingross many pluralities under a *non-resident* and slubbring dispatch of Souls: Who let hundreds of Parishes famish in one *Diocefs*, while they the Prelats are mute, and yet enjoy that wealth that would furnish all those dark places with able supply; and yet they eat, and yet they live at the rate of Earls, and yet hoard up: They who chase away all the faithful Shepherds of the flock, and bring in a dearth of spiritual food, robbing thereby the Church of her dearest treasure, and sending herds of souls starvling to Hell, while they feast and riot upon the labours of hireling Curats, consuming and purloining even that which by their foundation is allow'd, and left to the poor, and to reparations of the Church. These are they who have bound the Land with the sin of Sacrilege, from which mortal ingagement we shall never be free, till we have totally remov'd with one labour as one individual thing Prelaty and Sacrilege. And herein will the King be a true Defender of the Faith, not by paring or lessening, but by distributing in due proportion the maintenance of the Church, that all parts of the Land may equally partake the plentiful and diligent preaching of the Faith, the scandal of Ceremonies thrown out that delude and circumvent the Faith; and the usurpation of Prelats laid level, who are in words the Fathers, but in their deeds the oppugners of the Faith. This is that which will best confirm him in that glorious title. Thus ye have heard, Readers, how many shifts and

wiles the Prelats have invented to save their ill got booty. And if it be true, as in Scripture it is foretold, that pride and covetousness are the sure marks of those false Prophets which are to come, then boldly conclude these to be as great seducers as any of the latter times. For between this and the Judgment-day do not look for any arch Deceavers, who in spight of Reformation will use more craft, or less shame to defend their love of the world and their ambition then these Prelats have done. And if ye think that soundness of Reason, or what force of Argument soever will bring them to an ingenuous silence, ye think that which will never be. But if ye take that course which *Erasmus* was wont to say *Luther* took against the Pope and Monks, if ye denounce war against their Miters and their Bellies, ye shall soon discern that *Turbant* of pride which they wear upon their heads, to be no *Helmet of Salvation*, but the meer mettle and horn-work of Papal Jurisdiction; and that they have also this gift, like a certain kind of some that are possess'd, to have their voice in their Bellies, which being well drain'd and taken down, their great Oracle, which is only there, will soon be dumb, and the *Divine right of Episcopacy* forthwith expiring, will put us no more to trouble with tedious antiquities and disputes.

The Reason of Church-Government urg'd against

P R E L A T Y.

In Two Books.

The Preface.

IN the publishing of humane Lawes, which for the most part aime not beyond the good of civill society, to set them barely forth to the People without reason or preface, like a physcally prescript, or only with threatenings, as it were a lordly Command, in the judgment of *Plato* was thought to be done neither generously nor wisely. His advice was, seeing that perswasion certainly is a more winning, and more manlike way to keep Men in obedience then fear, that to such Laws as were of principall moment, there should be us'd as an induction, some well temper'd discourse, shewing how good, how gainful, how happy it must needs be to live according to honesty and justice; which being utter'd with those native colours and graces of speech, as true eloquence, the daughter of vertue, can best bestow upon her mother's praises, would so incite, and in a manner charm the multitude into the love of that which is really good, as to imbrace it ever after, not of custom and awe, which most men do, but of choice and purpose, with true and constant delight. But this practice we may learn from a better and more ancient authority then any heathen writer hath to give us; and indeed being a point of so high wisdom and worth, how could it be but we should find it in that Book, within whose sacred context all wisdom is infolded? *Moses* therefore the only Lawgiver that we can believe to have been visibly taught of God, knowing how vain it was to write Laws to men whose hearts were not first season'd with the knowledge of God and of his works, began from the book of *Genesis*, as a prologue to his Laws; which *Iosephus* right well hath noted. That the nation of the Jews, reading therein the universall goodness of God to all Creatures in the Creation, and his peculiar favour to them in his election of *Abraham* their ancestor, from whom they could derive so many blessings upon themselves, might be mov'd to obey sincerely, by knowing so good a reason of their obedience. If then in the administration of civil Justice, and under the obscurity of Ceremonial Rites, such care was had by the wisest of the Heathen, and by *Moses* among the Jews, to instruct them at least in a general reason of that Government to which their subjection was requir'd, how much more ought the Members of the Church under the Gospel, seek to inform their understanding in the reason of that Government which the Church claims to have over them? especially for that the Church hath in her immediate cure those inner parts and affections of the mind where the seat of Reason is, having power to examine our spiritual knowledg, and to demand from us in God's behalf a service intirely reasonable. But because about the manner and order of this Government, whether it ought to be Presbyterial or Prelatical, such endless question, or rather uproar is arisen in this Land, as may be justly term'd what the Feaver is to the Physicians, the eternal Reproach of our Divines; whilst other profound Clerks of late greatly, as they conceive, to the advancement of Prelaty, are so earnestly meting out the Lydian Proconsular *Asia*, to make good the prime Metropolis of *Ephesus*, as if some of our Prelats in all haste meant to change their Soil, and become Neighbours to the English Bp of *Chilcedon*; and whilst good *Breerwood* as busily belittles himself in our vulgar tongue, to divide precisely the three Patriarchats, of *Rome*, *Alexandria*,

Asia, and *Antioch*; and whether to any of these *England* doth belong. I shall in the mean while not cease to hope, through the Mercy and Grace of Christ, the Head and Husband of his Church, that *England* shortly is to belong, neither to See Patriarchal, nor See Prelatical, but to the faithful feeding and disciplining of that ministerial Order, which the blessed Apostles constituted throughout the Churches; and this I shall essay to prove, can be no other then that of Presbyters and Deacons. And if any man incline to think I undertake a task too difficult for my years, I trust, through the supreme inlightning assistance far otherwise; for my years, be they few or many, what imports it? so they bring reason, let that be lookt on: and for the task, from hence that the question in hand is so needful to be known at this time, chiefly by every meaner capacity, and contains in it the explication of many admirable and heavenly privileges reacht out to us by the Gospel, I conclude the task must be easy: God having to this end ordain'd his Gospel to be the revelation of his power and wisdom in Christ Jesus. And this is one depth of his Wisdom, that he could so plainly reveal so great a measure of it to the gross distorted apprehension of decay'd mankind. Let others therefore dread and shun the Scriptures for their darknefs, I shall wish I may deserve to be reckon'd among those who admire and dwell upon them for their clearnefs. And this seems to be the cause why in those places of holy Writ, wherein is treated of Church-Government, the reasons thereof are not formally and profestly set down, because to him that heeds attentively the drift and scope of Christian profession, they easily imply themselves; which thing further to explain, having now prefac'd enough, I shall no longer defer.

C H A P. I.

That Church Government is prescrib'd in the Gospel, and that to say otherwise is unsound.

THE first and greatest reason of Church-Government, we may securely, with the assent of many on the adverse part, affirm to be, because we find it so ordain'd and set out to us by the Appointment of God in the Scriptures; but whether this be Presbyterial, or Prelatical, it cannot be brought to the scanning, until I have said what is meet to some who do not think it for the ease of their inconsequent Opinions, to grant that Church-Discipline is platform'd in the Bible, but that it is left to the discretion of Men. To this conceit of theirs I answer, that it is both unsound and untrue; for there is not that thing in the world of more grave and urgent importance throughout the whole life of Man, than is Discipline. What need I instance? He that hath read with judgment, of Nations and Common-wealths, of Cities and Camps, of Peace and War, Sea and Land, will readily agree that the flourishing and decaying of all Civil Societies, all the moments and turnings of humane Occasions are mov'd to and fro as upon the Axle of Discipline. So that whatsoever power or sway in mortal things weaker men have attributed to Fortune, I durst with more confidence (the honour of Divine Providence ever fav'd) ascribe either to the vigor or the slackness of Discipline. Nor is there any sociable perfection in this Life, Civil or Sacred, that can be above Discipline; but she is that which with her musical Cords preserves and holds all the parts thereof together. Hence in those perfect Armies of *Cyrus* in *Xenophon*, and *Scipio* in the Roman stories, the excellence of military Skill was esteem'd, not by the not needing, but by the readiest submitting to the Edicts of their Commander. And certainly Discipline is not only the removal of Disorder; but if any visible shape can be given to divine things, the very visible shape and image of Vertue, whereby she is not only seen in the regular gestures and motions of her heavenly Paces as she walks, but also makes the harmony of her Voice audible to mortal ears. Yea, the Angels themselves, in whom no disorder is fear'd, as the Apostle that saw them in
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his rapture describes, are distinguish'd and quaternion'd into their Celestial Princedoms, and Satrapies, according as God himself has writ his Imperial Decrees through the great Provinces of Heav'n. The state also of the Blessed in Paradise, though never so perfect, is not therefore left without Discipline, whose golden surveying Reed marks out and measures every Quarter and Circuit of *New Jerusalem*. Yet is it not to be conceiv'd that those eternal Effluences of Sanctity and Love in the glorified Saints, should by this means be confin'd and cloy'd with repetition of that which is prescrib'd, but that our happiness may orb it self into a thousand vagancies of glory and delight, and with a kind of eccentrical Equation be, as it were, an invariable Planet of Joy and Felicity; how much less can we believe that God would leave his frail and feeble, tho' not less beloved Church here below, to the perpetual stumble of Conjecture and Disturbance in this our dark Voyage, without the Card and Compass of Discipline? Which is so hard to be of Man's making, that we may see even in the guidance of a Civil State to worldly happiness, it is not for every learned, or every wise Man, though many of them consult in common, to invent or frame a Discipline: but if it be at all the work of Man, it must be of such a one as is a true knower of himself, and himself in whom Contemplation and Practice, Wit, Prudence, Fortitude, and Eloquence, must be rarely met, both to comprehend the hidden causes of things, and span in his thoughts all the various effects that Passion or Complexion can work in Man's nature; and hereto must his hand be at defiance with Gain, and his heart in all Vertues heroick. So far is it from the ken of these wretched Projectors of ours, that bescaul their Pamphlets every day with new Forms of Government for our Church. And therefore all the antient Lawgivers were either truly inspir'd, as *Moses*, or were such men as with Authority enough might give it out to be so, as *Minos*, *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, because they wisely forethought that men would never quietly submit to such a Discipline as had not more of God's hand in it than Man's. To come within the narrowness of Household-Government, observation will shew us many deep Counsellors of State and Judges do demean themselves incorruptly in the settl'd course of Affairs, and many worthy Preachers upright in their Lives, powerful in their Audience: but look upon either of these men where they are left to their own disciplining at home, and you shall soon perceive, for all their single knowledge and uprightness, how deficient they are in the regulating of their own Family; not only in what may concern the vertuous and decent composure of their minds in their several places, but that which is of a lower and easier performance, the right possessing of the outward Vessel, their Body, in Health or Sickness, Rest or Labour, Diet or Abstinence, whereby to render it more pliant to the Soul, and useful to the Common-wealth: which if men were but as good to discipline themselves, as some are to tutor their Horses and Hawks, it could not be so gross in most households. If then it appear so hard, and so little known how to govern a House well, which is thought of so easy discharge, and for every man's undertaking; what skill of Man, what Wisdom, what Parts can be sufficient to give Laws and Ordinances to the elect Household of God? If we could imagine that he had left it at random without his provident and gracious ordering, who is he so arrogant, so presumptuous, that durst dispose and guide the living Ark of the Holy Ghost, though he should find it wandring in the Field of *Bethshemesh*, without the conscious warrant of some high Calling? But no profane Insolence can parallel that which our Prelates dare avouch, to drive outrageously, and shatter the holy Ark of the Church, not born upon their shoulders with pains and labour in the Word, but drawn with rude Oxen their Officials, and their own brute Inventions. Let them make shews of reforming while they will, so long as the Church is mounted upon the Prelatical Cart, and not as it ought, between the hands of the Ministers, it will but shake and totter; and he that sets to his hand, though with a good intent to hinder the shogging of it, in this unlawful Waggonry wherein it rides, let him beware it be not fatal to him as it was to *Uzza*. Certainly if God be the Father of his Family the Church, wherein could he express that Name more, then in training it up under his own All-wise and dear Oeconomy, not turning it loose to the havock of Strangers and Wolves, that would ask no better plea then this to do in the Church of Christ,

whatever Humour, Faction, Policy, or licentious Will would prompt them to? Again, if Christ be the Church's Husband, expecting her to be presented before him a pure unspotted Virgin; in what could he shew his tender Love to her more, than in prescribing his own ways, which he best knew would be to the improvement of her health and beauty, with much greater care doubtless than the Persian King could appoint for his Queen *Esther*, those maiden dietings and set prescriptions of Baths and Odours, which may render her at last the more amiable to his eye? For of any Age or Sex, most unfitly may a Virgin be left to an uncertain and arbitrary Education. Yea, though she be well instructed, yet is she still under a more strait tuition, especially if betroth'd. In like manner the Church bearing the same resemblance, it were not reason to think she should be left destitute of that care which is as necessary and proper to her, as Instruction. For publick Preaching indeed is the Gift of the Spirit, working as best seems to his secret Will; but Discipline is the practick work of preaching directed and apply'd, as is most requisite, to particular Duty; without which it were all one to the benefit of Souls, as it would be to the cure of Bodies. If all the Physicians in *London* should get into the several Pulpits of the City, and assembling all the diseased in every Parish, should begin a learned Lecture of Pleurisies, Palsies, Lethargies, to which perhaps none there present were inclin'd; and so without so much as feeling one Puls, or giving the least order to any skilful Apothecary, should dismiss 'em from time to time, some groaning, some languishing, some expiring, with this only charge, to look well to themselves, and do as they hear. Of what excellence and necessity then Church-Discipline is, how beyond the Faculty of man to frame, and how dangerous to be left to man's Invention, who would be every foot turning it to sinister Ends; how properly also it is the Work of God as Father, and of Christ as Husband of the Church, we have by thus much heard.

C H A P. II.

That Church-Government is set down in Holy Scripture, and that to say otherwise is untrue.

AS therefore it is unsound to say, that God hath not appointed any set Government in his Church, so is it untrue. Of the time of the Law there can be no doubt: for to let pass the first Institution of Priests and Levites, which is too clear to be insisted upon, when the Temple came to be built, which in plain judgment could breed no essential change either in Religion, or in the Priestly Government; yet God to shew how little he could endure that men should be tampering and contriving in his Worship, though in things of less regard, gave to *David* for *Solomon*, not only a pattern and model of the Temple, but a direction for the courses of the Priests and Levites, and for all the work of their Service. At the return from the Captivity, things were only restor'd after the Ordinance of *Moses* and *David*; or if the least alteration be to be found, they had with them inspired men, Prophets; and it were not sober to say they did ought of moment without divine Intimation. In the Prophecy of *Ezekiel*, from the 40th Chapter onward, after the destruction of the Temple, God by his Prophet seeking to wean the hearts of the Jews from their old Law, to expect a new and more perfect Reformation under Christ, sets out before their eyes the stately Fabrick and Constitution of his Church, with all the Ecclesiastical Functions appertaining: indeed the Description is as sorted best to the apprehension of those times, typical and shadowie, but in such manner as never yet came to pass, nor never must literally, unless we mean to annihilat the Gospel. But so exquisite and lively the description is in portraying the new state of the Church, and especially in those points where Government seems to be most active, that both Jews and Gentiles might have good cause to be assur'd, that God, when ever he meant to reform his Church, never intended to leave the Government thereof delineated here in such curious Architecture, to be patch't afterwards, and var-

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nish't over with the devices and imbellishments of mans Imagination. Did God take such delight in measuring out the Pillars, Arches, and Doors of a material Temple? Was he so punctual and circumspect in Lavers, Altars, and Sacrifices soon after to be abrogated, lest any of these should have been made contrary to his mind? Is not a far more perfect work, more agreeable to his perfection in the most perfect state of the Church Militant, the new Alliance of God to man? Should not he rather now by his own prescribed Discipline have cast his Line and Level upon the Soul of Man which is his rational Temple, and by the divine Square and Compass thereof, form and regenerate in us the lovely shapes of Vertues and Graces, the sooner to edify and accomplish that immortal stature of Christ's Body, which is his Church, in all her glorious Lineaments and Proportions? And that this indeed God hath done for us in the Gospel we shall see with open eyes, not under a Vail. We may pass over the History of the *Acts* and other places, turning only to those Epistles of St. Paul to *Timothy* and *Titus*; where the spiritual eye may discern more goodly and gracefully erected, then all the magnificence of Temple or Tabernacle, such a heavenly Structure of Evangelic Discipline, so dissulative of Knowledg and Charity to the prosperous increase and growth of the Church, that it cannot be wonder'd if that elegant and artful Symmetry of the promised new Temple in *Ezekiel*, and all those sumptuous things under the Law were made to signify the inward beauty and splendor of the Christian Church thus govern'd. And whether this be commanded, let it now be judg'd. St. Paul after his Preface to the first of *Timothy*, which he concludes in the 17th Verse with *Amen*, enters upon the subject of his Epistle, which is to establish the Church-government, with a command. *This charge I commit to thee son Timothy; according to the Prophecies which went before on thee, that thou by them might'st war a good Warfare:* which is plain enough thus expounded: This charge I commit to thee, wherein I now go about to instruct thee how thou shalt set up Church-discipline, that thou might'st war a good Warfare, bearing thy self constantly and faithfully in the Ministry, which in the 1st to the *Corinthians* is also call'd a Warfare; and so after a kind of Parenthesis concerning *Hymeneus*, he returns to his command, though under the mild word of Exhorting; *Chap. 2. ver. 1. I exhort therefore;* as if he had interrupted his former command by the occasional mention of *Hymeneus*. More beneath in the 14th verse of the 3d Chapter, when he hath deliver'd the Duties of Bishops or Presbyters, and Deacons, not once naming any other Order in the Church, he thus adds; *These things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly* (such necessity it seems there was) *but if I tarry long, that thou may'st know how thou ought'st to behave thy self in the House of God.* From this place it may be justly ask't, whether *Timothy* by this here written, might know what was to be known concerning the Orders of Church-governors or no? If he might, then in such a clear Text as this may we know too without further jangle; if he might not, then did St. Paul write insufficiently, and moreover said not true, for he saith here he might know; and I perswade my self he did know ere this was written, but that the Apostle had more regard to the instruction of us, then to the informing of him. In the fifth Chapter, after some other Church-Precepts concerning Discipline, mark what a dreadful command follows, *Ver. 21. I charge thee before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect Angels, that thou observe these things:* and as if all were not yet sure enough, he closes up the Epistle with an adjuring charge thus; *I give thee charge in the sight of God, who quickneth all things, and before Christ Jesus; that thou keep this Commandment:* that is, the whole Commandment concerning Discipline, being the main purpose of the Epistle: although *Hooker* would fain have this denouncement refer'd to the particular Precept going before, because the word Commandment is in the singular number, not remembering that even in the first Chapter of this Epistle, the word Commandment is us'd in a plural sense, *Ver. 5. Now the end of the Commandment is Charity:* And what more frequent then in like manner to say the Law of *Moses*? So that either to restrain the significance too much, or too much to enlarge it, would make the Adjuration either not so waighy, or not so pertinent. And thus we find here that the Rules of Church-discipline are not only commanded, but hedg'd about with such a terrible impaler of Commandment.

as he that will break through wilfully to violate the least of them, must hazard the wounding of his Conscience even to death. Yet all this notwithstanding we shall find them broken well nigh all by the fair pretenders even of the next Ages. No less to the contempt of him whom they fain to be the Arch-founder of Prelaty, *St. Peter*, who by what he writes in the 5th Chapter of his first *Epistle*, should seem to be far another man then Tradition reports him: there he commits to the Presbyters only full Authority, both of feeding the Flock, and Episcopating; and commands that obedience be given to them as to the mighty hand of God, which is his mighty Ordinance. Yet all this was as nothing to repel the ventrous boldness of Innovation that ensu'd, changing the Decrees of God that are immutable, as if they had been breath'd by Man. Nevertheless when Christ, by those Visions of *St. John*, foreshews the Reformation of his Church, he bids them take his Reed, and mete it out again after the first Pattern, for he prescribes him no other. *Arise, said the Angel, and measure the Temple of God, and the Altar, and them that worship therein.* What is there in the World can measure men but Discipline? Our word Ruling imports no less. Doctrine indeed is the measure, or at least the reason of the measure, it's true; but unless the measure be apply'd to that which it is to measure, how can it actually do its proper work? Whether therefore Discipline be all one with Doctrine, or the particular Application thereof to this or that Person, we all agree that Doctrine must be such only as is commanded; or whether it be something really differing from Doctrine, yet was it only of Gods appointment, as being the most adequate measure of the Church and her Children, which is here the Office of a great Evangelist, and the Reed given him from Heaven. But that part of the Temple which is not thus measur'd, so far is it from being in Gods tuition or delight, that in the following Verse he rejects it; however in shew and visibility it may seem a part of his Church, yet in as much as it lies thus unmeasur'd, he leaves it to be trampled by the Gentiles; that is, to be polluted with idolatrous and Gentilish Rites and Ceremonies. And that the principal Reformation here foretold, is already come to pass, as well in Discipline as in Doctrine, the state of our neighbour Churches afford us to behold. Thus through all the periods and changes of the Church, it hath been prov'd that God hath still reserv'd to himself the right of enacting Church-Government.

C H A P. III.

That it is dangerous and unworthy the Gospel, to hold that Church-Government is to be pattern'd by the Law, as Bp. Andrews, and the Primat of Armagh maintain.

WE may return now from this interposing difficulty thus remov'd, to affirm, that since Church-Government is so strictly commanded in Gods Word, the first and greatest reason why we should submit thereto, is because God hath so commanded. But whether of these two, Prelaty, or Presbytery can prove it self to be supported by this first and greatest reason, must be the next dispute. Wherein this Position is to be first laid down, as granted; that I may not follow a Chase rather than an Argument, that one of these two, and none other, is of Gods ordaining; and if it be, that Ordinance must be evident in the Gospel. For the imperfect and obscure Institution of the Law, which the Apostles themselves doubt not oft-times to vilify, cannot give Rules to the compleat and glorious Ministration of the Gospel, which looks on the Law as on a Child, not as on a Tutor. And that the Prelats have no sure foundation in the Gospel, their own guiltiness doth manifest; they would not else run questing up as high as *Adam* to fetch their Original, as 'tis said one of them lately did in publick. To which assertion, had I heard it, because I see they are so insatiable of Antiquity, I should have gladly assented, and confest them yet more antient: For *Lucifer* before *Adam*,
was

was the first Prelat Angel ; and both he, as is commonly thought, and our forefather *Adam*, as we all know, for aspiring above their Orders, were miserably degraded. But others better advis'd, are content to receive their beginnings from *Aaron* and his Sons, among whom *B. Andrews* of late years, and in these times the Primat of *Armagh* for their learning, are reputed the best able to say what may be said in this Opinion. The Primat in his discourse about the original of Episcopacy newly revis'd, begins thus. The ground of Episcopacy is fetcht partly from the pattern prescribed by God in the Old Testament, and partly from the imitation thereof brought in by the Apostles. Herein I must entreat to be excus'd of the desire I have to be satisfi'd, how for example the ground of Episcopacy is fetch't partly from the example of the Old Testament, by whom next, and by whose Authority. Secondly, how the Church-Government under the Gospel, can be rightly call'd an imitation of that in the Old Testament ; for that the Gospel is the end and fulfilling of the Law, our liberty also from the Bondage of the Law, I plainly read. How then the ripe age of the Gospel should be put to School again, and learn to govern her self from the infancy of the Law, the stronger to imitate the weaker, the Freeman to follow the Captive, the learned to be lesson'd by the rude, will be a hard undertaking to evince from any of those principles which either Art or Inspiration hath written. If any thing done by the Apostles may be drawn howsoever to a likeness of something Mosaical, if it cannot be prov'd that it was done of purpose in imitation, as having the right thereof grounded in Nature, and not in Ceremony or Type, it will little avail the matter. The whole Judaick Law is either political, and to take pattern by that, no Christian Nation ever thought it self oblig'd in Conscience ; or moral, which contains in it the observation of whatsoever is substantially, and perpetually true and good, either in Religion, or course of Life. That which is thus Moral, besides what we fetch from those unwritten Laws and Ideas which nature hath engraven in us, the Gospel, as stands with her dignity most, lectures to us from her own authentick hand-writing and command, not copies out from the borrow'd Manuscript of a subservient scrawl, by way of imitating : As well might she be said in her Sacrament of Water, to imitate the Baptism of *John*. What though she retain Excommunication us'd in the Synagogue, retain the morality of the Sabbath ? she does not therefore imitate the Law her underling, but perfect her. All that was morally deliver'd from the Law to the Gospel, in the Office of the Priests and Levites, was, that there should be a Ministry set apart to teach and discipline the Church ; both which Duties the Apostles thought good to commit to the Presbyters. And if any distinction of Honour were to be made among them, they directed it should be to those not that only rule well, but especially to those that labour in the Word and Doctrine. By which we are taught, that laborious teaching is the most honourable Prelaty that one Minister can have above another in the Gospel : If therefore the superiority of Bishopship be grounded on the Priesthood as a part of the Moral Law, it cannot be said to be an Imitation ; for it were ridiculous that Morality should imitate Morality, which ever was the same thing. This very word of patterning or imitating, excludes Episcopacy from the solid and grave Ethical Law, and betrays it to be a meer Child of Ceremony, or likelier some misbegotten thing, that having pluckt the gay Feathers of her obsolete bravery, to hide her own deformed bareness, now vaunts and glories in her stolen Plumes. In the mean while, what danger there is against the very Life of the Gospel, to make in any thing the Typical Law her Pattern, and how impossible in that which touches the Priestly Government, I shall use such light as I have receiv'd, to lay open. It cannot be unknown by what Expressions the holy Apostle *S. Paul* spares not to explain to us the nature and condition of the Law, calling those Ordinances which were the chief and essential Offices of the Priests, the Elements and Rudiments of the World, both weak and beggarly. Now to breed, and bring up the Children of the Promise, the Heirs of Liberty and Grace, under such a kind of Government as is profess'd to be but an imitation of that Ministry which engender'd to bondage the sons of *Agar* ; how can this be but a foul injury and derogation, if not a canceling of that Birth-right and immunity which Christ hath purchas'd for us

1 Tim. 5.

with

with his blood? For the ministration of the Law consisting of carnal things, drew to it such a Ministry as consisted of carnal respects, dignity, precedence, and the like. And such a Ministry establish'd in the Gospel, as is founded upon the points and terms of superiority, and nests it self in worldly honours, will draw to it, and we see it doth, such a Religion as runs back again to the old pomp and glory of the flesh: For doubtless there is a certain attraction and magnetick force betwixt the Religion and the ministerial form therof. If the Religion be pure, spiritual, simple and lowly, as the Gospel most truly is, such must the face of the Ministry be. And in like manner if the form of the ministry be grounded in the worldly degrees of Authority, Honour, temporal Jurisdiction, we see with our eyes it will turn the inward power and purity of the Gospel into the outward carnality of the Law; evaporating and exhaling the internal worship into empty conformities, and gay shews. And what remains then but that we should run into as dangerous and deadly Apostacy as our lamentable neighbours the Papists, who by this very snare and pitfall of imitating the Ceremonial Law, fell into that irrecoverable Superstition, as must needs make void the Cov'nant of Salvation to them that persist in this blindness?

C H A P. IV.

That it is impossible to make the Priesthood of Aaron a pattern whereon to ground Episcopacy.

That which was promis'd next, is to declare the impossibility of grounding Evangelick Government in the imitation of the Jewish Priesthood; which will be done by considering both the quality of the Persons, and the Office it self. *Aaron* and his sons were the Princes of their Tribe before they were sanctified to the Priesthood: that personal Eminence which they held above the other *Levites*, they receav'd not only from their Office, but partly brought it into their Office; and so from that time forward the Priests were not chosen out of the whole number of the *Levites*, as our Bishops, but were born inheritors of the Dignity. Therefore unless we shall choose our Prelats only out of the Nobility, and let them run in a blood, there can be no possible imitation of Lording over their Brethren in regard of their persons altogether unlike. As for the Office, which was a representation of Christs own Person more immediately in the High-priest, and of his whole Priestly Office in all the other, to the performance of which the *Levites* were but as Servitors and Deacons, it was necessary there should be a distinction of dignity between two Functions of so great odds. But there being no such difference among our Ministers, unless it be in reference to the Deacons, it is impossible to found a Prelaty upon the imitation of this Priesthood: For wherein, or in what work is the Office of a Prelat excellent above that of a Pastor? in Ordination you'll say, but flatly against Scripture; for there we know *Timothy* receav'd Ordination by the hands of the Presbytery, notwithstanding all the vain delusions that are us'd to evade that Testimony, and maintain an unwarrantable Usurpation. But wherefore should Ordination be a cause of setting up a superiour degree in the Church? Is not that whereby Christ became our Saviour a higher and greater work, then that whereby he did ordain Messengers to preach and publish him our Saviour? Every Minister sustains the Person of Christ in his highest work of communicating to us the Mysteries of our Salvation, and hath the power of binding and absolving; how should he need a higher dignity to represent or execute that which is an inferior work in Christ? Why should the performance of Ordination, which is a lower office, exalt a Prelat, and not the seldom discharge of a higher and more noble Office, which is preaching and administering, much rather depress him? Verily neither the nature, nor the example of Ordination doth any way require an imparity between the ordainer and the ordained:

dained : For what more natural than every like to produce his like, Man to beget Man, Fire to propagate Fire? And in examples of highest opinion the ordainer is inferior to the ordained ; for the Pope is not made by the precedent Pope, but by Cardinals, who ordain and consecrate to a higher and greater Office than their own.

C H A P. V.

To the Arguments of B. Andrews, and the Primat.

IT follows here to attend to certain objections in a little Treatise lately printed among others of like sort at *Oxford*, and in the Title said to be out of the rude draughts of Bishop *Andrews* : And surely they be rude draughts indeed, in so much that it is marvel to think what his friends meant to let come abroad such shallow reasonings with the name of a Man so much bruited for learning. In the 12 and 23 pages he seems most notoriously inconsistent to himself ; for in the former place he tells us he forbears to take any argument of Prelaty from *Aaron*, as being the type of Christ. In the latter he can forbear no longer, but repents him of his rash gratuity, affirming, that to say, Christ being come in the flesh, his figure in the High-priest ceaseth, is the shift of an Anabaptist ; and stiffly argues, that Christ being as well King as Priest, was as well fore-resembled by the Kings then, as by the High-priest : So that if his coming take away the one Type, it must also the other. Marvellous piece of Divinity ! and well worth that the Land should pay six thousand pounds a year for in a Bishoprick, although I read of no Sophister among the Greeks that was so dear, neither *Hippias* nor *Protagoras*, nor any whom the Socratick School famously refuted without hire. Here we have the type of the King sow'd to the typet of the Bishop, fittly to cast a jealousy upon the Crown, as if the right of Kings, like *Meleager* in the *Metamorphosis*, were no longer liv'd then the firebrand of Prelaty. But more likely the Prelats fearing (for their own guilty carriage protests they do fear) that their fair days cannot long hold, practize by possessing the King with this most false doctrine, to engage his power for them, as in his own quarrel, that when they fall they may fall in a general ruin, just as cruel *Tyberius* would wish,

When I die, let the Earth be roul'd in flames.

But where, O Bishop, doth the purpose of the Law set forth Christ to us as a King ? That which never was intended in the Law, can never be abolish'd as part thereof. When the Law was made, there was no King : if before the Law, or under the Law God by a special type in any King would fore-signifie the future Kingdom of Christ, which is not yet visibly come ; what was that to the Law ? The whole ceremonial Law and Types can be in no Law else, comprehend nothing but the propitiatory Office of Christ's Priesthood ; which being in substance accomplisht, both Law and Priesthood fades away of it self, and passes into air like a transitory vision, and the right of Kings neither stands by any Type nor falls. We acknowledg that the civil Magistrate wears an Authority of God's giving, and ought to be obey'd as his Vicegerent. But to make a King a Type, we say is an abusive and unskilful speech, and of a moral solidity makes it seem a ceremonial shadow : Therefore your typical chain of King and Priest must unlink. But is not the type of Priest taken away by Christs coming ? No, saith this famous Protestant Bishop of *Winchester*, it is not ; and he that saith it is, is an Anabaptist. What think ye, Readers, do ye not understand him ? What can be gather'd hence but that the Prelat would still sacrifice ? conceive him Readers, he would missificate. Their Altars indeed were in a fair forwardness ; and by such arguments as these they were setting up the molten Calf of their Mass again, and of their great Hierarch the Pope. For if the Type of Priest be not taken away, then neither of the High-priest, it were a strange beheading ; and High-priest more then one there cannot be, and that one can be no less

then a Pope. And this doubtless was the bent of his career, though never so covertly. Yea but there was something else in the High-priest besides the figure, as is plain by *S. Pauls* acknowledging him. 'Tis true, that in the 17th of *Deut.* whence this authority arises to the Priest in matters too hard for the secular Judges, as must needs be many in the occasions of those times, involv'd so with ceremonial Niceties, no wonder though it be commanded to enquire at the mouth of the Priests, who besides the Magistrates their colleagues, had the Oracle of Urim to consult with. And whether the High-priest *Ananias* had not inroach't beyond the limits of his priestly authority, or whether us'd it rightly, was no time then for *S. Paul* to contest about. But if this instance be able to assert any right of jurisdiction to the Clergy, it must impart it in common to all Ministers, since it were a great folly to seek for Counsel in a hard intricat scruple from a Dunce Prelat, when there might be found a speedier solution from a grave and learned Minister, whom God hath gifted with the judgment of Urim more amply oft-times then all the Prelats together, and now in the Gospel hath granted the privilege of this oraculous Ephod alike to all his Ministers. The reason therefore of imparity in the Priests, being now, as is aforesaid, really annull'd both in their person, and in their representative Office, what right of jurisdiction soever can be from this place levitically bequeath'd, must descend upon the Ministers of the Gospel equally, as it finds them in all other points equal. Well then, he is finally content to let *Aaron* go; *Eleazar* will serve his turn, as being a Superior of superiors, and yet no type of Christ in *Aarons* life-time. O thou that would'st wind into any figment, or phantasm to save thy Miter! Yet all this will not fadge, though it be cunningly interpolisht by some second hand with crooks and emendations: Here then, the type of Christ in some one particular, as of entring yearly into the Holy of Holies, and such like, rested upon the High-priest only as more immediately personating our Saviour: but to resemble his whole satisfactory Office all the lineage of *Aaron* was no more then sufficient. And all, or any of the Priests consider'd separately without relation to the highest, are but as a lifeless trunk, and signifie nothing. And this shews the excellence of Christs Sacrifice, who at once and in one person fulfill'd that which many hundreds of Priests many times repeating had enough to foreshew. What other imparity there was among themselves, we may safely suppose it depended on the dignity of their Birth and Family, together with the circumstances of a carnal Service, which might afford many priorities. And this I take to be the sum of what the Bishop hath laid together to make plea for Prelaty by imitation of the Law: Though indeed, if it may stand, it will infer Popedom all as well. Many other courses he tries, enforcing himself with much ostentation of endless Genealogies, as if he were the man that *S. Paul* forewarns us of in *Timothy*, but so unvigourously, that I do not fear his winning of many to his Cause, but such as doting upon great names are either over-weak, or over sudden of Faith. I shall not refuse therefore to learn so much prudence as I find in the Roman Souldier that attended the Cross, not to stand breaking of legs, when the breath is quite out of the body, but pass to that which follows. The Primat of *Armagh* at the beginning of his Tractat seeks to avail himself of that place in the 66th of *Esaiah*, I will take of them for Priests and Levites, saith the Lord, to uphold hereby such a form of superiority among the Ministers of the Gospel, succeeding those in the Law, as the Lords-day did the Sabbath. But certain if this method may be admitted of interpreting those propheticall passages concerning Christian times in a punctual correspondence, it may with equal probability be urg'd upon us, that we are bound to observe some monthly Solemnity answerable to the new Moons, as well as the Lords-day which we keep in lieu of the Sabbath: for in the 23d verse the Prophet joins them in the same manner together, as before he did the Priests and Levites, thus. *And it shall come to pass that from one New Moon to another, and from one Sabbath to another shall all flesh come to worship before me, saith the Lord.* Undoubtedly with as good consequence may it be alledg'd from hence, that we are to solemnize some religious monthly meeting different from the Sabbath, as from the other any distinct formality of Ecclesiastical Orders may be inferr'd. This rather will appear to be the lawful and unconstrain'd sense of the Text, that

that God in taking of them for Priests and Levites, will not esteem them unworthy, though Gentiles, to undergo any function in the Church, but will make of them a full and perfect Ministry, as was that of the Priests and Levites in their kind. And Bishop *Andrews* himself, to end the controversy, sends us a candid Exposition of this quoted verse from the 24th page of his said book, plainly deciding that God by those legal names there of Priests and Levites means our Presbyters and Deacons; for which either ingenuous confession, or flip of his pen we give him thanks, and withal to him that brought these Treatises into one volume, who setting the contradictions of two learned Men so near together, did not foresee. What other deducements or analogies are cited out of *S. Paul* to prove a likeness between the Ministers of the Old and New Testament, having tri'd their sinews, I judg they may pass without harm doing to our Cause. We may remember then that Prelaty neither hath nor can have foundation in the Law, nor yet in the Gospel; which assertion as being for the plainness thereof a matter of eye-sight, rather then of disquisition, I voluntarily omit, not forgetting to specify this note again, that the earnest desire which the Prelats have to build their Hierarchy upon the sandy bottom of the Law, gives us to see abundantly the little assurance which they find to reare up their high roofs by the authority of the Gospel, repulst as it were from the writings of the Apostles, and driven to take sanctuary among the Jews. Hence that open confession of the Primat before mention'd; Episcopacy is fetcht partly from the pattern of the Old Testament, and partly from the New as an imitation of the Old; though nothing can be more rotten in Divinity then such a position as this, and is all one as to say, Episcopacy is partly of divine institution, and partly of mans own carving. For who gave the authority to fetch more from the pattern of the Law then what the Apostles had already fetcht, if they fetcht any thing at all, as hath been prov'd they did not? So was *Jeroboams* Episcopacy partly from the pattern of the Law, and partly from the pattern of his own Carnality; a parti-colour'd and a parti-member'd Episcopacy: and what can this be less then a monstrous? Others therefore among the Prelats, perhaps not so well able to brook, or rather to justify this foul relapsing to the old Law, have condescended at last to a plain confessing that both the names and offices of Bishops and Presbyters at first were the same, and in the Scriptures no where distinguish'd. This grants the Remonstrant in the fifth Section of his defence, and in the Preface to his last short answer. But what need respect be had whether he grant or grant it not, when as through all Antiquity, and even in the loftiest times of Prelaty, we find it granted? *Jerome* the learned'st of the Fathers hides not his opinion, that Custom only, which the Proverb calls a Tyrant, was the maker of Prelaty; before his audacious workmanship the Churches were rul'd in common by the Presbyters: and such a certain truth this was esteem'd, that it became a decree among the Papal Canons compil'd by *Gratian*. *Anselme* also of *Canterbury*, who to uphold the points of his Prelatishm made himself a traytor to his Country, yet commenting the Epistles to *Titus* and the *Philippians*, acknowledges from the clearness of the Text, what *Jerome* and the Church Rubrick hath before acknowledg'd. He little dreamt then that the weeding-hook of Reformation would after two ages pluck up his glorious poppy from insulting over the good corn. Though since some of our British Prelats, seeing themselves prest to produce Scripture, try all their cunning, if the New Testament will not help them, to frame of their own heads as it were with wax a kind of Mimick Bishop limm'd out to the life of a dead Priesthood: Or else they would strain us out a certain figurative Prelat, by wringing the collective allegory of those seven Angels into seven single Rochets. Howsoever since it thus appears that custom was the creator of Prelaty, being less ancient then the government of Presbyters, it is an extreme folly to give them the hearing that tell us of Bishops through so many ages: and if against their tedious muster of Citations, Sees, and Successions, it be reply'd that wagers and Church antiquities, such as are repugnant to the plain dictat of Scripture, are both alike the arguments of fools, they have their answer. We rather are to cite all those ages to an arraignment before the Word of God, wherefore, and what pretending, how presuming they durst alter that divine Institution.

of Presbyters, which the Apostles who were no various and inconstant men surely had set up in the Churches; and why they chuse to live by custom and catalogue, or as St. *Paul* saith by sight and visibility, rather than by faith? But first I conclude from their own mouths, that God's command in Scripture, which doubtless ought to be the first and greatest reason of Church-government, is wanting to Prelaty. And certainly we have plenteous warrant in the doctrine of Christ to determine that the want of this reason is of it self sufficient to confute all other pretences that may be brought in favour of it.

C H A P. VI.

That Prelaty was not set up for prevention of Schism, as is pretended; or if it were, that it performs not what it was first set up for, but quite the contrary.

YET because it hath the outside of a specious reason, and specious things we know are aptest to work with humane lightness and frailty, even against the solideest truth that sounds not plausibly, let us think it worth the examining for the love of infirmer Christians, of what importance this their second reason may be. Tradition they say hath taught them, that for the prevention of growing Schism the Bishop was heav'd above the Presbyter. And must Tradition then ever thus to the world's end be the perpetual canker-worm to eat out God's Commandments? are his decrees so inconsiderate and so fickle, that when the statutes of *Solon* or *Lycurgus* shall prove durably good to many ages, his in forty years shall be found defective, ill contriv'd, and for needful causes to be alter'd? Our Saviour and his Apostles did not only foresee, but foretel and forewarn us to look for Schism. Is it a thing to be imagin'd of God's wisdom, or at least of Apostolic prudence, to set up such a Government in the tenderness of the Church, as should incline, or not be more able than any other to oppose it self to Schism? It was well known what a bold lurker Schism was, even in the household of Christ, between his own Disciples and those of *John* the Baptist about fasting: and early in the Acts of the Apostles the noise of Schism had almost drown'd the proclaiming of the Gospel; yet we read not in Scripture that any thought was had of making Prelats, no not in those places where dissention was most rise. If Prelaty had been then esteem'd a remedy against Schism, where was it more needful then in that great variance among the Corinthians which St. *Paul* so labour'd to reconcile? and whose eye could have found the fittest remedy sooner then his? and what could have made the remedy more available, then to have us'd it speedily? And lastly, what could have been more necessary then to have written it for our instruction? yet we see he neither commended it to us, nor us'd it himself. For the same division remaining there, or else bursting forth again more then twenty years after St. *Paul*'s death, we find in *Clement*'s Epistle of venerable Authority, written to the yet factious *Corinthians*, that they were still govern'd by Presbyters. And the same of other Churches out of *Hermas*, and divers other the scholars of the Apostles, by the late industry of the learned *Salmasius* appears. Neither yet did this worthy *Clement*, St. *Paul*'s Disciple, though writing to them to lay aside Schism, in the least word advise them to change the Presbyterian Government into Prelaty. And therefore if God afterward gave or permitted this insurrection of Episcopacy, it is to be fear'd he did it in his wrath, as he gave the Israelites a King. With so good a will doth he use to alter his own chosen Government once establish'd. For mark whether this rare device of mans brain, thus preferr'd before the Ordinance of God, had better success then fleshly wisdom, not counselling with God, is wont to have. So far was it from removing Schism, that if Schism parted the Congregations before, now it rent and mangl'd, now it rag'd. Heresie begat Heresie with a certain monstrous haste of pregnancy in her birth, at once born and

and bringing forth. Contentions, before brotherly, were now hostile. Men went to choose their Bishop as they went to a pitch'd field, and the day of his election was like the sacking of a City, sometimes ended with the blood of thousands. Nor this among Hereticks only, but men of the same belief, yea Confessors, and that with such odious ambition, that *Eusebius* in his eighth Book testifies he abhorr'd to write. And the reason is not obscure, for the poor dignity, or rather burden, of a Parochial Presbyter could not ingage any great party, nor that to any deadly feud : but Prelaty was a power of that extent and sway, that if her election were popular, it was seldom not the cause of some faction or broil in the Church. But if her dignity came by favour of some Prince, she was from that time his creature, and obnoxious to comply with his ends in state, were they right or wrong. So that instead of finding Prelaty an impeacher of Schism or Faction, the more I search the more I grow into all perswasion to think rather that faction and she, as with a spousal ring, are wedded together, never to be divorc'd. But here let every one behold the just and dreadful judgment of God meeting with the audacious pride of man that durst offer to mend the ordinances of Heaven. God out of the strife of men brought forth by his Apostles to the Church that beneficent and ever distributing office of Deacons, the Stewards and Ministers of holy alms : Man, out of the pretended care of peace and unity, being caught in the snare of his impious boldness to correct the will of Christ, brought forth to himself upon the Church that irreconcilable Schism of Perdition and Apostacy, the Roman Antichrist ; for that the exaltation of the Pope arose out of the reason of Prelaty, it cannot be deny'd. And as I noted before, that the pattern of the High Priest pleaded for in the Gospel (for take away the head Priest, the rest are but a carcass) sets up with better reason a Pope than an Archbishop ; for if Prelaty must still rise and rise till it come to a Primat, why should it stay there ? whenas the Catholick Government is not to follow the division of Kingdoms, the Temple best representing the universal Church, and the High Priest the universal Head : so I observe here, that if to quiet Schism there must be one head of Prelaty in a Land, or Monarchy, rising from a provincial to a national Primacy, there may upon better grounds of repressing Schism be set up one Catholick head over the Catholick Church. For the peace and good of the Church is not terminated in the schismless estate of one or two Kingdoms, but should be provided for by the joint consultation of all reformed Christendom : that all controversie may end in the final pronounce or canon of one Arch-primat or Protestant Pope. Although by this means, for ought I see, all the diameters of Schism may as well meet and be knit up in the center of one grand fallshood. Now let all impartial men arbitrate what goodly inference these two main reasons of the Prelats have, that by a natural league of consequence make more for the Pope than for themselves ; yea, to say more home, are the very womb for a new Subantichrist to breed in, if it be not rather the old force and power of the same man of sin counterfeiting Protestant. It was not the prevention of Schism, but it was Schism it self, and the hateful thirst of Lording in the Church that first bestow'd a being upon Prelaty ; this was the true cause, but the pretence is still the same. The Prelats, as they would have it thought, are the only mawls of Schism. Forsooth if they be put down, a deluge of innumerable Sects will follow ; we shall be all Brownists, Familists, Anabaptists. For the word Puritan seems to be quasht, and all that heretofore were counted such, are now Brownists. And thus do they raise an evil report upon the expected reforming Grace that God hath bid us hope for, like those faithless spies, whose carcasses shall perish in the wilderness of their own confused ignorance, and never taste the good of Reformation. Do they keep away Schism ? if to bring a num and chill stupidity of Soul, an unactive blindness of mind upon the people by their leaden Doctrine, or no Doctrine at all ; if to persecute all knowing and zealous Christians by the violence of their Courts, be to keep away Schism, they keep away Schism indeed : and by this kind of Discipline all *Italy* and *Spain* is as purely and politickly kept from Schism as *England* hath been by them. With as good a plea might the dead-palpie boast to a man, 'tis I that free you from stitches and pains, and the troublesome feeling of cold and heat, of wounds and strokes ; if I were gone, all these would molest you. The winter might

as well vaunt it self against the Spring, I destroy all noysome and rank weeds; I keep down all pestilent vapours; yes, and all wholesome herbs, and all fresh dews, by your violent and hide-bound frost: but when the gentle west winds shall open the fruitful bosom of the Earth, thus over-girded by your imprisonment, then the flowers put forth and spring, and then the Sun shall scatter the mists, and the manuring hand of the tiller shall root up all that burdens the soil without thank to your bondage. But far worse than any frozen captivity is the bondage of Prelats, for that other, if it keep down any thing which is good within the Earth, so doth it likewise that which is ill; but these let out freely the ill, and keep down the good, or else keep down the lesser ill, and let out the greatest. Be asham'd at last to tell the Parliament, ye curb Schismatics, whenas they know ye cherish and side with Papists, and are now as it were one party with them, and 'tis said they help to petition for ye. Can we believe that your Government strains in good earnest at the petty gnats of Schism, whenas we see it makes nothing to swallow the Camel Heresie of *Rome*, but that indeed your throats are of the right Pharisaical strain? Where are those Schismatics with whom the Prelats hold such hot skirmish? shew us your Acts, those glorious Annals which your Courts of loathed memory lately deces'd have left us? Those Schismatics I doubt me will be found the most of them such as whose only Schism was to have spoke the truth against your high abominations and cruelties in the Church; this is the Schism ye hate most, the removal of your criminous Hierarchy. A politick Government of yours, and of a pleasant conceit, set up to remove those as a pretended Schism, that would remove you as a palpable Heresie in Government. If the Schism would pardon ye that, she might go jagg'd in as many cuts and slashes as she pleas'd for you. As for the rending of the Church, we have many reasons to think it is not that which ye labour to prevent so much as the rending of your pontifical sleeves: that Schism would be the forest Schism to you, that would be Brownism and Anabaptism indeed. If we go down, say you, as if *Adrian's* wall were broke, a flood of Sects will rush in. What Sects? What are their opinions? give us the Inventory; it will appear both by your former prosecutions and your present instances, that they are only such to speak of as are offended with your lawless Government, your Ceremonies, your Liturgy, an extract of the Mass-book translated. But that they should be contemners of publick prayer, and Churches us'd without superstition, I trust God will manifest it ere long to be as false a slander, as your former slanders against the Scots. Noise it till ye be hoarse, that a rabble of Sects will come in; it will be answer'd ye, No rabble Sir Priest, but a unanimous multitude of good Protestants will then join to the Church, which now because of you stand separated. This will be the dreadful consequence of your removal. As for those terrible names of Sectaries and Schismatics which ye have got together, we know your manner of fight, when the quiver of your arguments, which is ever thin, and weakly stor'd, after the first brunt is quite empty, your course is to betake ye to your other quiver of slander, wherein lies your best archery. And whom ye could not move by sophistical arguing, them you think to confute by scandalous misnaming; thereby inciting the blinder sort of people to dislike and deride sound Doctrine and good Christianity, under two or three vile and hateful terms. But if we could easily indure and dissolve your doubtiest reasons in argument, we shall more easily bear the worst of your unreasonableness in calumny and false report: Especially being foretold by Christ, that if he our Master were by your predecessors call'd Samaritan and Belzebub, we must not think it strange if his best Disciples in the Reformation, as at first by those of your Tribe they were call'd Lollards and Hussites, so now by you be term'd Puritans and Brownists. But my hope is, that the people of *England* will not suffer themselves to be juggl'd thus out of their Faith and Religion by a mist of names cast before their eyes, but will search wisely by the Scriptures, and look quite through this fraudulent aspersion of a disgraceful name into the things themselves: knowing that the Primitive Christians in their times were accounted such as are now call'd Familists and Adamites, or worse. And many on the Prelatick side, like the Church of *Sardis*, have a name to live, and yet are dead; to be Protestants, and are indeed Papists in most of their principles. Thus perswaded, this your old fallacy we shall

shall soon unmask, and quickly apprehend how you prevent Schism, and who are your Schismatics. But what if ye prevent and hinder all good means of preventing Schism? That way which the Apostles us'd, was to call a Council; from which by any thing that can be learnt from the fifteenth of the *Acts*, no faithful Christian was debarr'd, to whom knowledg and piety might give entrance. Of such a Council as this every parochial Consistory is a right homogeneous and constituting part, being in it self as it were a little Synod, and towards a general Assembly moving upon her own basis in an even and firm progression, as those smaller Squares in battel unite in one great Cube, the main Phalanx, an emblem of truth and stedfastness. Whereas on the other side Prelaty ascending by a gradual monarchy from Bishop to Archbishop, from thence to Primat; and from thence, for there can be no reason yielded neither in Nature, nor in Religion, wherefore, if it have lawfully mounted thus high, it should not be a Lordly Ascendant in the Horoscope of the Church, from Primat to Patriarch, and so to Pope: I say, Prelaty thus ascending in a continual pyramid upon pretence to perfect the Churches unity, if notwithstanding it be found most needful, yea the utmost help to dearn up the rents of Schism by calling a Council, what does it but teach us that Prelaty is of no force to effect this work which she boasts to be her master-piece; and that her pyramid aspires and sharpens to ambition, not to perfection or unity? This we know, that as often as any great Schism disparts the Church, and Synods be proclam'd, the Presbyters have as great right there, and as free vote of old, as the Bishops, which the Canon-law conceals not. So that Prelaty, if she will seek to close up divisions in the Church, must be forc't to dissolve and unmake her own pyramidal figure, which she affirms to be of such uniting power, whenas indeed it is the most dividing and schismatical form that Geometricians know of, and must be fain to inglobe or incube her self among the Presbyters; which she hating to do, sends her haughty Prelats from all parts with their forked Miters, the badg of Schism, or the stamp of his cloven foot, whom they serve I think, who according to their Hierarchies acuminating it still higher and higher in a cone of Prelaty, instead of healing up the gashes of the Church, as it happens in such pointed bodies meeting, fall to gore one another with their sharp spires for upper place and precedence, till the Council it self prove the greatest Schism of all. And thus they are so far from hindring dissention, that they have made unprofitable, and even noysome, the chiefest remedy we have to keep Christendom at one, which is by Councils: and these, if we rightly consider Apostolick example, are nothing else but general Presbyteries. This seem'd so far from the Apostles to think much of, as if hereby their dignity were impair'd, that, as we may gather by those Epistles of *Peter* and *John*, which are likely to be latest written, when the Church grew to a settling, like those heroick Patricians of *Rome* (if we may use such comparison) hasting to lay down their Dictatorship, they rejoyc'd to call themselves, and to be as Fellow-elders among their Brethren; knowing that their high office was but as the scaffolding of the Church yet unbuilt, and would be but a troublesome disfigurement, so soon as the building was finish'd. But the lofty minds of an age or two after, such was their small discerning, thought it a poor indignity, that the high rear'd Government of the Church should so on a sudden, as it seem'd to them, squat into a Presbytery. Next, or rather before Councils, the timeliest prevention of Schism is to preach the Gospel abundantly and powerfully throughout all the Land, to instruct the Youth religiously, to endeavour how the Scriptures may be easiest understood by all men; to all which the proceedings of these men have been on set purpose contrary. But how, O Prelats, should you remove Schism? and how should you not remove and oppose all the means of removing Schism? when Prelaty is a Schism it self from the most reformed and most flourishing of our neighbour Churches abroad, and a sad subject of discord and offence to the whole nation at home. The remedy which you alledge is the very disease we groan under; and never can be to us a remedy but by removing it self. Your predecessors were believ'd to assume this pre-eminence above their brethren, only that they might appease dissention. Now God and the Church calls upon you, for the same reason, to lay it down, as being to thousands of good men offensive, burdensome, intolerable. Surrender that pledg, which, unless you foully usurpt

usurpt it, the Church gave you, and now claims it again, for the reason she first lent it. Discharge the trust committed to you, prevent Schism, and that ye can never do, but by discharging your selves. That Government which ye hold, we confess, prevents much, hinders much, removes much; but what? the Schisms and Grievances of the Church? no, but all the peace and unity, all the welfare not of the Church alone, but of the whole Kingdom. And if it be still permitted ye to hold, will cause the most sad, I know not whether Separation be enough to say, but such a wide gulph of distraction in this Land, as will never close her dismal gap until ye be forc'd (for of your selves ye will never do as that Roman *Curtius* nobly did) for the Churches peace and your Countries, to leap into the midst, and be no more seen. By this we shall know whether yours be that ancient Prelaty which you say was first constituted for the reducement of quiet and unanimity into the Church, for then you will not delay to prefer that above your own preferment. If otherwise, we must be confident that your Prelaty is nothing else but your ambition, an insolent preferring of your selves above your brethren; and all your learned scraping in antiquity, even to disturb the bones of old *Aaron* and his sons in their graves, is but to maintain and set upon our necks a stately and severe dignity, which you call sacred, and is nothing in very deed but a grave and reverent gluttony, a sanctimonious avarice, in comparison of which, all the duties and dearnesses which ye owe to God or to his Church, to Law, Custom, or Nature, ye have resolv'd to set at nought. I could put you in mind what Counsel *Clement* a Fellow-labourer with the Apostles gave to the Presbyters of *Corinth*, whom the people, though unjustly, sought to remove. Who among you, saith he, is noble minded, who is pitiful, who is charitable? let him say thus, If for me this sedition, this enmity, these differences be, I willingly depart, I go my ways, only let the flock of Christ be at peace with the Presbyters that are set over it. He that shall do this, saith he, shall get him great honour in the Lord, and all places will receive him. This was *Clement's* Counsel to good and holy men, that they should depart rather from their just office, then by their stay to ravle out the seamless garment of Concord in the Church. But I have better counsel to give the Prelats, and far more acceptable to their ears, this advice in my opinion is fitter for them: Cling fast to your Pontifical Sees, bate not, quit your selves like Barons, stand to the utmost for your haughty Courts and Votes in Parliament. Still tell us, that you prevent Schism, though Schism and Combustion be the very issue of your bodies, your first-born; and set your Country a bleeding in a Prelatical mutiny, to fight for your pompe, and that ill-favour'd weed of temporal honour that sits dishonourably upon your laick shoulders, that ye may be fat and fleshy, swoln with high thoughts, and big with mischievous designs, when God comes to visit upon you all this fourscore years vexation of his Church under your Egyptian Tyranny. For certainly of all those blessed Souls which you have persecuted, and those miserable ones which you have lost, the just vengeance does not sleep.

C H A P. VII.

*That those many Sects and Schisms by some suppos'd to be among us,
and that Rebellion in Ireland, ought not to be a hindrance, but a
hastning of Reformation.*

AS for those many Sects and Divisions rumor'd abroad to be amongst us, it is not hard to perceive that they are partly the mere fictions and false alarms of the Prelats, thereby to cast amazements and panick terrors into the hearts of weaker Christians, that they should not venture to change the present deformity of the Church for fear of I know not what worse inconveniencies. With the same objected fears and suspicions, we know that suttile Prelat *Gardner* sought to divert the first Reformation. It may suffice us to be taught by

by *St. Paul*, that there must be Sects for the manifesting of those that are sound-hearted. These are but winds and flaws to try the floating vessel of our Faith, whether it be staunch and sail well, whether our ballast be just, our anchorage and cable strong. By this is seen who lives by Faith and certain knowledge, and who by credulity and the prevailing opinion of the age, whose virtue is of an unchangeable grain, and whose of a slight wash. If God come to try our constancy, we ought not to shrink or stand the less firmly for that, but pass on with more stedfast resolution to establish the Truth, though it were through a lane of Sects and Heresies on each side. Other things men do to the glory of God: but Sects and Errors, it seems, God suffers to be for the glory of good men, that the world may know and reverence their true fortitude and undaunted constancy in the Truth. Let us not therefore make these things an incumbrance, or an excuse of our delay in reforming, which God sends us as an incitement to proceed with more honour and alacrity. For if there were no opposition, where were the trial of an unfained goodness and magnanimity? Virtue that wavers is not virtue, but vice revolted from it self, and after a while returning. The actions of just and pious men do not darken in their middle course; but *Solomon* tells us, they are as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day. But if we shall suffer the trifling doubts and jealousies of future Sects to overcloud the fair beginnings of purpos'd Reformation, let us rather fear that another proverb of the same wise man be not upraid to us, that the way of the wicked is as darkness, they stumble at they know not what. If Sects and Schisms be turbulent in the unsetl'd estate of a Church, while it lies under the amending hand, it best beseems our Christian courage to think they are but as the throws and pangs that go before the birth of Reformation, and that the work it self is now in doing. For if we look but on the nature of elemental and mixt things, we know they cannot suffer any change of one kind or quality into another, without the struggle of contrarieties. And in things artificial, seldom any elegance is wrought without a superfluous wast and refuse in the transaction. No marble statue can be politely carv'd, no fair edifice built without almost as much rubbish and sweeping. Insomuch that even in the spiritual conflict of *St. Paul's* conversion, there fell scales from his eyes that were not perceiv'd before. No wonder then in the reforming of a Church, which is never brought to effect without the fierce encounter of truth and falsehood together, if, as it were the splinters and shares of so violent a jousting, there fall from between the shock many fond errors and fanatick opinions, which when Truth has the upper hand, and the Reformation shall be perfected, will easily be rid out of the way, or kept so low, as that they shall be only the exercise of our knowledge, not the disturbance or interruption of our faith. As for that which *Barclay* in his image of Minds writes concerning the horrible and barbarous conceits of Englishmen in their Religion, I deem it spoken like what he was, a fugitive Papist, traducing the Island whence he sprung. It may be more judiciously gather'd from hence, that the Englishman of many other Nations is least atheistical, and bears a natural disposition of much reverence and awe towards the Deity; but in his weakness and want of better instruction, which among us too frequently is neglected, especially by the meaner sort, turning the bent of his own wits, with a scrupulous and ceaseless care, what he might do to inform himself aright of God and his Worship, he may fall not unlikely sometimes, as any other Land-man, into an uncouth opinion. And verily if we look at his native towardliness in the rough cast without breeding, some Nation or other may haply be better compos'd to a natural civility and right judgment than he. But if he get the benefit once of a wise and well rectifi'd nurture, which must first come in general from the godly vigilance of the Church, I suppose that where-ever mention is made of Countries, Manners, or Men, the English People among the first that shall be prais'd, may deserve to be accounted a right pious, right honest, and right hardy Nation. But thus while some stand dallying and deferring to reform for fear of that which should mainly hasten them forward, lest Schism and Error should encrease, we may now thank our selves and our delays, if instead of Schism a bloody and inhumane rebellion be strook in between our slow movings. Indeed against violent and powerful opposition there can be no just blame of a lingering dispatch. But this I urge

against those that discourse it for a maxim, as if the swift opportunities of establishing or reforming Religion were to attend upon the steam of state-business. In state many things at first are crude and hard to digest, which only time and deliberation can supple and concoct. But in Religion, wherein is no immaturity, nothing out of season, it goes far otherwise. The door of Grace turns upon smooth hinges wide opening to send out, but soon shutting to recal the precious offers of mercy to a Nation: which unless watchfulness and zeal; two quick-sighted and ready-handed virgins, be there in our behalf to receive, we loose: and still the oftner we loose, the straiter the door opens, and the less is offer'd. This is all we get by demurring in God's service. 'Tis not rebellion that ought to be the hindrance of Reformation, but it is the want of this which is the cause of that. The Prelats which boast themselves the only bridlers of Schism, God knows have been so cold and backward both there and with us to repress Heresie and Idolatry, that either through their carelessness or their craft all this mischief is befalln. What can the Irish Subject do less in God's just displeasure against us, then revenge upon English bodies the little care that our Prelats have had of their Souls? Nor hath their negligence been new in that Iland, but ever notorious in Queen *Elizabeth's* days, as *Camden* their known friend forbears not to complain. Yet so little are they toucht with remorse of these their cruelties, for these cruelties are theirs, the bloody revenge of those Souls which they have famish'd, that whenas against our brethren the Scots, who by their upright and loyal deeds, have now bought themselves an honourable name to posterity, whatsoever malice by slander could invent, rage in hostility attempt, they greedily attempted toward these murderous Irish, the enemies of God and Mankind, a cursed off-spring of their own connivance, no man takes notice but that they seem to be very calmly and indifferently affected. Where then should we begin to extinguish a rebellion that hath its cause from the misgovernment of the Church? where, but at the Churches reformation, and the removal of that Government which pursues and wars with all good Christians under the name of Schismatics, but maintains and fosters all Papists and Idolaters as tolerable Christians? And if the sacred Bible may be our light, we are neither without example, nor the witness of God himself, that the corrupted estate of the Church is both the cause of tumult and civil wars, and that to stint them, the peace of the Church must first be setl'd. Now for a long season, saith *Azariah* to King *Asa*, *Israel hath been without the true God, and without a teaching Priest, and without Law: and in those times there was no peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in, but great vexations were upon all the inhabitants of the countries. And Nation was destroy'd of Nation, and City of City, for God did vex them with all adversity. Be ye strong therefore,* saith he to the Reformers of that age, *and let not your hands be weak, for your work shall be rewarded.* And in those Prophets that liv'd in the times of Reformation after the Captivity, often doth God stir up the People to consider that while establishment of Church-matters was neglected, and put off, there was no peace to him that went out or came in; for I, saith God, *had set all men every one against his neighbour.* But from the very day forward that they went seriously and effectually about the welfare of the Church, he tells them that they themselves might perceive the sudden change of things into a prosperous and peaceful condition. But it will here be said that the Reformation is a long work, and the miseries of *Ireland* are urgent of a speedy redress. They be indeed; and how speedy we are, the poor afflicted remnant of our martyr'd Countrymen that sit there on the Sea-shore, counting the hours of our delay with their sighs, and the minutes with their falling tears, perhaps with the destilling of their bloody wounds, if they have not quite by this time cast off, and almost curs'd the vain hope of our founder'd ships and aids, can best judg how speedy we are to their relief. But let their succours be hasten'd, as all need and reason is; and let not therefore the Reformation, which is the chiefest cause of success and victory, be still procrastinated. They of the Captivity in their greatest extremities could find both counsel and hands enough at once to build, and to expect the enemies assault. And we for our parts, a populous and mighty Nation, must needs be falln into a strange plight either of effeminacy or confusion, if *Ireland*, that was once the conquest of one single Earl with his private forces,

Zech. 8.

Hag. 2.

and

and the small assistance of a petty Kernish Prince, should now take up all the Wisdom and Prowess of this potent Monarchy, to quell a barbarous crew of Rebels, whom if we take but the right course to subdue, that is, beginning at the Reformation of our Church, their own horrid Murders and Rapes will so fight against them, that the very Sutlers and Horse-boys of the Camp will be able to rout and chase them without the staining of any noble Sword. To proceed by other method in this Enterprize, be our Captains and Commanders never so expert, will be as great an Error in the Art of War, as any Novice in Souldierhip ever committed. And thus I leave it as a declared Truth, that neither the fear of Sects, no nor Rebellion, can be a fit plea to stay Reformation, but rather to push it forward with all possible diligence and speed.

The Second B O O K.

HOW happy were it for this frail, and as it may be truly call'd, mortal Life of Man, since all earthly things which have the name of good and convenient in our daily use, are withal so cumbersome and full of trouble, if Knowledg, yet which is the best and lightest possession of the mind, were, as the common saying is, no burden; and that what it wanted of being a load to any part of the body, it did not with a heavy advantage overlay upon the Spirit? For not to speak of that Knowledg that rests in the contemplation of natural Causes and Dimensions, which must needs be a lower Wisdom, as the Object is low, certain it is that he who hath obtain'd in more then the scantiest measure to know any thing distinctly of God, and of his true Worship, and what is infallibly good and happy in the state of man's Life, what in it self evil and miserable, though vulgarly not so esteem'd; he that hath obtain'd to know this, the only high valuable Wisdom indeed, remembring also that God even to a strictness requires the improvement of these his entrusted Gifts, cannot but sustain a sorer burden of mind, and more pressing then any supportable toil or weight which the Body can labour under: how and in what manner he shall dispose and employ those sums of Knowledg and Illumination which God hath sent him into this world to trade with. And that which aggravats the burden more, is, that having receiv'd amongst his allotted parcels certain pretious Truths of such an orient lustre as no Diamond can equal; which nevertheless he has in charge to put off at any cheap rate, yea, for nothing to them that will; the great Merchants of this world fearing that this cours would soon discover, and disgrace the fals glitter of their deceitful Wares wherewith they abuse the People, like poor Indians, with Beads and Glasse, practize by all means how they may suppress the venting of such Rarities, and at such a cheapnes as would undo them, and turn their Trash upon their hands. Therefore by gratifying the corrupt desires of men in fleshly Doctrines, they stir them up to persecute with hatred and contempt all those that seek to bear themselves uprightly in this their spiritual Factory: which they foreseeing, though they cannot but testify of Truth, and the excellency of that heavenly Traffick which they bring, against what opposition or danger soever, yet needs must it sit heavily upon their Spirits, that being in God's prime Intention and their own, selected Heralds of Peace, and dispensers of Treasure inestimable, without price to them that have no Pence, they find in the discharge of their Commission, that they are made the greatest Variance and Offence, a very Sword and Fire both in House and City over the whole Earth. This is that which the sad Profet Jeremiah laments, *Wo is me my Mother, that thou hast born me a man of strife and contention!* And although divine Inspiration must certainly have been sweet to those ancient Profets, yet the irksomeness of that Truth which they brought was so unpleasant unto them, that every where they call it a Burden. Yea that mysterious Book of *Revelation*, which the great Evangelist

gelist was bid to eat, as it had been some eye-brightning Electuary of Knowledge and Foresight, though it were sweet in his Mouth, and in the learning, it was bitter in his belly, bitter in the denouncing. Nor was this hid from the wise Poet *Sophocles*, who in that place of his Tragedy, where *Tiresias* is call'd to resolve *K. Edipus* in a matter which he knew would be grievous, brings him in bemoaning his lot, that he knew more then other men. For surely to every good and peaceable Man it must in nature needs be a hateful thing to be the displeaser and molester of thousands; much better would it like him doubtless to be the Messenger of Gladnes and Contentment, which is his chief intended business to all mankind, but that they resist and oppose their own true happiness. But when God commands to take the Trumpet, and blow a dolorous or a jarring Blast, it lies not in man's Will what he shall say, or what he shall conceal. If he shall think to be silent, as *Jeremiah* did, because of the reproach and derision he met with daily, and *all his familiar Friends watcht for his halting*, to be reveng'd on him for speaking the Truth, he would be forc'd to confess as he confess't; *his Word was in my heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones; I was weary with forbearing, and could not stay*. Which might teach these times not suddenly to condemn all things that are sharply spoken, or vehemently written, as proceeding out of Stomach, Virulence, and ill Nature; but to consider rather that if the Prelats have leave to say the worst that can be said, and do the worst that can be done, while they strive to keep to themselves, to their great pleasure and commodity, those things which they ought to render up, no man can be justly offended with him that shall endeavour to impart and bestow, without any gain to himself, those sharp but saving words, which would be a terror and a torment in him to keep back. For me, I have determin'd to lay up as the best Treasure, and solace of a good old Age, if God voutsafe it me, the honest liberty of free Speech from my Youth, where I shall think it available in so dear a Concernment as the Churches good. For if I be either by disposition, or what other cause, too inquisitive, or suspicious of my self and mine own doings, who can help it? But this I foresee, that should the Church be brought under heavy oppression, and God have given me ability the while to reason against that Man that should be the Author of so foul a deed; or should she, by blessing from above on the industry and courage of faithful Men, change this her distracted estate into better days, without the least furdurance or contribution of those few Talents which God at that present had lent me, I foresee what stories I should hear within my self, all my life after, of Discourage and Reproach. Timorous and ingrateful, the Church of God is now again at the foot of her insulting Enemies, and thou bewailst; what matters it for thee, or thy bewailing? When time was, thou couldst not find a syllable of all that thou hast read, or studied, to utter in her behalf. Yet ease and leasure was given thee for thy retired Thoughts, out of the sweat of other men. Thou hadst the diligence, the parts, the language of a Man, if a vain Subject were to be adorn'd or beautif'd; but when the Cause of God and his Church was to be pleaded, for which purpose that Tongue was given thee which thou hast, God listen'd if he could hear thy Voice among his zealous Servants, but thou wert dumb as a beast; from hence forward be that which thine own brutish silence hath made thee. Or else I should have heard on the other ear; Slothful, and ever to be set light by, the Church hath now overcome her late Distresses after the unwearied labours of many her true Servants that stood up in her defence; thou also wouldst take upon thee to share amongst them of their joy: But wherefore thou? where canst thou shew any Word or Deed of thine which might have hasten'd her peace? whatever thou dost now talk, or write, or look, is the Alms of other mens active prudence and zeal. Dare not now to say, or do any thing better then thy former sloth and infancy; or if thou darst, thou dost impudently to make a thrifty purchase of boldness to thy self, out of the painful Merits of other men: what before was thy Sin, is now thy Duty, to be abject and worthless. These, and such like lessons as these, I know would have been my Matins daily, and my Even-song. But now by this little diligence, mark what a privilege I have gain'd with good Men and Saints, to claim my right of lamenting the tribulations of the Church, if she should suffer, when others that have ventur'd nothing for her sake, have not the honour

nour to be admitted Mourners. But if she lift up her drooping head and prosper, among those that have something more then wisht her welfare, I have my charter and freehold of rejoycing to me and my Heirs. Concerning therefore this wayward Subject against Prelaty, the touching whereof is so distastful and disquietous to a number of men, as by what hath been said I may deserve of charitable Readers to be credited, that neither Envy nor Gall hath enterd me upon this Controversy, but the enforcement of Conscience only, and a preventive fear lest the omitting of this Duty should be against me when I would store up to my self the good provision of peaceful hours : So lest it should be still imputed to me, as I have found it hath been, that some self-pleasing humor of vain-glory hath incited me to contest with Men of high estimation, now while green years are upon my head, from this needless surmised I shall hope to dissuade the intelligent and equal Auditor, if I can but say succesfully that which in this Exigent behoovs me, although I would be heard only, if it might be, by the elegant and learned Reader, to whom principally for a while I shall beg leave I may address my self. To him it will be no new thing, though I tell him that if I hunted after praise, by the ostentation of Wit and Learning, I should not write thus out of mine own season, when I have neither yet compleated to my mind the full Circle of my private studies, although I complain not of any insufficiency to the matter in hand ; or were I ready to my wishes, it were a folly to commit any thing elaborately compos'd to the careless and interrupted listening of these tumultuous times. Next, if I were wise only to my own ends, I would certainly take such a Subject as of it self might catch applause, whereas this hath all the Disadvantages on the contrary, and such a Subject as the publishing whereof might be delay'd at pleasure, and time enough to pencil it over with all the curious touches of Art, even to the perfection of a faultless Picture ; whenas in this Argument the not deferring is of great moment to the good speeding, that if Solidity have leisure to do her office, Art cannot have much. Lastly, I should not chuse this manner of writing, wherein knowing my self inferior to my self, led by the genial Power of Nature to another Task, I have the use, as I may account it, but of my left hand. And though I shall be foolish in saying more to this purpose, yet since it will be such a folly, as wisest Men going about to commit, have only confest and so committed, I may trust with more reason, because with more folly, to have courteous pardon. For although a Poet, soaring in the high Region of his Fancies, with his Garland and singing Robes about him, might, without Apology, speak more of himself then I mean to do ; yet for me sitting here below in the cool Element of Prose, a mortal thing among many Readers of no Empyrean Conceit, to venture and divulge unusual things of my self, I shall petition to the gentler sort, it may not be envy to me. I must say therefore, that after I had from my first years, by the ceaseless diligence and care of my Father, whom God recompence, been exercis'd to the Tongues, and some Sciences, as my Age would suffer, by sundry Masters and Teachers both at home and at the Schools, it was found, that whether ought was impos'd me by them that had the overlooking, or betak'n to of mine own choise in English, or other Tongue, prosing or versing, but chiefly this latter, the stile by certain vital Signs it had, was likely to live. But much latelier in the privat Academies of *Italy*, whither I was favor'd to resort, perceiving that some Trifles which I had in memory, compos'd at under twenty or thereabout (for the manner is, that every one must give some proof of his wit and reading there) met with acceptance above what was lookt for, and other things which I had shifted in scarcity of Books and Conveniences to patch up amongst them, were receiv'd with written Encomiums, which the Italian is not forward to bestow on men of this side the *Alps*, I began thus far to assent both to them and divers of my Friends here at home ; and not less to an inward prompting which now grew daily upon me, that by labour and intent study, (which I take to be my portion in this Life) joyn'd with the strong propensity of Nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to after-times, as they should not willingly let it die. These thoughts at once possess me, and these other ; That if I were certain to write as men buy Leases, for three Lives and downward, there ought no regard be sooner had then to God's Glory, by the honour and in-

struction

struction of my Country. For which cause, and not only for that I knew it would be hard to arrive at the second Rank among the Latines, I apply'd my self to that Resolution which *Ariosto* follow'd against the persuasions of *Bembo*, to fix all the Industry and Art I could unite to the adorning of my native Tongue; not to make verbal Curiosities the end, that were a toylsome Vanity, but to be an Interpreter and Relater of the best and sagest things among mine own Citizens throughout this Iland in the mother dialect. That what the greatest and choicest Wits of *Athens*, *Rome*, or modern *Italy*, and those Hebrews of old did for their Country, I in my proportion, with this over and above, of being a Christian, might do for mine; not caring to be once nam'd abroad, though perhaps I could attain to that, but content with these British Ilands as my World, whose Fortune hath hitherto bin, that if the Athenians, as some say, made their small Deeds great and renowned by their eloquent writers, *England* hath had her noble Atchievements made small by the unskilful handling of Monks and Mechanicks.

Time serves not now, and perhaps I might seem too profuse to give any certain account of what the mind at home, in the spacious circuits of her musing, hath liberty to propose to her self, though of highest hope, and hardest attempting, whether that Epick form whereof the two Poems of *Homer*, and those other two of *Virgil* and *Tasso* are a diffuse, and the Book of *Job* a brief Model: or whether the rules of *Aristotle* herein are strictly to be kept, or Nature to be follow'd, which in them that know Art, and use Judgment, is no transgression, but an enriching of Art. And lastly, what King or Knight before the Conquest might be chosen in whom to lay the pattern of a Christian Hero. And as *Tasso* gave to a Prince of *Italy* his choise, whether he would command him to write of *Godfreys* expedition against the Infidels, or *Belisarius* against the Gotlies, or *Charlemain* against the Lombards; if to the instinct of Nature and the imboldning of Art ought may be trusted, and that there be nothing advers in our Climat, or the fate of this Age, it haply would be no rashness from an equal diligence and inclination, to present the like offer in our own ancient Stories. Or whether those Dramatick Constitutions, wherein *Sophocles* and *Euripides* reign, shall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a Nation. The Scripture also affords us a Divine pastoral Drama in the Song of *Salomon*, consisting of two Persons, and a double Chorus, as *Origen* rightly judges. And the Apocalyps of Saint *John* is the majestick Image of a high and stately Tragedy, shutting up and intermingling her solemn Scenes and Acts with a sevenfold Chorus of Halleluja's and harping Symphonies: and this my opinion the grave authority of *Pareus*, commenting that Book, is sufficient to confirm. Or if occasion shall lead, to imitat those magnifick Odes and Hymns wherein *Pindarus* and *Callimachus* are in most things worthy, some others in their frame judicious, in their matter most an end faulty. But those frequent Songs throughout the Law and Prophets beyond all these, not in their divine Argument alone, but in the very critical Art of Composition, may be easily made appear over all the kinds of Lyrick Poesy, to be incomparable. These abilities, wheresoever they be found, are the inspired gift of God rarely bestow'd, but yet to some (though most abuse) in every Nation: and are of power, beside the Office of a Pulpit, to inbreed and cherish in a great People the seeds of Vertu, and publick Civility, to allay the perturbations of the Mind, and set the affections in right tune; to celebrate in glorious and lofty Hymns the Throne and Equipage of Gods Almightyness, and what he works, and what he suffers to be wrought with high Providence in his Church; to sing victorious Agonies of Martyrs and Saints, the Deeds and Triumphs of just and pious Nations, doing valiantly through Faith against the enemies of Christ; to deplore the general relapses of Kingdoms and States from justice and Gods true worship. Lastly, whatsoever in Religion is holy and sublime, in Vertu amiable or grave, whatsoever hath Passion or Admiration in all the changes of that which is call'd Fortune from without, or the wily fittleties and refluxes of mans thoughts from within; all these things with a solid and treatable smoothness to paint out and describe. Teaching over the whole Book of Sanctity and Vertu, through all the instances of Example, with such delight to those, especially of soft and delicious Temper, who will not so much as look upon Truth her self, unless they see her elegantly drest; that

that whereas the Paths of honesty and good Life appear now rugged and difficult, though they be indeed easy and pleasant, they would then appear to all men both easy and pleasant, though they were rugged and difficult indeed. And what a benefit this would be to our Youth and Gentry, may be soon guess'd by what we know of the Corruption and Bane which they suck in daily from the writings and interludes of libidinous and ignorant Poetasters, who having scars ever heard of that which is the main consistence of a true Poem, the choys of such Persons as they ought to introduce, and what is moral and decent to each one, do for the most part lap up vicious Principles in sweet Pils to be swallow'd down, and make the tast of vertuous Documents harsh and fowr. But because the Spirit of man cannot demean it self lively in this Body without some recreating intermission of Labour, and serious things, it were happy for the Commonwealth, if our Magistrates, as in those famous Governments of old, would take into their care, not only the deciding of our contentious Law-Cases and Brauls, but the managing of our publick Sports, and festival Pastimes, that they might be, not such as were autoriz'd a while since, the provocations of Drunkenness and Lust, but such as may inure and harden our Bodies by Martial exercises to all warlike skil and performance; and may civilize, adorn, and make discreet our Minds by the learned and affable meeting of frequent Academies, and the procurement of wise and artful recitations, sweetned with eloquent and graceful inticements to the love and practice of Justice, Temperance and Fortitude, instructing and bettering the Nation at all opportunities, that the call of Wisdom and Vertu may be heard every where, as Solomon saith, *She crieth without, she uttereth her voice in the Streets, in the top of high places, in the chief concours, and in the openings of the Gates.* Whether this may not be not only in Pulpits, but after another perswasive method, at set and solemn Paneguries, in Theaters, Porches, or what other place or way, may win most upon the People to receive at once both Recreation, and Instruction; let them in authority consult. The thing which I had to say, and those Intentions which have liv'd within me ever since I could conceive my self any thing worth to my Country, I return to crave excuse that urgent Reason hath pluckt from me, by an abortive and foredated discovery. And the accomplishment of them lies not but in a power above mans to promise; but that none hath by more studious ways endeavour'd, and with more unwearied Spirit that none shall, that I dare almost aver of my self, as far as life and free leasure will extend; and that the Land had once infranchis'd her self from this impertinent yoke of Prelaty, under whose inquilitorius and tyrannical duncery, no free and splendid Wit can flourish. Neither do I think it shame to covenant with any knowing Reader, that for some few years yet I may go on trust with him toward the payment of what I am now indebted, as being a work not to be rais'd from the heat of Youth, or the vapours of Wine; like that which flows at wast from the Pen of some vulgar Amorist, or the trencher fury of a riming Parasite; nor to be obtain'd by the invocation of Dame Memory and her Siren Daughters, but by devout Prayer to that eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledg, and sends out his Seraphim, with the hallow'd Fire of his Altar, to touch and purify the Lips of whom he pleases: to this must be added industrious and select Reading, steddly Observation, insight into all seemly and generous Arts and Affairs; till which in some measure be compass'd, at mine one peril and cost, I refuse not to sustain this expectation from as many as are not loth to hazard so much credulity upon the best Pledges that I can give them. Although it nothing content me to have disclos'd thus much before hand, but that I trust hereby to make it manifest with what small willingness I endure to interrupt the pursuit of no less hopes then these, and leave a calm and pleasing Solitarines, fed with cherful and confident thoughts, to imbarke in a troubl'd Sea of noises and hoars Disputes, from beholding the bright countenance of Truth, in the quiet and still Air of delightful Studies, to come into the dim reflection of hollow Antiquities sold by the seeming bulk, and there be fain to club quotations with men whose learning and belief lies in marginal stuffings; who when they have, like good sumpters, laid ye down their hors-load of Citations and Fathers at your door, with a Rapfody of who and who were Bishops here or there, ye may take off their Packfaddles, their

their days work is don, and Episcopacy, as they think, stoutly vindicated. Let any gentle Apprehension that can distinguish learned Pains from unlearned Drudgery, imagin what pleasure or profoundness can be in this, or what honour to deal against such Adversaries. But were it the meanest under-service, if God by his secretary Conscience injoin it, it were sad for me if I should draw back, for me especially; now when all men offer their aid to help, ease and lighten the difficult labours of the Church, to whose service, by the intentions of my Parents and Friends, I was destin'd of a Child, and in mine own resolutions, till coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what Tyranny had invaded the Church, that he who would take Orders must subscribe slave, and take an Oath withal; which unless he took with a Conscience that would retch, he must either strait perjure, or split his Faith; I thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred Office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing. Howsoever thus Church-outed by the Prelats, hence may appear the right I have to meddle in these matters, as before the necessity and constraint appear'd.

C H A P. I.

*That Prelaty opposeth the reason and end of the Gospel three ways,
and first in her outward Form.*

After this digression, it would remain that I should single out some other reason which might undertake for Prelaty to be a fit and lawful Church-Government; but finding none of like validity with these that have already sped according to their fortune, I shall add one reason why it is not to be thought a Church-Government at all, but a Church-Tyranny, and is at hostile Terms with the end and reason of Christs Evangelick Ministry. Albeit I must confess to be half in doubt whether I should bring it forth or no, it being so contrary to the eye of the World, and the World so potent in most mens Hearts, that I shall endanger either not to be regarded, or not to be understood: For who is there almost that measures Wisdom by simplicity, Strength by suffering, Dignity by lowliness? who is there that counts it first to be last, something to be nothing, and reckons himself of great command in that he is a Servant? Yet God when he meant to subdue the World and Hell at once, part of that to Salvation, and this wholly to Perdition, made chois of no other Weapons, or Auxiliaries then these, whether to save or to destroy. It had been a small Maistery for him to have drawn out his Legions into array, and flankt them with his Thunder; therefore he sent Foolishness to confute Wisdom, Weakness to bind Strength, Despisedness to vanquish Pride: And this is the great mystery of the Gospel made good in Christ himself, who as he testifies came not to be minister'd to, but to minister; and must be fulfil'd in all his Ministers till his second coming. To go against these principles St. Paul so fear'd, that if he should but affect the Wisdom of words in his preaching, he thought it would be laid to his charge, that he had made the Cross of Christ to be of none effect. Whether then Prelaty do not make of none effect the Cross of Christ, by the principles it hath so contrary to these, nullifying the power and end of the Gospel, it shall not want due proof, if it want not due belief. Neither shall I stand to trifle with one that will tell me of Quidities and Formalities, whether Prelaty or Prelateity in abstract notion be this or that; it suffices me that I find it in his Skin, so I find it inseparable, or not oftner otherwise then a Phenix hath bin seen: although I perswade me that whatever faultines was but superficial to Prelaty at the beginning, is now by the just Judgment of God, long since branded and inworn into the very essence thereof. First therefore, if to do the work of the Gospel, Christ our Lord took upon him the form of a Servant; how can his Servant in this Ministry take upon him the form of a Lord? I know *Bilson* hath decipher'd us all the galanteries of *Signore* and *Monsignore*, and *Monsieur*, as circumstantially as any punctualist

alist of *Castel, Naples, or Fountain-Bleau* could have done : but this must not so complement us out of our right minds, as to be to learn that the form of a Servant was a mean, laborious, and vulgar Life aptest to teach ; which form Christ thought fittest, that he might bring about his Will according to his own Principles, choosing the meaner things of this World, that he might put under the high. Now whether the pompous Garb, the lordly Life, the Wealth, the haughty distance of Prelaty be those meaner things of the World, whereby God in them would manage the mystery of his Gospel, be it the verdict of common sense. For Christ saith in *St. John, The Servant is not greater then his Lord, nor he that is sent greater then he that sent him* ; and adds, *If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them*. Then let the Prelats well advise, if they neither know, nor do these things, or if they know, and yet do them not, wherein their Happiness consists. And thus is the Gospel frustrated by the Lordly form of Prelaty.

C H A P. II.

That the ceremonious doctrine of Prelaty opposeth the reason and end of the Gospel.

THAT which next declares the heavenly Power, and reveals the deep mystery of the Gospel, is the pure simplicity of Doctrine, accounted the foolishness of this World, yet crossing and confounding the Pride and Wisdom of the Flesh. And wherein consists this fleshly Wisdom and Pride ? in being altogether ignorant of God and his Worship ? No surely, for Men are naturally ashamed of that. Where then ? It consists in a bold presumption of ordering the Worship and Service of God after mans own Will in Traditions and Ceremonies. Now if the Pride and Wisdom of the Flesh were to be defeated and confounded, no doubt but in that very point wherein it was proudest, and thought it self wisest, that so the victory of the Gospel might be the more illustrious. But our Prelats, instead of expressing the spiritual Power of their Ministry, by warring against this chief bulwark and strong hold of the Flesh, have enter'd into fast League with the principal Enemy against whom they were sent, and turn'd the strength of fleshly Pride and Wisdom against the pure simplicity of saving Truth. First, mistrusting to find the Authority of their Order in the immediat Institution of Christ, or his Apostles, by the clear evidence of Scripture, they fly to the carnal supportment of Tradition ; when we appeal to the Bible, they to the unweildy Volumes of Tradition : And do not shame to reject the Ordinance of him that is eternal, for the pervers iniquity of sixteen hundred Years ; choosing rather to think Truth it self a Liar, then that sixteen Ages should be taxt with an error ; not considering the general Apostasy that was foretold, and the Churches flight into the Wildernes. Nor is this enough ; instead of shewing the reason of their lowly Condition from divine example and command, they seek to prove their high pre-eminence from human Consent and Authority. But let them chaunt while they will of Prerogatives, we shall tell them of Scripture ; of Custom, we of Scripture ; of Acts and Statutes, still of Scripture ; till the quick and pearcing Word enter to the dividing of their Souls, and the mighty weaknes of the Gospel throw down the weak mightines of mans reasoning. Now for their demeanor within the Church, how have they disfigur'd and defac't that, more then angelick brightness, the unclouded serenity of Christian Religion, with the dark overcasting of superstitious Coaps and flaminical Vestures, wearing on their Backs, and I abhor to think, perhaps in some worse Place, the unexpressible Image of God the Father ? Tell me ye Priests, wherefore this Gold, wherefore these Robes and Surplices over the Gospel ? Is our Religion guilty of the first Trespas, and hath need of cloathing to cover her Nakedness ? What does this else but cast an ignominy upon the perfection of Christs ministry, by seeking to adorn it with that which was

the poor remedy of our Shame? Believe it, wondrous Doctors, all corporeal resemblances of inward Holiness and Beauty are now past; he that will cloath the Gospel now, intimates plainly, that the Gospel is naked, uncomely, that I may not say reproachful. Do not, ye Church-maskers, while Christ is clothing upon our Bareness with his righteous Garment, to make us acceptable in his Fathers sight; do not, as ye do, cover and hide his righteous verity with the polluted clothing of your Ceremonies, to make it seem more decent in your own eyes. *How beautiful, saith Isaiah, are the Feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth Salvation!* Are the feet so beautiful, and is the very bringing of these tidings so decent of it self? What new Decency then can be added to this by your spinstry? Ye think by these gaudy glisterings to stir up the devotion of the rude Multitude; ye think so, because ye forsake the heavenly teaching of *S. Paul* for the hellish Sophistry of Papism. If the Multitude be rude, the lips of the Preacher must give Knowledg, and not Ceremonies. And although some Christians be new born Babes comparatively to some that are stronger, yet in respect of Ceremony, which is but the rudiment of the Law, the weakest Christian hath thrown off the robes of his Minority, and is a perfect man, as to legal Rites. What childrens food there is in the Gospel we know to be no other than the *sincerity of the Word, that they may grow thereby.* But is here the utmost of your outbraving the service of God? No. Ye have bin bold, not to set your threshold by his threshold, or your posts by his posts, but your Sacrament, your Sign, call it what you will, by his Sacrament, baptizing the Christian Infant with a solemn sprinkle, and unbaptizing for your own part with a profane and impious forefinger: as if when ye had laid the purifying element upon his Forehead, ye meant to cancel and cross it out again with a character not of Gods bidding. O but the innocence of these Ceremonies! O rather the sottish absurdity of this excuse! What could be more innocent than the washing of a cup, a glass, or hands before meat, and that under the Law when so many Washings were commanded, and by long tradition? yet our Saviour detested their Customs, though never so seeming harmless, and charges them severely that they had transgressed the Commandments of God by their traditions, and worshipt him in vain. How much more then must these, and much grosser Ceremonies now in force delude the end of Christ's coming in the flesh against the flesh, and stifle the sincerity of our new Cov'nant, which hath bound us to forsake all carnal Pride and Wisdom, especially in matters of Religion? Thus we see again how Prelaty, failing in opposition to the main end and power of the Gospel, doth not join in that misterious Work of Christ, by lowliness to confound height, by simplicity of doctrin the wisdom of the world, but contrariwise hath made it self high in the world and the flesh, to vanquish things by the world accounted low, and made it self wise in tradition and fleshly ceremony, to confound the purity of doctrin which is the Wisdom of God.

C H A P. III.

That Prelatical Jurisdiction opposeth the reason and end of the Gospel and of State.

THE third and last Consideration remains, whether the Prelats in their function do work according to the Gospel, practizing to subdue the mighty things of this world by things weak, which *S. Paul* hath set forth to be the power and excellence of the Gospel; or whether in more likelihood they band themselves with the prevalent things of this world, to over-run the weak things which Christ hath made choice to work by; and this will soonest be discern'd by the cours of their Jurisdiction. But here again I find my thoughts almost in suspense betwixt yea and no, and am nigh turning mine eye which way I may best retire, and not proceed in this subject, blaming the ardency of my mind that fixt me too attentively to come thus far. For Truth, I know

know not how, hath this unhappiness fatal to her, ere she can come to the trial and inspection of the Understanding; being to pass through many little wards and limits of the several Affections and Desires, she cannot shift it, but must put on such colours and attire, as those pathological handmaids of the Soul please to lead her in to their Queen: And if she find so much favour with them, they let her pass in her own likeness; if not, they bring her into the presence habited and colour'd like a notorious falsehood. And contrary when any Falsehood comes that way, if they like the errand she brings, they are so artful to counterfeit the very shape and visage of Truth, that the Understanding not being able to discern the fucus which these Inchantresses with such cunning have laid upon the feature sometimes of Truth, sometimes of Falsehood interchangeably, sentences for the most part one for the other at the first blush, according to the suttile imposture of these sensual mistresses that keep the ports and passages between her and the object. So that were it not for leaving imperfect that which is already said, I should go near to relinquish that which is to follow. And because I see that most Men, as it happens in this world, either weakly or falsely principl'd, what through ignorance, and what through custom of licence, both in discours and writing, by what hath bin of late written in vulgar, have not seem'd to attain the decision of this point, I shall likewise assay those wily Arbitresses who in most men have, as was heard, the sole ushering of Truth and Falsehood between the sense and the soul, with what loyalty they will use me in convoying this Truth to my understanding; the rather for that by as much acquaintance as I can obtain with them, I do not find them engag'd either one way or other. Concerning therefore Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, I find still more controversie, who should administer it; then diligent enquiry made to learn what it is, for had the pains bin taken to search out that, it had bin long ago enroul'd to be nothing else but a pure tyrannical forgery of the Prelats; and that jurisdictional power in the Church there ought to be none at all. It cannot be conceiv'd that what men now call Jurisdiction in the Church, should be other thing then a Christian Censorship; and therefore is it most commonly and truly nam'd Ecclesiastical Censure. Now if the Roman Censor, a civil function, to that severe assize of surveying and controuling the privatest and slickest manners of all men and all degrees, had no Jurisdiction, no courts of Plea, or Inditement, no punitive force annex; whether it were that to this manner of correction the intanglement of suits was improper, or that the notice of those upright Inquisitors extended to such the most covert and spiritous vices as would slip easily between the wider and more material grasp of the Law; or that it stood more with the Majesty of that Office to have no other Serjeants or Maces about them but those invisible ones of Terror and Shame: Or lastly, were it their fear, lest the greatness of this Authority and Honour, arm'd with Jurisdiction, might step with ease into a Tyranny: In all these respects, with much more reason undoubtedly, ought the censure of the Church be quite devested and disintal'd of all Jurisdiction whatsoever. For if the cours of Judicature to a political Censorship seem either too tedious, or too contentious, much more may it to the discipline of the Church, whose definitive decrees are to be speedy, but the execution of rigour slow, contrary to what in legal proceedings is most usual; and by how much the less contentious it is, by so much will it be the more Christian. And if the Censor in his moral Episcopy, being to judg most in matters not answerable by writ or action, could not use an instrument so gross and bodily as Jurisdiction is, how can the Minister of the Gospel manage the corpulent and secular trial of Bill and Process in things meerly spiritual? Or could that Roman Office, without this juridical Sword or Saw, strike such a reverence of it self into the most undaunted hearts, as with one single dash of ignominy to put all the Senate and Knighthood of *Rome* into a tremble? surely much rather might the heavenly Ministry of the Evangel bind her self about with far more pearcing beams of Majesty and awe, by wanting the beggarly help of halings and ameracements in the use of her powerful Keies. For when the Church without temporal support is able to do her great works upon the unforc't obedience of men, it argues a Divinity about her. But when she thinks to credit and better her spiritual efficacy, and to win her self respect and dread by strutting in the false visard

of worldly authority, 'tis evident that God is not there, but that her apostolick vertu is departed from her; and hath left her *Key-cold*: Which she perceiving as in a decay'd nature, seeks to the outward fomentations and chafings of worldly help, and external flourishes, to fetch, if it be possible, some motion into her extream parts; or to hatch a counterfeit life with the crafty and arteficial heat of Jurisdiction. But it is observable, that so long as the Church, in true imitation of Christ, can be content to ride upon an Afs, carrying her self and her Government along in a mean and simple guise, she may be, as he is, a Lion of the tribe of *Juda*; and in her humility all men with loud Hosanna's will confess her Greatness. But when despising the mighty operation of the Spirit by the weak things of this world, she thinks to make her self bigger and more considerable, by using the way of civil force and jurisdiction, as she sits upon this Lion she changes into an Afs, and instead of Hosanna's every man pelts her with stones and dirt. Lastly, if the wisdom of the Romans fear'd to commit Jurisdiction to an Office of so high esteem and drest as was the Censors, we may see what a solecism in the art of policy it hath bin all this while through Christendom to give jurisdiction to Ecclesiastical Censure. For that strength, joyn'd with Religion, abus'd and pretended to ambitious ends, must of necessity breed the heaviest and most quelling Tyranny not only upon the necks, but even to the souls of men: which if Christian *Rome* had bin so cautelous to prevent in her Church, as Pagan *Rome* was in her State, we had not had such a lamentable experience thereof as now we have from thence upon all Christendom. For although I said before, that the Church coveting to ride upon the lionly form of Jurisdiction, makes a transformation of her self into an Afs, and becomes despicable, that is to those whom God hath enlight'nd with true knowledg; but where they remain yet in the reliques of Superstition, this is the extremity of their bondage, and blindness, that while they think they do obeisance to the Lordly visage of a Lion, they do it to an Afs, that through the just Judgment of God is permitted to play the dragon among them because of their wilful stupidity. And let *England* here well rub her eyes, lest by leaving Jurisdiction and Church-Censure to the same persons, now that God hath bin so long medicining her eye-sight, she do not with her overpolitick fetches mar all, and bring her self back again to worship this Afs bestriding a Lion. Having hitherto explain'd, that to Ecclesiastical Censure no jurisdictional power can be added, without a childish and dangerous oversight in Policy, and a pernicious contradiction in evangelick Discipline, as anon more fully; it will be next to declare wherein the true reason and force of Church-Censure consists, which by then it shall be laid open to the root; so little is it that I fear lest any crookedness, any wrinkle or spot should be found in Presbyterian Government, that if *Bodin* the famous French Writer, though a Papist, yet affirms that the Commonwealth which maintains this Discipline will certainly flourish in Vertu and Piety, I dare assure my self that every true Protestant will admire the Integrity, the Uprightness, the divine and gracious Purposes thereof, and even for the reason of it so coherent with the doctrine of the Gospel, beside the evidence of command in Scripture, will confess it to be the only true Church-government; and that contrary to the whole end and mystery of Christ's coming in the flesh, a false appearance of the same is exercis'd by Prelaty. But because some count it rigorous, and that hereby men shall be liable to a double Punishment, I will begin somewhat higher, and speak of Punishment. Which, as it is an evil, I esteem to be of two sorts, or rather two degrees only, a reprobate Conscience in this life, and Hell in the other world. Whatever else men call Punishment or Censure, is not properly an Evil, so it be not an illegal violence, but a saving med'cin ordain'd of God both for the publick and privat good of Man; who consisting of two parts, the inward and the outward, was by the eternal Providence left under two sorts of cure, the Church and the Magistrat. The Magistrat hath only to deal with the outward part, I mean not of the Body alone, but of the Mind in all her outward acts, which in Scripture is call'd the outward man. So that it would be helpful to us if we might borrow such Authority as the Rhetoricians by patent may give us, with a kind of Promethean skill to shape and fashion this outward Man into the similitude of a Body, and set him visible before us;

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imagining the inner Man only as the Soul. Thus then the Civil Magistrat looking only upon the outward Man; (I say as a Magistrat, for what he doth further, he doth it as a Member of the Church) if he find in his complexion, skin, or outward temperature the Signs and Marks, or in his doings the Effects of Injustice, Rapine, Lust, Cruelty, or the like, sometimes he shuts up as in frenetick or infectious Diseases; or confines within dores, as in every sickly estate. Sometimes he shaves by Penalty or Mulct, or els to cool and take down those luxuriant Humors which Wealth and Excess have caus'd to abound. Otherwhiles he seres, he cauterizes, he scarifi's, lets blood; and finally, for utmost remedy cuts off. The Patients, which most an end are brought into his Hospital, are such as are far gone, and beside themselves, (unless they be falsely accus'd) so that Force is necessary to tame and quiet them in their unruly fits, before they can be made capable of a more human cure. His general End is the outward Peace and Welfare of the Commonwealth, and civil Happiness in this Life. His particular End in every Man is, by the infliction of pain, damage, and disgrace, that the Senses and common perceivance might carry this Message to the Soul within, that it is neither easeful, profitable, nor praise-worthy in this Life to do evil. Which must needs tend to the good of Man, whether he be to live or die; and be undoubtedly the first means to a natural Man, especially an Offender, which might open his eyes to a higher consideration of Good and Evil, as it is taught in Religion. This is seen in the often penitence of those that suffer, who, had they scapt, had gon on sinning to an immesurable heap, which is one of the extreamest punishments. And this is all that the Civil Magistrat, as so being, confers to the healing of Man's mind, working only by terrifying Plaisters upon the rind and orifice of the Sore; and by all outward appliances, as the Logicians say, *a posteriori*, at the Effect, and not from the Cause; not once touching the inward bed of Corruption, and that hectick disposition to evil, the source of all Vice and Obliquity against the Rule of Law. Which how insufficient it is to cure the Soul of Man, we cannot better guess then by the Art of bodily Physick. Therefore God, to the intent of further healing man's deprav'd Mind, to this Power of the Magistrat, which contents it self with the restraint of evil doing in the external Man, added that which we call Censure, to purge it and remove it clean out of the inmost Soul. In the beginning this Authority seems to have bin plac'd, as all both civil and religious Rites once were, only in each Father of a Family: Afterwards among the Heathen, in the wise Men and Philosophers of the Age; but so as it was a thing voluntary, and no set Government. More distinctly among the Jews, as being God's peculiar, where the Priests, Levites, Profets, and at last the Scribes and Pharisees took charge of instructing and overseeing the Lives of the People. But in the Gospel, which is the straitest and the dearest Cov'nant can be made between God and Man, we being now his adopted Sons, and nothing fitter for us to think on then to be like him, united to him, and as he pleases to express it, to have fellowship with him, it is all necessity that we should expect this blest Efficacy of healing our inward Man to be ministr'd to us in a more familiar and effectual Method then ever before. God being now no more a Judg after the Sentence of the Law, nor, as it were, a School-master of perishable Rites, but a most indulgent Father, governing his Church as a Family of Sons in their discreet Age: and therefore in the sweetest and mildest manner of paternal Discipline, he hath committed this other Office of preserving in healthful constitution the inner Man, which may be term'd the Spirit of the Soul, to his spiritual Deputy the Minister of each Congregation; who being best acquainted with his own Flock, hath best reason to know all the secretest Diseases likely to be there. And look by how much the internal Man is more excellent and noble then the external, by so much is his Cure more exactly, more throughly, and more particularly to be perform'd. For which cause the Holy Ghost by the Apostles joyn'd to the Minister, as Assistant in this great Office, sometimes a certain number of grave and faithful Brethren, (for neither doth the Physician do all in restoring his Patient, he prescribes, another prepares the Med'cin, some tend, some watch, some visit) much more may a Minister partly not see all, partly err as a Man: Besides, that nothing can be more for the mutual honour and love of the People to their

Pastor,

Pastor, and his to them, then when in select numbers and courses they are seen partaking, and doing reverence to the holy Duties of Discipline by their serviceable and solemn Presence, and receiving honour again from their Imployment, not now any more to be separated in the Church by Vails and Partitions as Laicks and unclean, but admitted to wait upon the Tabernacle as the rightful Clergy of Christ, a chosen Generation, a royal Priesthood, to offer up spiritual Sacrifice in that meet place to which God and the Congregation shall call and assign them. And this all Christians ought to know, that the Title of Clergy *S. Peter* gave to all God's People, till Pope *Higinus* and the succeeding Prelates took it from them, appropriating that Name to themselves and their Priests only; and condemning the rest of God's Inheritance to an injurious and alienat condition of Laity, they separated from them by local Partitions in Churches, through their gross ignorance and pride imitating the old Temple: and excluded the Members of Christ from the property of being Members, the bearing of orderly and fit Offices in the Ecclesiastical Body, as if they had meant to sow up that Jewish Vail which Christ by his death on the Cross rent in sunder. Although these Usurpers could not so presently overmaster the Liberties and lawful Titles of God's freeborn Church; but that *Origen*, being yet a Lay-man, expounded the Scriptures publicly, and was therein defended by *Alexander of Jerusalem*, and *Theodotus of Caesarea*, producing in his behalf divers Examples, that the privilege of teaching was antiently permitted to many worthy Laymen: And *Cyprian* in his Epistles professes he will do nothing without the advice and assent of his assistant Laicks. Neither did the first *Nicene* Council, as great and learned as it was, think it any robbery to receive in, and require the help and presence of many learned lay Brethren, as they were then call'd. Many other Authorities to confirm this Assertion, both out of Scripture and the Writings of next Antiquity, *Golarcius* hath collected in his Notes upon *Cyprian*; whereby it will be evident, that the Laity, not only by Apostolick permission, but by consent of many the ancientest Prelates, did participat in Church-Offices as much as is desir'd any lay Elder should now do. Sometimes also not the Elders alone, but the whole Body of the Church is interested in the Work of Discipline, as oft as publick Satisfaction is given by those that have given publick Scandal. Not to speak now of her right in Elections. But another reason there is in it, which though Religion did not commend to us, yet moral and civil Prudence could not but extol. It was thought of old in Philosophy, that shame, or to call it better, the reverence of our Elders, our Brethren and Friends, was the greatest Incitement to vertuous Deeds, and the greatest dissuasion from unworthy Attempts that might be. Hence we may read in the *Iliad*, where *Hector* being wisht to retire from the Battel, many of his Forces being routed, makes answer, that he durst not for shame, lest the Trojan Knights and Dames should think he did ignobly. And certain it is that wheras Terror is thought such a great stickler in a Common-wealth, honourable shame is a far greater, and has more reason: for where shame is, there is fear; but where fear is, there is not presently shame. And if any thing may be done to imbreed in us this generous and christianly Reverence one of another, the very Nurs and Guardian of Piety and Vertue, it cannot sooner be then by such a Discipline in the Church, as may use us to have in awe the Assemblies of the Faithful, and to count it a thing most grievous, next to the grieving of God's Spirit, to offend those whom he hath put in Authority, as a healing superintendence over our Lives and Behaviours, both to our own happiness, and that we may not give offence to good men, who without amends by us made, dare not, against God's Command, hold Communion with us in holy things. And this will be accompanied with a religious dread of being outcast from the company of Saints, and from the fatherly protection of God in his Church, to consort with the Devil and his Angels. But there is yet a more ingenuous and noble degree of honest shame, or call it, if you will, an esteem, whereby men bear an inward Reverence toward their own Persons. And if the Love of God, as a Fire sent from Heaven to be ever kept alive upon the Altar of our Hearts, be the first Principle of all godly and vertuous Actions in men, this pious and just honouring of our selves is the second, and may be thought as the radical moisture and fountain-head, whence every laudable and worthy

thy Enterprize issues forth. And although I have given it the name of a li-
quid thing, yet is it not incontinent to bound it self, as humid things are, but
hath in it a most restraining and powerful abstinence to start back, and globe
it self upward from the mixture of any ungenerous and unbeseeming moti-
on, or any Soil wherewith it may peril to stain it self. Something I confess
it is to be asham'd of evil doing in the presence of any ; and to reverence the
Opinion and the Countenance of a good Man rather than a bad, fearing most
in his sight to offend, goes so far as almost to be vertuous ; yet this is but still
the fear of Infamy, and many such, when they find themselves alone, saving
their Reputation, will compound with other Scruples, and come to a close trea-
ty with their dearer Vices in secret. But he that holds himself in reverence
and due esteem, both for the dignity of God's Image upon him, and for the
price of his Redemption, which he thinks is visibly markt upon his Forehead,
accounts himself both a fit Person to do the noblest and godliest Deeds, and
much better worth then to deject and defile, with such a debasement and such
a pollution as Sin is, himself so highly ransom'd and enobl'd to a new Friend-
ship and filial Relation with God. Nor can he fear so much the offence and
reproach of others, as he dreads and would blush at the reflection of his own
severe and modest eye upon himself, if it should see him doing or imagining
that which is sinful, though in the deepest secrecy. How shall a Man know to
do himself this right, how to perform this honourable duty of Estimation
and Respect towards his own Soul and Body ? which way will lead him best to
this Hill-top of Sanctity and Goodness, above which there is no higher ascent
but to the Love of God, which from this self-pious regard cannot be asunder ?
No better way doubtless then to let him duly understand, that as he is call'd
by the high Calling of God to be holy and pure, so is he by the same appoint-
ment ordain'd, and by the Churches call admitted to such Offices of Discipline
in the Church, to which his own spiritual Gifts, by the Example of Aposto-
lick Institution, have autoriz'd him. For we have learnt that the scornful
term of *Laick*, the consecrating of Temples, Carpets, and Table-cloths, the
railing in of a repugnant and contradictory Mount *Sinai* in the Gospel, as if
the touch of a lay Christian, who is nevertheless God's living Temple, could
profane dead Judaism, the exclusion of Christ's People from the Offices of
holy Discipline through the pride of a usurping Clergy, causes the rest to
have an unworthy and abject Opinion of themselves, to approach to holy
Duties with a slavish fear, and to unholy doings with a familiar boldness. For
seeing such a wide and terrible distance between religious things and them-
selves, and that in respect of a wooden Table, and the perimeter of holy
Ground about it, a flagon Pot, and a linen Corporal, the Priest esteems
their Layships unhallow'd and unclean, they fear Religion with such a fear as
loves not, and think the purity of the Gospel too pure for them, and that any
uncleanness is more suitable to their unconsecrated Estate. But when every
good Christian, thoroughly acquainted with all those glorious Privileges of San-
ctification and Adoption, which render him more sacred then any dedicated
Altar or Element, shall be restor'd to his right in the Church, and not ex-
cluded from such place of spiritual Government, as his Christian Abilities, and
his approved good Life in the eye and testimony of the Church, shall prefer
him to, this and nothing sooner will open his eyes to a wise and true valuation
of himself ; which is so requisite and high a point of Christianity, and will
stir him up to walk worthy the honourable and grave Employment wherewith
God and the Church hath dignifi'd him ; not fearing lest he should meet with
some outward holy thing in Religion, which his Lay-touch or presence might
profane ; but lest something unholy from within his own Heart, should disho-
nour and profane in himself that Priestly Unction and Clergy-right whereto
Christ hath entitl'd him. Then would the Congregation of the Lord soon re-
cover the true likeness and visage of what she is indeed, a holy Generation, a
royal Priesthood, a saintly Communion, the Household and City of God. And
this I hold to be another considerable Reason why the Functions of Church-
Government ought to be free and open to any Christian man, though never so
laick, if his Capacity, his Faith and prudent demeanour commend him. And
this the Apostles warrant us to do. But the Prelats object, that this will bring
profaneness into the Church : to whom may be reply'd, that none have
brought

brought that in more then their own irreligious courses, nor more driven Ho-
 linefs out of living into livelefs things. For whereas God, who hath cleans'd
 every beast and creeping worm, would not suffer *S. Peter* to call them com-
 mon or unclean, the Prelat Bishops, in their printed Orders hung up in
 Churches, have proclaim'd the best of Creatures, Mankind, so unpurifi'd and
 contagious, that for him to lay his Hat or his Garment upon the Chancel-
 Table, they have defin'd it no less hainous, in exprefs words, than to pro-
 fane the Table of the Lord. And thus have they by their Canaanitish Doctrin,
 (for that which was to the Jew but Jewish, is to the Christian no better then
 Canaanitish) thus have they made common and unclean, thus have they made
 profane that nature which God hath not only clean'd, but Christ also hath as-
 sum'd. And now that the equity and just reason is so perspicuous, why in
 Ecclesiastick censure the assistance should be added of such, as whom not the
 vile odour of Gain and Fees (forbid it God, and blow it with a Whirlwind
 out of our Land) but Charity, Neighbourhood, and duty to Church-Govern-
 ment hath call'd together, where could a wise man wish a more equal, gratu-
 itous, and meek examination of any Office that he might happen to commit
 against Christianity then here? Would he prefer those proud simoniacal
 Courts? Thus therefore the Minister assisted attends his Heavenly and Spirit-
 ual Cure: where we shall see him both in the course of his proceeding; and
 first in the excellency of his end, from the Magistrate far different, and not
 more different then excelling. His end is to recover all that is of man, both
 Soul and Body, to an everlasting Health: and yet as for worldly Happiness,
 which is the proper Sphere wherein the Magistrate cannot but confine his
 motion without a hideous exorbitancy from Law, so little aims the Minister,
 as his intended scope, to procure the much Prosperity of this Life, that oft-
 times he may have cause to wish much of it away, as a Diet puffing up the
 Soul with a slimy fleshiness, and weakning her principal Organick parts. Two
 heads of evil he has to cope with, Ignorance and Malice. Against the for-
 mer he provides the daily Manna of incorruptible Doctrin, not at those set
 Meals only in publick, but as oft as he shall know that each Infirmary, or
 Constitution requires. Against the latter with all the branches thereof, not
 meddling with that restraining and styptick Surgery which the Law uses, not
 indeed against the malady, but against the Eruptions, and outermost Effects
 thereof; he on the contrary, beginning at the prime causes and roots of the
 Disease, sends in those two divine Ingredients of most cleansing power to the
 Soul, Admonition and Reproof; besides which two there is no Drug or An-
 tidote that can reach to purge the mind, and without which all other Experi-
 ments are but vain, unless by accident. And he that will not let these pass
 into him, though he be the greatest King, as *Plato* affirms, must be thought
 to remain impure within, and unknowing of those things wherein his pure-
 ness and his knowledg should most appear. As soon therefore as it may be
 discern'd that the Christian Patient, by feeding elsewhere on Meats not al-
 lowable, but of evil Juice, hath disorder'd his Diet, and spread an ill Humour
 through his Vains, immediatly disposing to a Sickness, the Minister, as being
 much nearer both in Eye and Duty then the Magistrate, speeds him betimes
 to overtake that diffus'd Malignance with some gentle Potion of Admonish-
 ment; or if ought be obstructed, puts in his opening and discussive Consecra-
 tions. This not succeeding after once or twice, or oftner, in the presence of
 two or three his faithful Brethren appointed thereto, he advises him to be
 more careful of his dearest Health, and what it is that he so rashly hath let
 down into the divine Vessel of his Soul, God's Temple. If this obtain not,
 he then, with the counsel of more Assistants, who are inform'd of what
 diligence hath been already us'd, with more speedy Remedies lays neerer siege
 to the entrenched Causes of his Distemper, not sparing such fervent and
 well-aim'd Reproofs as may best give him to see the dangerous estate wherein
 he is. To this also his Brethren and Friends intreat, exhort, adjure; and all
 these Endeavours, as there is hope left, are more or less repeated. But if
 neither the regard of himself, nor the reverence of his Elders and Friends
 prevail with him, to leave his vitious Appetite, then as the time urges, such
 Engines of Terror God hath given into the hand of his Minister as to search
 the tenderest Angles of the Heart: one while he shakes his stubbornness
 with

with racking convulsions nigh despair, otherwhiles with deadly corrosives he gripes the very roots of his faulty liver to bring him to life through the entry of death. Hereto the whole Church beseech him, beg of him, deplore him, pray for him. After all this perform'd with what patience and attendance is possible, and no relenting on his part, having done the utmost of their cure, in the name of God and of the Church they dissolve their fellowship with him, and holding forth the dreadful sponge of Excommunication, pronounce him wip'd out of the list of God's Inheritance, and in the custody of Satan till he repent. Which horrid sentence, tho it touch neither life nor limb, nor any worldly possession, yet has it such a penetrating force, that swifter then any chymical sulphur, or that lightning which harms not the skin, and rises the entrails, it scorches the inmost Soul. Yet even this terrible denouncement is left to the Church for no other cause but to be as a rough and vehement cleansing medicin, where the malady is obdurate, a mortifying to life, a kind of saving by undoing. And it may be truly said, that as the mercies of wicked men are cruelties, so the cruelties of the Church are mercies. For if repentance sent from Heaven meet this lost wanderer, and draw him out of that steep journey wherein he was hastling towards destruction, to come and reconcile to the Church, if he bring with him his bill of health, and that he is now clear of infection, and of no danger to the other sheep, then with incredible expressions of joy all his brethren receive him, and set before him those perfumed bankets of Christian consolation; with pretious ointments bathing and fomenting the old, and now to be forgotten stripes which terror and shame had inflicted; and thus with heavenly solaces they cheer up his humble remorse, till he regain his first health and felicity. This is the approved way which the Gospel prescribes, these are the *spiritual weapons of holy censure*, and ministerial warfare, not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds, casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth it self against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ. What could be done more for the healing and reclaiming that divine particle of God's breathing, the Soul, and what could be done less? he that would hide his faults from such a wholesome curing as this, and count it a twofold punishment, as some do, is like a man that having foul diseases about him, perishes for shame, and the fear he has of a rigorous incision to come upon his flesh. We shall be able by this time to discern whether Prelatical Jurisdiction be contrary to the Gospel or no. First therefore the government of the Gospel being economical and paternal, that is, of such a family where there be no servants, but all sons in obedience, not in servility, as cannot be deny'd by him that lives but within the sound of Scripture; how can the Prelats justify to have turn'd the fatherly orders of Christ's household, the blessed meekness of his lowly roof, those ever open and inviting doors of his dwelling-house, which delight to be frequented with only filial accesses; how can they justify to have turn'd these domestick privileges into the bar of a proud judicial Court, where fees and clamours keep shop and drive a trade, where bribery and corruption solicits, paltring the free and monilefs power of discipline with a carnal satisfaction by the purse? Contrition, humiliation, confession, the very sighs of a repentant Spirit are there sold by the penny. That undestour'd and unblemishable simplicity of the Gospel, not she her self, for that could never be, but a false-whited, a lawnie resemblance of her, like that air-born *Helena* in the fables, made by the sorcery of Prelats, instead of calling her Disciples from the receipt of custom, is now turn'd Publican her self; and gives up her body to a mercenary whoredom under those fornicated Arches which she calls God's house, and in the sight of those her altars which she hath set up to be ador'd, makes merchandize of the bodies and souls of men. Rejecting Purgatory for no other reason, as it seems, then because her greediness cannot defer, but had rather use the utmost extortion of redeemed penances in this life. But because these matters could not be thus carri'd without a begg'd and borrow'd force from worldly authority, therefore Prelaty slighting the deliberat and chosen counsel of Christ in his spiritual government, whose glory is in the weakness of fleshly things, to tread upon the crest of the world's pride and violence by the power of spiritual Ordinances, hath on the contrary made these her friends and champions which are Christ's ene-

mies in this his high design, smothering and extinguishing the spiritual force of his bodily weakness in the discipline of his Church with the boistrous and carnal tyranny of an undue, unlawful, and ungospel-like Jurisdiction. And thus Prelaty both in her fleshly supportments, in her carnal Doctrine of Ceremony and Tradition, in her violent and secular power, going quite counter to the prime end of Christ's coming in the flesh, that is to revele his truth, his glory, and his might, in a clean contrary manner then Prelaty seeks to do, thwarting and defeating the great mystery of God ; I do not conclude that Prelaty is Antichristian, for what need I? the things themselves conclude it. Yet if such like practises, and not many worse then these of our Prelats, in that great darkness of the Roman Church, have not exempted both her and her present members from being judg'd to be Antichristian in all orthodoxal esteem; I cannot think but that it is the absolute voice of Truth and all her children to pronounce this Prelaty, and these her dark deeds in the midst of this great Light wherein we live, to be more Antichristian than Antichrist himself.

The CONCLUSION.

The mischief that Prelaty does in the State.

I Add one thing more to those great ones that are so fond of Prelaty : this is certain, that the Gospel being the hidden might of Christ, as hath been heard, hath ever a victorious power join'd with it, like him in the *Revelation* that went forth on the white Horse with his bow and his crown conquering, and to conquer. If we let the Angel of the Gospel ride on his own way, he does his proper business, conquering the high thoughts, and the proud reasonings of the flesh, and brings them under to give obedience to Christ with the Salvation of many Souls. But if ye turn him out of his rode, and in a manner force him to express his irresistible power by a Doctrine of carnal might, as Prelaty is, he will use that fleshly strength which ye put into his hands to subdue your Spirits by a servile and blind superstition, and that again shall hold such dominion over your captive minds, as returning with an insatiate greediness and force upon your worldly wealth and power, wherewith to deck and magnify her self, and her false worships, she shall spoil and havock your estates, disturb your ease, diminish your honour, inthraul your liberty under the swelling mood of a proud Clergy, who will not serve or feed your Souls with spiritual food; look not for it, they have not wherewithal, or if they had, it is not in their purpose. But when they have glutted their ingrateful bodies, at least if it be possible that those open Sepulchres should ever be glutted, and when they have stufft their idolish Temples with the wasteful pillage of your estates, will they yet have any compassion upon you, and that poor pittance which they have left you; will they be but so good to you as that ravisher was to his sister, when he had us'd her at his pleasure; will they but only hate ye, and so turn ye loose? no, they will not, Lords and Commons, they will not favour ye so much. What will they do then in the name of God and Saints, what will these man-haters yet with more despight and mischief do? I'll tell ye, or at least remember ye, for most of ye know it already. That they may want nothing to make them true merchants of *Babylon*, as they have done to your Souls, they will sell your Bodies, your Wives, your Children, your Liberties, your Parlements, all these things, and if there be ought else dearer then these, they will sell at an out-cry in their Pulpits to the arbitrary and illegal dispose of any one that may hereafter be call'd a King; whose mind shall serve him to listen to their bargain. And by their corrupt and servile Doctrines boring our ears to an everlasting slavery, as they have done hitherto, so will they yet do their best to repeal and erase every line and clause of both our great Charters. Nor is this only what they will do, but what they hold as the main reason and mystery of their advancement that they

they must do; be the Prince never so just and equal to his Subjects, yet such are their malicious and depraved eyes, that they so look on him, and so understand him, as if he requir'd no other gratitude, or piece of service from them then this. And indeed they stand so opportunely for the disturbing or the destroying of a State, being a knot of creatures whose dignities, means, and preferments have no foundation in the Gospel, as they themselves acknowledge, but only in the Princes favour, and to continue so long to them, as by pleasing him they shall deserve: whence it must needs be they should bend all their intentions and services to no other ends but to his; that if it should happen that a Tyrant (God turn such a scourge from us to our enemies) should come to grasp the Scepter, here were his spear-men and his lances, here were his firelocks ready, he should need no other Pretorian band nor pensionary then these, if they could once with their perfidious preachments awe the people. For although the Prelats in time of Popery were sometimes friendly enough to *Magna Charta*, it was because they stood upon their own bottom, without their main dependance on the Royal nod: but now being well acquainted that the Protestant Religion, if she will reform her self rightly by the Scriptures, must undress them of all their gilded vanities, and reduce them, as they were at first, to the lowly and equal order of Presbyters, they know it concerns them nearly to study the times more then the text, and to lift up their eyes to the hills of the Court, from whence only comes their help; but if their pride grow weary of this crouching and observance, as e're long it would, and that yet their minds clime still to a higher ascent of worldly honour, this only refuge can remain to them, that they must of necessity contrive to bring themselves and us back again to the Popes Supremacy, and this we see they had by fair degrees of late been doing. These be the two fair supporters between which the strength of Prelaty is born up, either of inducing Tyranny, or of reducing Popery. Hence also we may judg that Prelaty is meer falshood. For the property of Truth is, where she is publickly taught, to unyoke and set free the minds and spirits of a Nation first from the thraldom of Sin and Superstition, after which all honest and legal freedom of civil Life cannot be long absent; but Prelaty, whom the tyrant Custom begot a natural tyrant in Religion, and in State the agent and minister of Tyranny, seems to have had this fatal gift in her nativity like another *Midas*, that whatsoever she should touch or come near either in ecclesial or political Government, it should turn, not to Gold, though she for her part could wish it, but to the dross and scum of slavery, breeding and setting both in the Bodies and the Souls of all such as do not in time, with the sovran treacle of sound Doctrine, provide to fortify their hearts against her Hierarchy. The service of God who is Truth, her Liturgy confesses to be perfect freedom; but her works and her opinions declare that the service of Prelaty is perfect slavery, and by consequence perfect falshood. Which makes me wonder much that many of the Gentry, studious men, as I hear, should engage themselves to write, and speak publickly in her defence, but that I believe their honest and ingenuous natures coming to the Universities to store themselves with good and solid Learning, and there unfortunately fed with nothing else but the scragged and thorny Lectures of monkish and miserable Sophistry, were sent home again with such a scholastical Bur in their throats, as hath stopt and hinder'd all true and generous Philosophy from entring, crack't their voices for ever with metaphysical Gargarisms, and hath made them admire a sort of formal outside men prelatically addicted, whose unchasten'd and unwrought minds were never yet initiated or subdu'd under the true lore of Religion or moral Vertue, which two are the best and greatest points of Learning, but either slightly train'd up in a kind of hypocritical and hackney cours of literature to get their living by, and dazle the ignorant, or else fondly overstudied in useles controversies, except those which they use with all the specious and delusive subtlety they are able, to defend their prelatical *Sparta*, having a Gospel and Church-government set before their eyes, as a fair field wherein they might exercise the greatest vertues and the greatest deeds of Christian Authority, in mean fortunes and little furniture of this world; which even the sage Heathen Writers, and those old *Fabritii* and *Curii* well knew to be a manner of working, then which nothing could lik'n a mortal man more to God, who delights most to

work from within himself, and not by the heavy luggage of corporeal instruments, they understand it not, and think no such matter, but admire and dote upon worldly riches and honours, with an easy and intemperate life, to the bane of Christianity: yea, they and their Seminaries shame not to profess, to petition, and never lin pealing our ears, that unless we fat them like Boors, and cram them as they list with Wealth, with Deaneries, and Pluralities, with Baronies and stately Preferments, all Learning and Religion will go underfoot. Which is such a shameless, such a bestial plea, and of that odious impudence in Church-men, who should be to us a pattern of temperance and frugal mediocrity, who should teach us to condemn this world, and the gaudy things thereof, according to the promise which they themselves require from us in Baptism, that should the Scripture stand by and be mute, there is not that sect of Philosophers among the Heathen so dissolute, no not *Epicurus*, nor *Aristippus* with all his Cyrenaick rout, but would shut his School-doors against such greazy Sophisters; not any College of Mountebanks, but would think scorn to discover in themselves with such a brazen forehead the outrageous desire of filthy lucre. Which the Prelats make so little conscience of, that they are ready to fight, and if it lay in their power, to massacre all good Christians under the names of horrible Schismatics for only finding fault with their temporal dignities, their unconscionable wealth and revenues, their cruel authority over their Brethren that labour in the Word, while they snore in their luxurious excess: Openly proclaiming themselves now in the sight of all men, to be those which for a while they sought to cover under sheeps clothing, ravenous and savage wolves, threatening inroads and bloody incursions upon the flock of Christ, which they took upon them to feed, but now clame to devour as their prey. More like that huge Dragon of *Egypt* breathing out waste and desolation to the Land, unless he were daily fatn'd with Virgins blood. Him our old Patron St. *George* by his matchless valour slew, as the Prelat of the Garter that reads his Collect can tell. And if our Princes and Knights will imitate the fame of that old Champion, as by their order of Knighthood solemnly taken, they vow, far be it that they should uphold and side with this English Dragon; but rather to do as indeed their oath binds them, they should make it their knightly adventure to pursue and vanquish this mighty sail-wing'd Monster that menaces to swallow up the Land, unless her bottomless gorge may be satisfi'd with the blood of the King's daughter the Church; and may, as she was wont, fill her dark and infamous den with the bones of the Saints. Nor will any one have reason to think this as too incredible or too tragical to be spok'n of Prelaty, if he consider well from what a mass of slime and mud the slothful, the covetous and ambitious hopes of Church-promotions and fat Bishopricks, she is bred up and nuzzl'd in, like a great *Python* from her youth, to prove the general poyson both of Doctrine and good Discipline in the Land. For certainly such hopes and such principles of earth as these wherein she welters from a young one, are the immediate generation both of a slavish and tyrannous life to follow, and a pestiferous contagion to the whole Kingdom, till like that senborn Serpent she be shot to death with the darts of the Sun, the pure and powerful beams of God's Word. And this may serve to describe to us in part, what Prelaty hath bin, and what, if she stand, she is like to be toward the whole body of people in *England*. Now that it may appear how she is not such a kind of evil, as hath any good or use in it, which many evils have; but a distill'd quintessence, a pure elixir of mischief, pestilent alike to all, I shall shew briefly, e're I conclude, that the Prelats, as they are to the subjects a calamity, so are they the greatest underminers and betrayers of the Monarch, to whom they seem to be most favourable. I cannot better liken the state and person of a King then to that mighty Nazarite *Samson*; who being disciplin'd from his birth in the precepts and the practice of temperance and sobriety, without the strong drink of injurious and excessive desires, grows up to a noble strength and perfection with those his illustrious and sunny Locks, the Laws, waving and curling about his god-like shoulders. And while he keeps them about him undiminish'd and unshorn, he may with the jaw-bone of an Ass, that is with the word of his meanest officer, suppress and put to confusion thousands of those that rise against his just power. But laying down his head

among

among the strumpet flatteries of Prelats, while he sleeps and thinks no harm, they wickedly shaving off all those bright and waighty tresses of his Laws, and just Prerogatives, which were his ornament and strength, deliver him over to indirect and violent counsels, which as those Philistins put out the fair and far-sighted eyes of his natural discerning, and make him grind in the prison-house of their sinister ends and practices upon him: Till he, knowing this Prelatical Rasor to have bereft him of his wonted might, nourish again his puissant hair, the golden beams of Law and Right; and they sternly shook, thunder with ruin upon the heads of those his evil Counsellors, but not without great affliction to himself. This is the sum of their loyal service to Kings; yet these are the men that still cry, The King, the King, the Lord's Anointed. We grant it, and wonder how they came to light upon any thing so true; and wonder more, if Kings be the Lord's Anointed, how they dare thus oyl over and besmear so holy an Unction with the corrupt and putrid oyntment of their base flatteries; which while they smooth the skin, strike inward and envenom the life-blood. What fidelity Kings can expect from Prelats, both examples past, and our present experience of their doings at this day, whercon is grounded all that hath bin said, may suffice to inform us. And if they be such clippers of Regal Power, and shavers of the Laws, how they stand affected to the Law-giving Parliament, your selves, worthy Peers and Commons, can best testify; the current of whose glorious and immortal actions hath bin only oppos'd by the obscure and pernicious designs of the Prelats, until their insolence broke out to such a bold affront, as hath justly immur'd their haughty looks within strong walls. Nor have they done any thing of late with more diligence, then to hinder or break the happy assembling of Parliaments, however needful to repair the shatter'd and disjointed frame of the Commonwealth; or if they cannot do this, to cross, to disfigure, and traduce all Parliamentary Proceedings. And this, if nothing else, plainly accuses them to be no lawful Members of the House, if they thus perpetually mutinie against their own body. And though they pretend, like *Salomon's* harlot, that they have right thereto, by the same judgment that *Salomon* gave, it cannot belong to them, whenas it is not only their assent, but their endeavour continually to divide Parliaments in twain; and not only by dividing, but by all other means to abolish and destroy the free use of them to all posterity. For the which, and for all their former misdeeds, whereof this Book and many Volumes more cannot contain the moytie, I shall move ye Lords in the behalf I dare say of many thousand good Christians, to let your justice and speedy sentence pass against this great malefactor Prelaty. And yet in the midst of rigor I would beseech ye to think of mercy; and such a mercy, I fear I shall overshoot with a desire to save this falling Prelaty, such a mercy (if I may venture to say it) as may exceed that which for only ten righteous persons would have sav'd *Sodom*. Not that I dare advise ye to contend with God, whether he or you shall be more merciful, but in your wise esteems to ballance the offences of those peccant Cities with these enormous riots of ungodly misrule that Prelaty hath wrought both in the Church of Christ, and in the State of this Kingdom. And if ye think ye may with a pious presumption strive to go beyond God in mercy, I shall not be one now that would dissuade ye. Though God for less then ten just persons would not spare *Sodom*, yet if you can find after due search but only one good thing in Prelaty either to Religion or civil Government, to King or Parliament, to Prince or People, to Law, Liberty, Wealth or Learning, spare her, let her live, let her spread among ye, till with her shadow all your Dignities and Honours, and all the glory of the Land be darken'd and obscur'd. But on the contrary, if she be found to be malignant, hostile, destructive to all these, as nothing can be surer, then let your severe and impartial Doom imitate the divine Vengeance; rain down your punishing force upon this godless and oppressing Government: and bring such a dead Sea of subversion upon her, that she may never in this Land rise more to afflict the holy reformed Church, and the elect People of God.

O F

Prelatical Episcopacy.

And whether it may be deduc'd from the Apostolical Times by virtue of those Testimonies which are alledg'd to that purpose in some late Treatises; one whereof goes under the Name of James Archbishop of Armagh.

EPISCOPACY, as it is taken for an Order in the Church above a *Presbyter*, or as we commonly name him the Minister of a Congregation, is either of Divine Constitution, or of Human. If onely of Human; we have the same human Privilege that all Men have ever had since *Adam*, being born free, and in the Mistress Island of all the *British*, to retain this *Episcopacy*, or to remove it, consulting with our own Occasions and Conveniencies, and for the prevention of our own Dangers and Disquiets, in what best manner we can devise, without running at a loss, as we must needs in those stale and useles Records of either uncertain or unsound Antiquity; which if we hold fast to the grounds of the Reformed Church, can neither skill of us, nor we of it, so oft as it would lead us to the broken reed of *Tradition*. If it be of *Divine* Constitution, to satisfie us fully in that, the Scripture onely is able, it being the onely Book left us of *Divine* Authority, not in any thing more divine then in the all-sufficiency it hath to furnish us, as with all other spirituall Knowledg, so with this in particular, setting out to us a perfect Man of *God*, accomplish't to all the good works of his charge: Through all which Book can be no where, either by plain Text, or solid reasoning, found any difference between a Bishop and a *Presbyter*, save that they be two names to signify the same Order. Notwithstanding this clearness, and that by all evidence of Argument, *Timothy* and *Titus* (whom our Prelates claim to imitate onely in the controuling part of their Office) had rather the Vicegerency of an Apostleship committed to them, then the ordinary charge of a Bishoprick, as being Men of an extraordinary calling; yet to verify that which *St. Paul* foretold of succeeding times, when Men began to have itching Eares, then not contented with the plentifull and wholsom fountaines of the Gospel, they began after their owne Lusts to heap to themselves Teachers; and as if the divine Scripture wanted a Supplement, and were to be eek't out, they cannot think any doubt resolv'd, and any Doctrine confirm'd, unless they run to that indigested heap and frie of Authors, which they call Antiquity. Whatsoever time, or the heedles hand of blind chance, hath drawn down from of old to this present, in her huge Drag-net, whether Fish, or Sea-weed, Shells, or Shrubbs, unpickt, unchosen, those are the Fathers. Seeing therefore some Men, deeply conversant in Books, have had so little care of late to give the World a better account of their reading, then by divulging needles Tractats, stufft with specious names of *Ignatius*, and *Polycarpus*; with fragments of old *Martyrologies*, and *Legends*, to distract and stagger the multitude of credulous Readers, and mislead them from their strong guards and places of Safety, under the tuition of Holy Writ; it came into my thoughts to perswade my self, setting all distances, and nice respects aside, that I could do Religion, and my Country no better service for the time, then doing my utmost endeavour to recall the People of *GOD* from this vain foraging after Straw, and to reduce them to their firm Stations under the standard of the Gospel; by making appear to them, first the insufficiency, next the inconveniency; and lastly, the impiety of these gay Testimonies, that their great Doctors would bring them to dote on. And in performing this, I shall not strive to be more exact in Method, then as their citations lead me.

2 Tim. 4

First.

First, therefore concerning *Ignatius* shall be treated fully, when the Author shall come to insist upon some places in his Epistles. Next to prove a succession of 27 Bishops from *Timothy*, he cites one *Leontius* Bishop of *Magnesia*, out of the 11th Act of the *Chalcedonian Council*: this is but an obscure and single witness, and for his faithful dealing who shall commend him to us, with this his Catalogue of Bishops? What know we further of him, but that he might be as factious and false a Bishop, as *Leontius* of *Antioch*, that was a hundred years his Predecessor? For neither the praise of his Wisdom, or his Vertue, hath left him memorable to Posterity, but only this doubtful relation, which we must take at his word: and how shall this Testimony receive credit from his word, whose very Name had scarce been thought on but for this bare Testimony? But they will say, he was a Member of the Council, and that may deserve to gain him Credit with us. I will not stand to argue, as yet with fair allowance I might, that we may as justly suspect there were some bad and slippery men in that Council, as we know there are wont to be in our Convocations: Nor shall I need to plead at this time, that nothing hath been more attempted, nor with more subtlety brought about, both antiently by other *Hereticks*, and modernly by Papists, then to falsify the Editions of the Councils, of which we have none but from our Adversaries hands, whence Canons, Acts, and whole spurious Councils are thrust upon us; and hard it would be to prove in all, which are legitimat against the lawful rejection of an urgent, and free disputer. But this I purpose not to take advantage of; for what avails it to wrangle about the corrupt Editions of Councils, when as we know that many Years ere this time, which was almost 500 Years after *Christ*, the Councils themselves were foully corrupted with ungodly Prelatism, and so far plung'd into worldly Ambition, as that it stood them upon long ere this to uphold their now well-tasted Hierarchy by what a fair pretext soever they could, in like manner as they had now learnt to defend many other gross Corruptions by as ancient, and supposed authentick Tradition as Episcopacy? And what hope can we have of this whole Council to warrant us a matter, 400 Years at least above their time, concerning the distinction of Bishop and *Presbyter*, when as we find them such blind Judges of things before their eyes, in their decrees of precedency between Bishop and Bishop, acknowledging *Rome* for the Apostolick Throne, and *Peter* in that See for the Rock, the Basis, and the Foundation of the Catholick Church and Faith, contrary to the interpretation of more antient Fathers? and therefore from a mistaken Text did they give to *Leo*, as *Peters* successor, a kind of Preheminence above the whole Council, as *Eugrius* expresses (for now the Pope was come to that height, as to arrogate to himself by his Vicars incompetent honours) and yet having thus yielded to *Rome* the universal Primacy for spiritual Reasons, as they thought, they conclude their sitting with a carnal and ambitious Decree, to give the second place of Dignity to *Constantinople* from reason of State, because it was New *ROME*; and by like consequence, doubtless of earthly Privileges annex to each other City, was the BISHOP thereof to take his place.

I may say again therefore, what hope can we have of such a Council, as beginning in the Spirit, ended thus in the Flesh? Much rather should we attend to what *Eusebius*, the antientest Writer extant of Church-History, notwithstanding all the helps he had above these, confesses in the 4th Chapter of his 3d Book, That it was no easy matter to tell who were those that were left Bishops of the Churches by the Apostles, more then by what a man might gather from the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of *St. Paul*, in which number he reckons *Timothy* for Bishop of *Ephesus*. So as may plainly appear, that this Tradition of Bishoping *Timothy* over *Ephesus*, was but taken for granted out of that place in *St. Paul*, which was only an intreating him to tarry at *Ephesus*, to do something left him in charge. Now if *Eusebius*, a famous Writer, thought it so difficult to tell who were appointed Bishops by the Apostles, much more may we think it difficult to *Leontius*, an obscure Bishop, speaking beyond his own Diocesis: and certainly much more hard was it for either of them to determine what kind of Bishops these were, if they had so little means to know who they were; and much less reason have we to stand to their definitive Sentence, seeing they have bin so rash to raise up such lofty Bishops and Bishopricks out of places in Scripture meerly misunderstood.

Thus

Thus while we leave the Bible to gad after these Traditions of the Antients, we hear the Antients themselves confessing, that what knowledg they had in this point was such as they had gather'd from the Bible.

Since therefore Antiquity it self hath turn'd over the Controversy to that sovran Book which we had fondly straggld from, we shall do better not to detain this venerable Apparition of *Leontius* any longer, but dismis him with his List of seven and twenty, to sleep unmolested in his former obscurity.

Now for the word *πρεσβυς*, it is more likely that *Timothy* never knew the word in that sense; it was the vanity of those next succeeding times not to content themselves with the simplicity of Scripture-phraze, but must make a new Lexicon to name themselves by; one will be call'd *πρεσβυς*, or *Antistes*, a word of Precedence; another would be term'd a Gnostick, as *Clemens*; a third *Sacerdos*, or Priest, and talks of Altars; which was a plain sign that their Doctrin began to change, for which they must change their expressions. But that place of *Justin Martyr* serves rather to convince the Author, then to make for him, where the name *πρεσβυς ὁ ἀδελφῶν*, the President, or Pastor of the Brethren (for to what end is he their President, but to teach them?) cannot be limited to signify a Prelatical Bishop, but rather communicates that Greek appellation to every ordinary *Presbyter*: For there he tells what the Christians had wont to do in their severall Congregations, to read and expound, to pray and administer, all which he says the *πρεσβυς*, or *Antistes* did. Are these the Offices only of a Bishop, or shall we think that every Congregation where these things were done, which he attributes to this *Antistes*, had a *Bishop* present among them? Unless they had as many *Antistes* as *Presbyters*, which this place rather seems to imply; and so we may infer even from their own alluded Authority, that *Antistes* was nothing else but *Presbyter*.

As for that nameless Treatise of *Timothy's* Martyrdom, only cited by *Photius* that liv'd almost 900 Years after *Christ*, it handsomly follows in that Author, the Martyrdom of the seven Sleepers, that slept (I tell you but what mine Author says) three hundred seventy and two years; for so long they had bin shut up in a Cave without meat, and were found living. This Story of *Timothy's* Ephesian Bishoprick, as it follows in order, so may it for truth, if it only subsist upon its own Authority, as it doth; for *Photius* only saith he read it, he does not aver it. That other legendary piece found among the lives of the Saints, and sent us from the shop of the Jesuits at *Lovain*, does Euseb. l. 6. but bear the name of *Polycrates*, how truly who can tell? and shall have some καὶ οὐκ more weight with us, when *Polycrates* can perswade us of that which he affirms in the same place of *Eusebius's* 5th Book, that *St. John* was a Priest, and wore the golden Brestplate: and why should he convince us more with his Traditions of *Timothy's* Episcopacy, then he could convince *Victor* Bishop of *Rome* with his Traditions concerning the Feast of Easter, who not regarding his irrefragable instances of examples taken from *Philip* and his Daughters that were Prophetesses, or from *Polycarpus*, no nor from *St. John* himself, excommunicated both him, and all the Asian Churches, for celebrating their Easter judaically? He may therefore go back to the seven Bishops his Kinsmen, and make his moan to them, that we esteem his traditional Ware as lightly as *Victor* did.

Those of *Theodoret*, *Felix*, and *John* of *Antioch*, are Authorities of later times, and therefore not to be receiv'd for their Antiquities sake to give in evidence concerning an Allegation, wherein Writers, so much their Elders, we see so easily miscarry. What if they had told us that *Peter*, who as they say left *Ignatius* Bishop of *Antioch*, went afterwards to *Rome*, and was Bishop there, as this *Ignatius*, and *Irenæus*, and all Antiquity with one mouth deliver? there be nevertheless a number of learned and wise Protestants, who have written, and will maintain, that *Peter's* being at *Rome* as Bishop, cannot stand with concordance of Scripture.

Now come the Epistles of *Ignatius* to shew us first, that *Onesimus* was Bishop of *Ephesus*; next to assert the difference of *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, wherein I wonder that men, teachers of the Protestant Religion, make no more difficulty of imposing upon our Belief a supposititious offspring of some dozen Epistles, whereof five are rejected as spurious, containing in them Heresies and Trifles;

which cannot agree in Chronology with *Ignatius*, entitling him Arch-bishop of *Antioch Theopolis*, which name of *Theopolis* that City had not till *Justinians* time, long after, as *Credenus* mentions; which argues both the barbarous time, and the unskilful fraud of him that foisted this Epistle upon *Ignatius*. In the Epistle to those of *Tarsus*, he condemns them for Ministers of Satan, that say *Christ is God above all*. To the *Philippians* them that kept their Easter as the *Asian Churches*, as *Polycarpus* did, and them that fasted upon any Saturday, or Sunday, except one, he counts as those that had slain the Lord. To those of *Antioch*, he salutes the Sub-Deacons, Chaunters, Porters, and Exorcists, as if these had bin Orders of the Church in his time: those other Epistles less question'd, are yet so interlarded with Corruptions, as may justly induce us with a whollome suspicion of the rest. As to the *Trallians*, he writes that a Bishop hath power over all beyond all Government and Authority whatsoever. Surely then no Pope can desire more than *Ignatius* attributes to every Bishop; but what will become then of the Archbishops and Primats, if every Bishop in *Ignatius's* judgment be as supream as a Pope? To the *Ephesians*, near the very place from whence they fetch their proof for Episcopacy, there stands a line that casts an ill hue upon all the Epistle; *Let no man err*, saith he; unless a man be within the rays or enclosure of the Altar, he is depriv'd of the bread of Life. I say not but this may be stretch'd to a figurative construction, but yet it has an ill look, especially being follow'd beneath with the mention of I know not what Sacrifices. In the other Epistle to *Smyrna*, wherein is written that they should follow their Bishop as *Christ* did his Father, and the *Presbytery* as the *Apostles*; not to speak of the insulse, and ill-laid comparision, this cited place lies upon the very brim of another Corruption, which had they that quote this passage, ventur'd to let us read, all men would have readily seen what grain the Testimony had bin of, where it is said, that it is not lawful without a Bishop to baptize, nor to offer, nor to do Sacrifice. What can our Church make of these Phrases but scandalous? And but a little further he plainly falls to contradict the Spirit of *God* in *Solomon*, judg by the words themselves; *My Son*, saith he, *honour God and the King*; but I say, honour *God* and the Bishop as High-priest, bearing the Image of *God* according to his ruling, and of *Christ* according to his Priesting, and after him honour the King. Excellent *Ignatius*! can ye blame the *Prelats* for making much of this Epistle? Certainly if this Epistle can serve you to set a Bishop above a *Presbyter*, it may serve you next to set him above a King. These, and other like places in abundance through all those short Epistles, must either be adulterat, or else *Ignatius* was not *Ignatius*, nor a Martyr, but most adulterate, and corrupt himself. In the midst therefore of so many forgeries, where shall we fix to dare say this is *Ignatius*? As for his stile who knows it? so disfigur'd and interrupted as it is, except they think that where they meet with any thing sound, and orthodoxal, there they find *Ignatius*, and then they believe him not for his own Authority, but for a truths sake, which they derive from elsewhere: to what end then should they cite him as Authentick for Episcopacy, when they cannot know what is Authentick in him, but by the judgment which they brought with them, and not by any judgment which they might safely learn from him? How can they bring satisfaction from such an Author, to whose very essence the Reader must be fain to contribute his own Understanding? Had *God* ever intended that we should have sought any part of useful Instruction from *Ignatius*, doubtles he would not have so ill provided for our knowledg, as to send him to our hands in this broken and disjointed plight; and if he intended no such thing, we do injuriously in thinking to tast better the pure Evangelick Manna, by seasoning our Mouths with the tainted scraps and fragments of an unknown Table, and searching among the verminous and polluted Rags dropt overworn from the toying shoulders of Time, with these deformedly to quilt and interlace the intire, the spotless, and undecaying robe of Truth, the daughter not of Time, but of Heaven, only bred up here below in Christian Hearts, between two grave and holy Nurseries, the Doctrine and Discipline of the Gospel.

Next follows *Irenaeus* Bishop of *Lions*, who is cited to affirm that *Polycarpus* was made Bishop of *Smyrna* by the *Apostles*; and this it may seem, none could better tell then he who had both seen and heard *Polycarpus*: But when did he hear

hear him? himself confesses to *Florinus*, when he was a Boy. Whether that Age in *Irenæus* may not be liable to many mistakings; and whether a Boy may be trusted to take an exact account of the manner of a Church Constitution; and upon what terms, and within what limits, and with what kind of Commission *Polycarpus* receiv'd his Charge, let a man consider, ere he be credulous. It will not be deny'd that he might have seen *Polycarpus* in his youth, a man of great eminence in the Church, to whom the other *Presbyters* might give way for his *Vertue*, *Wisdom*, and the reverence of his Age; and so did *Anicetus* Bishop of *Rome*, even in his own City, give him a kind of priority in administering the Sacrament, as may be read in *Eusebius*: but that we should hence conclude a distinct, and superior order from the young observation of *Irenæus*, nothing yet alledg'd can warrant us, unless we shall believe such as would face us down; that *Calvin*, and after him *Beza* were Bishops of *Geneva*, because that in the unsettl'd state of the Church, while things were not fully compos'd, their worth and learning cast a greater share of business upon them, and directed mens eyes principally towards them; and yet these men were the dissolvers of Episcopacie. We see the same necessity in state Affairs; *Brutus* that expell'd the Kings out of *Rome*, was for the time forc't to be as it were a King himself, till matters were set in order, as in a free Commonwealth. He that had seen *Pericles* lead the Athenians which way he list'd, haply would have said he had bin their Prince, and yet he was but a powerful and eloquent Man in a Democracy, and had no more at any time then a temporary and elective sway, which was in the will of the people when to abrogate. And it is most likely that in the Church, they which came after these Apostolick Men, being less in Merit, but bigger in Ambition, strove to invade those Privileges by intrusion and plea of right, which *Polycarpus*, and others like him possess from the voluntary surrender of Men subdu'd by the excellencie of their heavenly Gifts; which because their Successors had not, and so could neither have that Authority, it was their policy to divulge that the eminence which *Polycarpus* and his equals enjoy'd, was by right of constitution, not by free will of condescending. And yet thus far *Irenæus* makes against them as in that very place to call *Polycarpus* an Apostolical *Presbyter*. But what fidelity his relations had in general, we cannot sooner learn then by *Eusebius*, who near the end of his third Book, speaking of *Papias* a very ancient Writer, one that had heard *St. John*, and was known to many that had seen, and bin acquainted with others of the Apostles, but being of a shallow wit, and not understanding those Traditions which he receiv'd, fill'd his Writings with many new Doctrines, and fabulous conceits; he tells us there, that divers Ecclesiastical Men, and *Irenæus* among the rest, while they lookt at his Antiquity, became infected with his Errors. Now if *Irenæus* were so rash as to take unexamind opinions from an Author of so small capacity, when he was a Man, we should be more rash our selves to rely upon those observations which he made when he was a Boy. And this may be a sufficient reason to us why we need no longer muse at the spreading of many idle Traditions so soon after the Apostles, whilst such as this *Papias* had the throwing them about, and the inconsiderate zeal of the next Age, that heeded more the Person then the Doctrine, had the gathering them up. Where ever a man, who had bin any way conversant with the Apostles, was to be found, thither flew all the inquisitive ears, although the exercise of right instructing was chang'd into the curiosity of impertinent fabling: where the Mind was to be edified with solid Doctrine, there the fancy was sooth'd with solemn Stories: with less fervency was studied what Saint *Paul*, or Saint *John* had written then was listen'd to one that could say here he taught, here he stood, this was his stature; and thus he went habited, and O happy this house that harbour'd him, and that cold stone whereon he rested, this Village wherein he wrought such a miracle, and that pavement bedew'd with the warm effusion of his last blood, that sprouted up into eternal Roses to crown his Martyrdom. Thus while all their thoughts were pour'd out upon circumstances, and the gazing after such Men as had sat at table with the Apostles (many of which *Christ* hath profess'd, yea though they had cast out Devils in his name, he will not know at the last day) by this means they lost their time, and truanted in the fundamental grounds of saving knowledg, as was seen shortly

by their Writings. Lastly for *Irenæus*, we have cause to think him less judicious in his reports from hand to hand of what the *Apostles* did, when we find him so negligent in keeping the *Faith* which they writ, as to say in his third Book against Heresies, that the obedience of *Mary* was the cause of Salvation to her self, and all Mankind; and in his fifth Book, that as *Eve* was seduc't to fly *God*, so the Virgin *Mary* was perswaded to obey *God*, that the Virgin *Mary* might be made the Advocate of the Virgin *Eve*. Thus if *Irenæus* for his nearness to the *Apostles*, must be the Patron of *Episcopacy* to us, it is no marvel though he be the Patron of Idolatry to the Papist, for the same cause. To the Epistle of those Brethren of *Smyrna*, that write the Martyrdom of *Polycarpus*, and stile him an Apostolical, and Prophetical Doctor, and Bishop of the Church in *Smyrna*, I could be content to give some credit for the great honour and affection which I see those Brethren bear him, and not undeservedly if it be true which they there say that he was a Prophet, and had a voice from Heaven to comfort him at his death, which they could hear, but the rest could not for the noise and tumult that was in the place; and besides, if his body were so precious to the Christians, that he was never wont to pull off his shoes for one or other that still strove to have the Office, that they might come to touch his feet, yet a light scruple or two I would gladly be resolv'd in: If *Polycarpus* (who, as they say, was a Prophet that never fail'd in what he foretold) had declar'd to his friends, that he knew by vision, he should die no other death then burning, how it came to pass that the fire when it came to proof, would not do his work, but starting off like a full sail from the mast, did but reflect a golden light upon his unviolated limbs, exhaling such a sweet odour, as if all the incense of *Arabia* had bin burning, in so much that when the bill-men saw that the fire was over-aw'd, and could not do the deed, one of them steps to him and stabs him with a sword, at which wound such abundance of blood gush't forth as quencht the fire. By all this relation it appears not how the fire was guilty of his death, and then how can his Prophesie be fulfill'd? Next how the standers-by could be so soon weary of such a glorious sight, and such a fragrant smell, as to hasten the Executioner to put out the fire with the Martyrs Blood, unless perhaps they thought, as in all perfumes, that the Smoak would be more odorous then the Flame: Yet these good brethren say he was Bishop of *Smyrna*. No man questions it, if Bishop and *Presbyter* anciently were all one, and how does it appear by any thing in this testimony that they were not? If among his other high titles of Prophetical, Apostolical, and most Admired of those times, he be also stil'd Bishop of the Church of *Smyrna* in a kind of speech, which the Rhetoricians call *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, for his excellence sake, as being the most famous of all the *Smyrnian Presbyters*; it cannot be prov'd neither from this nor that other place of *Irenæus*, that he was therefore in distinct and monarchical order above the other *Presbyters*; it is more probable, that if the whole *Presbytery* had been as renowned as he, they would have term'd every one of them severally Bishop of *Smyrna*. Hence it is that we read sometimes of two Bishops in one place; and had all the *Presbyters* there been of like worth, we might perhaps have read of twenty.

Tertullian accosts us nexts (for *Polycrates* hath had his Answer) whose Testimony, state but the question right, is of no more force to deduce *Episcopacy*, then the two former. He says that the Church of *Smyrna* had *Polycarpus* plac't there by *John*, and the Church of *Rome* *Clement* ordain'd by *Peter*; and so the rest of the Churches did shew what Bishops they had receiv'd by the appointment of the *Apostles*. None of this will be contradicted, for we have it out of the Scripture that Bishops or *Presbyters*, which were the same, were left by the *Apostles* in every Church, and they might perhaps give some special charge to *Clement*, or *Polycarpus*, or *Linus*, and put some special trust in them for the experience they had of their Faith and Constancy; it remains yet to be evinc't out of this and the like places, which will never be, that the word Bishop is otherwise taken, then in the language of Saint *Paul*, and the *Acts*, for an order above *Presbyters*. We grant them Bishops, we grant them worthy Men, we grant them plac't in several Churches by the *Apostles*; we grant that *Irenæus* and *Tertul* affirm this, but that they were plac't in a superior Order above the *Presbytery*, shew from all these words why we should grant.

grant. 'Tis not enough to say the *Apostle* left this man Bishop in *Rome*, and that other in *Ephesus*, but to shew when they alter'd their own Decree set down by *St. Paul*, and made all the *Presbyters* underlings to one Bishop. But suppose *Tertullian* had made an imparity where none was originally, should he move us, that goes about to prove an imparity between *God* the Father, and *God* the Son, as these words import in his Book against *Praxeas*? The Father is the whole substance, but the Son a derivation, and portion of the whole, as he himself professes, because the Father is greater than me. Believe him now for a faithful relater of Tradition, whom you see such an unfaithful expounder of the Scripture; besides, in his time all allowable Tradition was now lost. For this same Author whom you bring to testifie the Ordination of *Clement* to the Bishoprick of *Rome* by *Peter*, testifies also in the beginning of his Treatise concerning Chastity, that the Bishop of *Rome* did then use to send forth his Edicts by the name of *Pontifex Maximus*, and *Episcopus Episcoporum*, chief Priest, and Bishop of Bishops: For shame then do not urge that Authority to keep up a Bishop, that will necessarily ingage you to set up a *Pope*. As little can your advantage be from *Hegesippus* an Historian of the same time not extant, but cited by *Eusebius*; his words are, that in every City all things so stood in his time as the Law, and the *Prophets*, and our Lord did preach. If they stood so, then stood not Bishops above *Presbyters*; for what our Lord and his Disciples taught, *God* be thanked, we have no need to go learn of him: and you may as well hope to perswade us out of the same Author, that *James* the Brother of our Lord was a *Nazarite*, and that to him only it was lawful to enter into the Holy of Holies; that his food was not upon any thing that had life, Fish, or Flesh; that he us'd no wollen Garments, but only Linen, and so as he trifles on.

If therefore the Tradition of the Church were now grown so ridiculous, and disconsenting from the Doctrine of the *Apostles*, even in those points which were of lest moment to mens particular ends, how well may we be assur'd it was much more degenerated in point of *Episcopacy*, and Precedency; things which could afford such plausible Pretences, such commodious traverses for Ambition, and Avarice to lurk behind?

As for those *Brittain* Bishops which you cite, take heed what you do; for our *Brittain* Bishops, less ancient then these, were remarkable for nothing more then their Poverty, as *Sulp. Severus*, and *Beda* can remember you of Examples good store.

Lastly (for the fabulous *Metaphrastes* is not worth an Answer) that Authority of *Clemens Alexandrinus* is not to be found in all his Works; and wherever it be extant, it is in controversie, whether it be *Clemens* or no; or if it were, it says only that Saint *John* in some places constituted Bishops: questionleis he did, but where does *Clement* say he set them above *Presbyters*? No man will gainsay the constitution of *Bishops*; but the raising them to a superiour, and distinct order above *Presbyters*, seeing the Gospel makes them one and the same thing, a thousand such Allegations as these will not give Prelatical *Episcopacy*, one Chapel of ease above a Parish Church. And thus much for this cloud I cannot say rather then petty-fog of Witnesses, with which Episcopal Men would cast a mist before us, to deduce their exalted *Episcopacy* from Apostolick Times. Now although, as all men well know, it be the wonted shift of Errour, and fond Opinion, when they find themselves outlaw'd by the Bible, and forsaken of sound Reason, to betake them with all speed to their old starting hole of Tradition, and that wild, and overgrown covert of Antiquity, thinking to frame there a large room, and find good stabling, yet thus much their own deify'd Antiquity betrays them, to inform us that Tradition hath had very seldom or never the gift of Perswasion; as that which Church-Histories report of those *East* and *Western Paschalists* formerly spoken of will declare. Who would have thought that *Polycarpus* on the one side could have err'd in what he saw Saint *John* do, or *Anicetus* Bishop of *Rome* on the other side, in what he or some of his friends might pretend to have seen Saint *Peter*, or Saint *Paul* do, and yet neither of these could perswade either when to keep Easter? The like frivolous Contention troubled the Primitive English Churches, while *Colmanus*, and *Wilfride* on either side deducing their Opinions, the one from the undeniable Example of Saint

Saint *John*, and the learned Bishop *Anatolius*, and lastly the miraculous *Columba*, the other from Saint *Peter* and the *Nicene* Council, could gain no ground each of other, till King *Oswy* perceiving no likelihood of ending the Controversie that way, was fain to decide it himself good King, with that small knowledg, wherewith those times had furnisht him. So when those pious Greek *Emperours* began, as *Cedrenus* relates, to put down Monks, and abolish Images, the old Idolaters finding themselves blasted, and driven back by the prevailing light of the Scripture, sent out their sturdy *Monks* call'd the *Abramites*, to alledge for Images the ancient Fathers *Dionysius*, and this our objected *Irenæus*: nay they were so high flown in their Antiquity, that they undertook to bring the *Apostles*, and *Luke* the *Evangelist*, yea *Christ* himself, from certain Records that were then current, to patronize their Idolatry. Yet for all this the worthy Emperour *Theophilus*, even in those dark times, chose rather to nourish himself and his people with the sincere Milk of the Gospel, then to drink from the mixt Confluence of so many corrupt and poysonous Waters, as Tradition would have perswaded him to by most ancient seeming Authorities. In like manner all the reformed Churches abroad, unthroning *Episcopacy*, doubtless were not ignorant of these Testimonies alledg'd to draw it in a line from the *Apostles* days; for surely the Author will not think he hath brought us now any new Authorities, or Considerations into the world, which the Reformers in other places were not advis'd of: and yet we see, the intercession of all these Apostolick Fathers could not prevail with them to alter their resolved Decree of reducing into order their usurping and over-provender'd *Episcopants*; and God hath blest their Work this hundred years with a prosperous and stedfast, and still happy Success. And this may serve to prove the Insufficiency of these present *Episcopal* Testimonies, not only in themselves, but in the account of those ever that have been the followers of Truth. It will next behoove us to consider the Inconvenience we fall into, by using our selves to be guided by these kind of Testimonies. He that thinks it the part of a well-learned Man to have read diligently the ancient Stories of the Church, and to be no stranger in the Volumes of the Fathers, shall have all judicious Men consenting with him; not hereby to controul, and new fangle the Scripture, God forbid, but to mark how Corruption and *Apostacy* crept in by degrees, and to gather up where ever we find the remaining sparks of original Truth, wherewith to stop the mouths of our Adversaries, and to bridle them with their own curb, who willingly pass by that which is Orthodoxal in them, and studiously cull out that which is commentitious, and best for their turns, not weighing the Fathers in the ballance of Scripture, but Scripture in the ballance of the Fathers. If we therefore, making first the Gospel our Rule and Oracle, shall take the good which we light on in the Fathers, and set it to oppose the evil which other men seek from them, in this way of skirmish we shall easily master all Superstition and false Doctrine; but if we turn this our discreet and wary usage of them into a blind devotion towards them, and whatsoever we find written by them, we both forsake our own grounds and reasons which led us at first to part from *Rome*, that is to hold to the Scriptures against all Antiquity; we remove our Cause into our Adversaries own Court, and take up there those cast Principles which will soon cause us to soder up with them again, in as much as believing Antiquity for it self in any one point, we bring an ingagement upon our selves of assenting to all that it charges upon us. For suppose we should now, neglecting that which is clear in Scripture, that a Bishop and *Presbyter* is all one both in Name and Office, and that what was done by *Timothy* and *Titus*, executing an extraordinary place, as fellow-labourers with the *Apostles*, and of a universal charge in planting Christianity through divers Regions, cannot be drawn into particular and daily example; suppose that neglecting this clearness of the Text, we should by the uncertain, and corrupted Writings of succeeding times, determine that Bishop and *Presbyter* are different, because we dare not deny what *Ignatius*, or rather the *Perkin Warbeck* of *Ignatius*, says; then must we be constrain'd to take upon our selves a thousand Superstitions and falsities which the Papiests will prove us down in from as good Authorities, and as ancient as these that set a Bishop above a *Presbyter*. And the plain truth is, that when any of our men of those that

that are wedded to Antiquity come to dispute with a Papist, and leaving the Scriptures put themselves without appeal to the Sentence of *Synods* and *Councils*, using in the cause of *Sion* the hir'd Souldiery of revolted *Israel*, where they give the *Romanists* one buff, they receive two counterbuffs. Were it therefore but in this regard, every true Bishop should be afraid to conquer in his Cause by such Authorities as these, which if we admit for the Authorities sake, we open a broad passage for a multitude of Doctrines that have no ground in Scripture to break in upon us.

Lastly, I do not know, it being undeniable that there are but two Ecclesiastical Orders, Bishops and Deacons, mention'd in the *Gospel*, how it can be less then Impiety to make a demur at that, which is there so perspicuous, confronting, and paralleling the sacred Verity of Saint *Paul* with the offals and sweepings of Antiquity, that met as accidentally and absurdly, as *Epicurus* his Atoms, to patch up a Leucippean *Ignatius*, enclining rather to make this phantasm an expounder, or indeed a depraver of Saint *Paul*, then Saint *Paul* an examiner, and discoverer of this Impostorship; nor caring how slightly they put off the verdict of holy Text unsalv'd, that says plainly there be but two Orders, so they maintain the Reputation of their imaginary Doctor that proclaims three. Certainly if *Christ's* Apostle have set down but two, then according to his own words, though he himself should unsay it, and not only the Angel of *Smyrna*, but an Angel from Heaven should bear us down that there be three, Saint *Paul* has doom'd him twise, Let him be accurst, for *Christ* hath pronounc't that no tittle of his Word shall fall to the ground; and if one jot be alterable, it is as possible that all should perish: and this shall be our *Righteousness*, our ample warrant, and strong assurance both now, and at the last day never to be asham'd of, against all the heaped names of Angels, and Martyrs, Councils, and Fathers urg'd upon us, if we have given our selves up to be taught by the pure, and living Precept of *Gods* Word only, which without more additions, nay with a forbidding of them, hath within it self the promise of Eternal Life, the end of all our wearisom Labours, and all our sustaining Hopes. But if any shall strive to set up his *Ephod*, and *Terafim* of Antiquity against the brightness and perfection of the *Gospel*; let him fear lest he and his *Baal* be turn'd into *Bosbeth*. And thus much may suffice to shew that the pretended *Episcopacy* cannot be deduc'd from the *Apostolical* TIMES.

O F

REFORMATION in *ENGLAND*, AND THE Causes that hitherto have hindred it.

In two Books. Written to a Friend.

S I R,

AMidst those deep and retired thoughts, which with every Man christi-
anly instructed, ought to be most frequent, of *God*, and of his mira-
culous *Ways* and *Works* amongst Men, and of our *Religion* and *Works*,
to be perform'd to him; after the Story of our Saviour *Christ*, suffering to the
lowest bent of weaknesse in the *Flesh*, and presently triumphing to the high-
est pitch of *Glory* in the *Spirit*, which drew up his Body also, till we in both
be united to him in the Revelation of his Kingdom: I do not know of any
thing more worthy to take up the whole passion of Pity on the one side, and
Joy on the other, then to consider first, the foul and sudden Corruption, and
then after many a tedious Age, the long deferr'd, but much more wonderful
and happy Reformation of the *Church* in these latter days. Sad it is to think
how that Doctrin of the *Gospel*, planted by Teachers divinely inspir'd, and
by them winnow'd, and sifted from the Chaff of overdated Ceremonies, and
refin'd to such a spiritual height and temper of Purity, and knowledg of the
Creator, that the Body, with all the Circumstances of Time and Place, were
purifi'd by the Affections of the regenerate Soul, and nothing left impure,
but Sin; *Faith* needing not the weak, and fallible Office of the Senses, to be
either the Ushers or Interpreters of heavenly Mysteries, save where our Lord
himself in his Sacraments ordain'd, that such a Doctrine should, through the
grossness and blindness of her Professors, and the fraud of deceivable Tradi-
tions, drag so downwards, as to backslide one way into the Jewish beggery of
old cast Rudiments, and stumble forward another way into the new-vomited
Paganism of sensual Idolatry, attributing Purity or Impurity to things indiffe-
rent, that they might bring the inward Acts of the *Spirit* to the outward and
customary Eye-service of the Body, as if they could make *God* earthly and
fleshy, because they could not make themselves *heavenly* and *spiritual*; they
began to draw down all the divine Intercours betwixt *God* and the Soul, yea,
the very shape of *God* himself, into an exterior and bodily Form, urgently
pretending a necessity and obligation of joyning the Body in a formal Re-
verence, and *Worship* circumscrib'd; they hallow'd it, they fum'd it; they
sprincl'd it, they bedeck't it, not in Robes of pure Innocency, but of pure
Linen, with other deformed and fantastick dresses, in Palls and Miters,
Gold, and Guegaw's fetcht from *Aron's* old Wardrobe, or the *Flamins Vestry*:
then was the *Priest* set to con his *Motions* and his *Postures*, his *Liturgies* and his
Lurries, till the Soul by this means of over-bodying her self, given up justly
to fleshy delights, bated her Wing apace downward: And finding the ease
she had from her visible and sensuous Colleague the Body, in performance of
religious Duties, her Pineons now broken, and flagging, shifted off from her
self the labour of high soaring any more, forgot her heavenly flight, and left
the dull and droyling Carcas to plod on in the old Road, and drudging Trade
of outward Conformity. And here out of question from her pervers conceit-
ing of *God*, and holy things, she had fain to believe no *God* at all, had not
custom and the worm of Conscience nip't her Incredulity hence to all the Du-

ties of evangelical Grace, instead of the adoptive and chearful boldness which our new Alliance with *God* requires, came servile, and thral-like fear : For in very deed, the superstitious Man, by his good Will, is an Atheist ; but being scar'd from thence by the pangs and gripes of a boiling Conscience, all in a pudder shuffles up to himself such a *God*, and such a *Worship* as is most agreeable to remedy his fear ; which fear of his, as also is his hope, fixt only upon the *Flesh*, renders likewise the whole faculty of his Apprehension carnal ; and all the inward Acts of *Worship*, issuing from the native strength of the *SOUL*, run out lavishly to the upper Skin, and there harden into a Crust of Formality. Hence Men came to scan the *Scriptures* by the Letter, and in the Covenant of our Redemption, magnifi'd the external Signs more then the quickning Power of the *Spirit* ; and yet looking on them through their own guiltiness, with a servile fear, and finding as little comfort, or rather terror from them again, they knew not how to hide their slavish approach to *Gods* Behests by them not understood, nor worthily receav'd, but by cloaking their servile crouching to all *religious* Presentments, somtimes lawful, somtimes Idolatrous, under the name of *Humility*, and terming the py-bald Frippery, and ostentation of Ceremonies, Decency.

Then was Baptism chang'd into a kind of Exorcism, and Water, sanctifi'd by *Christs* Institute, thought little enough to wash off the Original Spot without the Scratch, or cross impression of a Priest's fore-finger : And that Feast of Free-grace, and Adoption to which *Christ* invited his Disciples to sit as Brethren, and Co-heirs of the happy Covenant, which at that Table was to be seal'd to them, even that Feast of Love and heavenly-admitted Fellowship, the Seal of filial Grace, became the subject of Horror, and glouting Adoration, pageanted about like a dreadful Idol : Which sometimes deceives wel-meaning Men, and beguiles them of their Reward, by their voluntary *Humility* ; which indeed is fleshly Pride, preferring a foolish Sacrifice, and the Rudiments of the World, as Saint *Paul* to the *Colossians* explaineth, before a savory Obedience to *Christs* Example. Such was *Peters* unseasonable *Humility*, as then his Knowledg was small, when *Christ* came to wash his feet ; who at an impertinent time would needs strain Courtesy with his Master, and falling troublesomly upon the lowly, alwise, and unexaminable intention of *Christ*, in what he went with resolution to do, so provok't by his interruption the meek Lord, that he threat'nd to exclude him from his heavenly Portion, unless he could be content to be less arrogant and stiff-neckt in his *Humility*.

But to dwell no longer in characterizing the *Depravities* of the *Church*, and how they sprung, and how they took increase ; when I recall to mind at last, after so many dark Ages, wherein the huge overshadowing Train of *Error* had almost swept all the Stars out of the Firmament of the *Church* ; how the bright and blisful *Reformation* (by Divine Power) strook through the black and settled Night of *Ignorance* and *Antichristian Tyranny*, methinks a sovereign and reviving Joy must needs rush into the Bosom of him that reads or hears ; and the sweet Odour of the returning *Gospel* imbath his Soul with the fragraney of Heaven. Then was the Sacred *BIBLE* sought out of the dusty Corners where profane Falshood and Neglect had thrown it, the *Schools* opened, *Divine* and *Humane Learning* rak't out of the *Embers* of forgotten *Tongues*, the *Princes* and *Cities* trooping apace to the new erected Banner of *Salvation* ; the *Martyrs*, with the unresistable might of *Weakness*, shaking the *Powers* of *Darkness*, and scorning the fiery *Rage* of the old red *Dragon*.

The pleasing pursuit of these Thoughts hath oft-times led me into a serious question and debatement with my self, how it should come to pass that *England* (having had this *Grace* and *Honour* from *God* to be the first that should set up the Standard for the recovery of *lost Truth*, and blow the first *Evangelick Trumpet* to the *Nations*, holding up, as from a Hill, the new Lamp of *saving Light* to all *Christendom*) should now be last, and most unsettl'd in the enjoyment of that *Peace*, whereof she taught the way to others ; although indeed our *Wicklefs* preaching, at which all the succeeding *Reformers* more effectually lighted their *Tapers*, was to his Countrymen but a short Blaze, soon damp't and stiff'd by the *Pope* and *Prelats* for six or seven *Kings* Reigns ; yet methinks the *Precedency* which *God* gave this *Iland*, to be the first *Restorer* of *buried Truth*, should have been followed with more happy success,

and

and sooner attain'd Perfection; in which as yet we are amongst the last for, albeit in *purity of Doctrine* we agree with our Brethren; yet in *Discipline*, which is the *execution and applying of Doctrine home*, and laying the *Salve* to the very *Orifice* of the *Wound*, yea, tending and searching to the *Core*, without which *Pulpit-Preaching* is but shooting at Rovers; in this we are no better then a *Schism* from all the *Reformation*, and a fore Scandal to them; for while we hold *Ordination* to belong only to *Bishops*, as our *Prelats* do, we must of necessity hold also their *Ministers* to be no *Ministers*, and shortly after their *Church* to be no *Church*. Not to speak of those senseless *Ceremonies* which we only retain, as a dangerous earnest of sliding back to *Rome*, and serving merely, either as a mist to cover nakedness where true *Grace* is extinguish'd, or as an *Enterlude* to set out the *Pomp of Prelatism*. Certainly it would be worth the while therefore, and the pains, to enquire more particularly, what, and how many the chief Causes have been, that have still hindred our *uniform Consent* to the rest of the *Churches* abroad, at this time especially when the *Kingdom* is in a good *propensity* thereto; and all Men in *Prayers*, in *Hopes*, or in *Disputes*, either for or against it.

Yet will I not insist on that which may seem to be the Cause on Gods part; as his Judgment on our Sins, the tryal of his own, the unmasking of Hypocrites: nor shall I stay to speak of the continual eagerness and extream diligence of the *Pope* and *Papists* to stop the furtherance of *Reformation*, which know they have no hold or hope of *England* their lost Darling, longer then the *Government of Bishops* bolsters them out; and therefore plot all they can to uphold them, as may be seen by the Book of *Santa Clara* the *Popish Priest* in defence of *Bishops*, which came out piping hot much about the time that one of our own *Prelats*, out of an ominous fear, had writ on the same *Argument*; as if they had join'd their Forces, like good Confederates, to support one falling *Babel*.

But I shall chiefly endeavour to declare those Causes that hinder the forwarding of *true Discipline*, which are among our selves. Orderly proceeding will divide our Inquiry into our *Fore-fathers Days*, and into our *Times*. HENRY VIII. was the first that rent this *Kingdom* from the *Popes* Subjection totally; but his Quarrel being more about *Supremacy*, then other faultiness in *Religion* that he regarded, it is no marvel if he stuck where he did. The next default was in the *Bishops*, who though they had renounc'd the *Pope*, they still hugg'd the *Popedom*, and shar'd the Authority among themselves, by their six bloody Articles, persecuting the *Protestants* no slacken then the *Pope* would have done. And doubtless, whenever the *Pope* shall fall, if his ruine be not like the sudden down-come of a Tower, the *Bishops*, when they see him tottering, will leave him, and fall to scrambling, catch who may, he a Patriarchdom, and another what comes next hand; as the French Cardinal of late, and the *See of Canterbury* hath plainly affected.

In *Edward the VI's Days*, why a compleat *Reformation* was not effected, to any considerate Man may appear. First, He no sooner entred into his *Kingdom*, but into a War with *Scotland*; from whence the Protector returning with Victory, had but newly put his hand to repeal the six Articles, and throw the Images out of *Churches*, but Rebellions on all sides, stir'd up by obdurate *Papists*, and other Tumults, with a plain War in *Norfolk*, holding tack against two of the Kings *Generals*, made them of force content themselves with what they had already done. Hereupon follow'd ambitious Contentions among the *Peers*, which ceas'd not but with the Protector's death, who was the most zealous in this point: And then *Northumberland* was he that could do most in *England*, who little minding *Religion*, (as his Apostacy well shew'd at his death) bent all his Wit how to bring the Right of the *Crown* into his own Line. And for the *Bishops*, they were so far from any such worthy Attempts, as that they suffer'd themselves to be the common Stales to countenance, with their prostituted Gravities, every Politick Fetch that was then on foot, as oft as the potent *Statists* pleas'd to employ them. Never do we read that they made use of their Authority, and high Place of access, to bring the jarring Nobility to *Christian Peace*, or to withstand their disloyal Projects: but if a Toleration for *Mass* were to be beg'd of the King for his Sister MARY, lest CHARLES the Fifth should be angry; who but the grave Prelats, *Crammer*

and *Ridley*, must be sent to extort it from the young King? But out of the Mouth of that godly and Royal Child, Christ himself return'd such an awful repulse to those halting and time-serving *Prelats*, that after much bold importunity, they went their way not without shame and tears.

Nor was this the first time that they discover'd to be followers of this World; for when the Protector's Brother, Lord *Sudley*, the Admiral, through private malice and mal-engine was to lose his Life, no man could be found fitter then Bishop *Latimer* (like another Doctor *Shaw*) to divulge in his Sermon the forged Accusations laid to his charge, thereby to defame him with the People, who else 'twas thought would take ill the innocent mans Death, unless the Reverend Bishop could warrant them there was no foul play. What could be more impious then to debar the Children of the King from their right to the Crown? To comply with the ambitious Usurpation of a Traytor, and to make void the last Will of HENRY VIII. to which the Breakers had sworn observance? Yet Bishop *Cranmer* one of the Executors, and the other Bishops none refusing (lest they should resist the Duke of Northumberland) could find in their Consciences to set their hands to the disabling and defeating not only of Princess MARY the *Papist*, but of ELIZABETH the *Protestant*, and (by the Bishops judgment) the lawful Issue of King HENRY.

Who then can think (though these *Prelats* had sought a further *Reformation*) that the least wry face of a *Politician* would not have hush't them? But it will be said, These men were *Martyrs*: What then? Though every true Christian will be a *Martyr* when he is called to it; not presently does it follow that every one suffering for Religion, is without exception. Saint *Paul* writes, that *A man may give his Body to be burnt*, (meaning for Religion) *and yet not have Charity*: He is not therefore above all possibility of erring, because he burns for some Points of Truth.

Witness the *Arians* and *Pelagians* which were slain by the Heathen for *Christs* sake, yet we take both these for no true friends of *Christ*. If the *Martyrs* (saith *Cyprian* in his 30th Epistle) decree one thing, and the Gospel another, either the *Martyrs* must lose their Crown by not observing the Gospel for which they are *Martyrs*, or the Majesty of the Gospel must be broken and lie flat, if it can be overtopped by the novelty of any other Decree.

And herewithal I invoke the Immortal DEITY, reveler and judg of Secrets, That wherever I have in this Book plainly and roundly (though worthily and truly) laid open the faults and blemishes of *Fathers*, *Martyrs*, or Christian *Emperors*, or have otherwise inveighed against Error and Superstition with vehement Expressions; I have done it, neither out of malice, nor list to speak evil, nor any vain glory, but of meer necessity to vindicate the spotless Truth from an ignominious Bondage, whose native worth is now become of such a low esteem, that she is like to find small credit with us for what she can say, unless she can bring a Ticket from *Cranmer*, *Latimer*, and *Ridley*; or prove her self a retainer to *Constantine*, and wear his badg. More tolerable it were for the Church of GOD, that all these Names were utterly abolisht like the *Brazen Serpent*, then that mens fond opinion should thus idolize them, and the Heavenly Truth be thus captivated.

Now to proceed, whatsoever the Bishops were, it seems they themselves were unsatisf'd in matters of Religion as they then stood, by that Commission granted to 8 Bishops, 8 other Divines, 8 Civilians, 8 common Lawyers, to frame Ecclesiastical Constitutions; which no wonder if it came to nothing, for (as *Hayward* relates) both their Professions and their Ends were different. Lastly, We all know by Examples, that exact *Reformation* is not perfected at the first push, and those unweildy Times of *Edward VI.* may hold some Plea by this excuse. Now let any reasonable man judg whether that Kings Reign be a fit time from whence to pattern out the Constitution of a Church Discipline, much less that it should yield occasion from whence to foster and establish the continuance of Imperfection, with the commendatory subscriptions of Confessors and Martyrs, to intitle and ingage a glorious Name to a gross Corruption. It was not *Episcopacy* that wrought in them the Heavenly fortitude of *Martyrdom*, as little is it that *Martyrdom* can make good *Episcopacy*; but it was *Episcopacy* that led the good and holy men through the temptation of the Enemy, and the snare of this present World, to many blame-worthy and opprobrious

bruous *Actions*. And it is full *Episcopacy* that before all our eyes worsens and slugs the most Learned, and seeming religious of our *Ministers*, who no sooner advanc't to it, but like a seething Pot set to cool, sensibly exhale and reek out the greatest part of that zeal, and those Gifts which were formerly in them, settling in a skinny congelment of ease and sloth at the top : and if they keep their Learning by some potent sway of Nature, 'tis a rare chance ; but their *Devotion* most commonly comes to that queazy temper of Luke-warmness, that gives a Vomit to God himself.

But what do we suffer mis-shapen and enormous *Prelatizm*, as we do, thus to blanch and varnish her deformities with the fair Colours, as before of *Martyrdom*, so now of *Episcopacy* ? They are not *Bishops*, God and all good Men know they are not, that have fill'd this Land with late Confusion and Violence, but a Tyrannical crew and Corporation of Imposters that have blinded and abus'd the World so long under that Name. He that inabl'd with *Gifts* from God, and the lawful and Primitive choice of the *Church* assembl'd in convenient number, faithfully from that time forward feeds his Parochial *Flock*, has his coequal and compresbyterial Power to ordain *Ministers* and *Deacons* by publick *Prayer*, and *Vote* of *Christs* Congregation in like sort as he himself was ordain'd, and is a true *Apostolick Bishop*. But when he steps up into the Chair of *Pontifical Pride*, and changes a moderate and exemplary House for a mis-govern'd and haughty *Palace*, *spiritual Dignity* for carnal *Precedence*, and *secular high Office* and *Employment* for the *high Negotiations* of his Heavenly *Embassage* : Then he *degrades*, then he *un-bishops* himself ; he that makes him *Bishop* makes him no *Bishop*. No marvel therefore if *S. Martin* complain'd to *Sulpitius Severus*, that since he was *Bishop* he felt inwardly a sensible decay of those *Vertues* and *Graces* that God had given him in great measure before ; although the same *Sulpitius* write that he was nothing tainted or alter'd in his *Habit*, *Diet*, or personal *demeanour* from that simple plainness to which he first betook himself. It was not therefore that thing alone which God took displeasure at in the *Bishops* of those times, but rather an universal rottenness and gangreen in the whole *Function*.

From hence then I pass to Queen ELIZABETH the next *Protestant Prince*, in whose Days why *Religion* attain'd not a perfect reducement in the beginning of her Reign, I suppose the hindring Causes will be found to be common with some formerly alledg'd for King EDWARD VI. the greeness of the Times, the weak Estate which Queen MARY left the Realm in, the great Places and Offices executed by *Papists*, the *Judges*, the *Lawyers*, the *Justices* of Peace for the most part *Papish*, the *Bishops* firm to *Rome* ; from whence was to be expected the furious flashing of Excommunications, and absolving the *People* from their Obedience. Next her private *Councillors*, whoever they were, perswaded her (as *Camden* writes) that the altering of *Ecclesiastical Policy* would move Sedition. Then was was the *Liturgy* given to a number of moderate *Divines*, and Sir Tho. Smith a Statesman to be purg'd and phisick't : And surely they were moderate *Divines* indeed, neither hot nor cold ; and *Grindal* the best of them, afterwards *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, lost favour in the Court, and I think was discharg'd the government of his *See*, for favouring the *Ministers*, though *Camden* seem willing to find another Cause : therefore about her second Year, in a *Parliament*, of Men and Minds some scarce well grounded, others belching the soure crudities of yesterdays *Popery*, those Constitutions of EDWARD VI. which as you heard before, no way satisfi'd the men that made them, are now establish't for best, and not to be mended. From that time follow'd nothing but imprisonments, troubles, disgraces on all those that found fault with the *Decrees* of the Convocation, and strait were they branded with the Name of *Puritans*. As for the Queen her self, she was made believe that by putting down *Bishops* her *Prerogative* would be infring'd, of which shall be spoken anon as the course of Method brings it in : And why the *Prelats* labour'd it should be so thought, ask not them, but ask their Bellies. They had found a good Tabernacle, they sate under a spreading Vine, their Lot was fallen in a fair Inheritance. And these perhaps were the chief Impeachments of a more sound rectifying the *Church* in the Queens Time.

From this Period I count to begin our Times, which because they concern us more nearly, and our own Eyes and Ears can give us the ampler scope to judg,

will

will require a more exact search ; and to effect this the speedier, I shall distinguish such as I esteem to be the hinderers of *Reformation* into 3 sorts, *Antiquitarians*, (for so I had rather call them than *Antiquaries*, whose labours are useful and laudable). 2. *Libertines*. 3. *Politicians*.

To the votarists of Antiquity I shall think to have fully answer'd, if I shall be able to prove out of Antiquity, First, that if they will conform our Bishops to the purer times, they must mew their feathers, and their pounces, and make but curt-tail'd Bishops of them ; and we know they hate to be dockt and clipt, as much as to be put down outright. Secondly, that those purer times were corrupt, and their Books corrupted soon after. Thirdly, that the best of those that then wrote disclaim that any man should repose on them, and send all to the Scriptures.

First therefore, if those that over-affect Antiquity will follow the square thereof, their Bishops must be elected by the hands of the whole Church. The ancientest of the extant Fathers, *Ignatius*, writing to the Philadelphians, saith, *that it belongs to them as to the Church of God to choose a Bishop*. Let no man cavil, but take the Church of God as meaning the whole consistence of Orders and Members, as *St. Paul's* Epistles express, and this likewise being read over : Besides this, it is there to be mark'd, that those Philadelphians are exhorted to choose a Bishop of *Antioch*. Whence it seems by the way that there was not that wary limitation of Diocesis in those times, which is confirm'd even by a fast friend of Episcopacy, *Camden*, who cannot but love Bishops, as well as old coins, and his much lamented Monasteries, for antiquities sake. He writes in his description of *Scotland*, *that over all the world Bishops had no certain Diocesis, till Pope Dionysius about the year 268 did cut them out ; and that the Bishops of Scotland executed their function in what place soever they came indifferently, and without distinction, till King Malcolm the third, about the year 1070*. Whence may be guess what their function was : Was it to go about circl'd with a band of rooking Officials, with cloke-bags full of Citations, and Processess to be serv'd by a corporality of griffon-like Promooters and Apparitors ? Did he go about to pitch down his Court, as an Empirick does his banck, to inveigle in all the Money of the Country ? No certainly it would not have bin permitted him to exercise any such Function indifferently wherever he came. And verily some such matter it was as want of a fat Diocesis that kept our Britain Bishops so poor in the Primitive times, that being call'd to the Council of *Ariminum* in the year 359. they had not wherewithal to defray the charges of their journey, but were fed and lodg'd upon the Emperor's cost ; which must needs be no accidental, but usual poverty in them : for the Author *Sulpitius Severus* in his 2d Book of Church-History praises them, and avouches it praise-worthy in a Bishop to be so poor as to have nothing of his own. But to return to the ancient election of Bishops, that it could not lawfully be without the consent of the People is so express in *Cyprian*, and so often to be met with, that to cite each place at large, were to translate a good part of the Volume ; therefore touching the chief passages, I refer the rest to whom so list peruse the Author himself : in the 24 Epist. *If a Bishop*, saith he, *be once made and allow'd by the Testimony and Judgment of his Collegues and the People, no other can be made*. In the 55. *When a Bishop is made by the suffrage of all the People in Peace*. In the 68. mark but what he says ; *The People chiefly hath power either of choosing worthy ones, or refusing unworthy* : This he there proves by Authorities out of the old and new Testament, and with solid reasons : these were his antiquities.

This voice of the people, to be had ever in Episcopal Elections, was so well known, before *Cyprian's* time, even to those that were without the Church, that the Emperor *Alexander Severus* desir'd to have his Governours of Provinces chosen in the same manner, as *Lampridius* can tell ; so little thought it he offensive to Monarchy. And if single authorities perswade not, hearken what the whole general Council of *Nicea*, the first and famousst of all the rest, determines, writing a Synodal Epistle to the African Churches, to warn them of Arianism ; it exhorts them to choose orthodox Bishops in the place of the dead, so they be worthy, and the people choose them, whereby they seem to make the peoples assent so necessary, that merit, without their free choice, were not sufficient to make a Bishop. What would ye say now, grave Fathers, if you should wake and see unworthy Bishops, or rather

ther no Bishops, but Egyptian task-masters of Ceremonies thrust purposely upon the groaning Church to the affliction and vexation of God's people? It was not of old that a Conspiracy of Bishops could frustrate and fob off the right of the people; for we may read how St. *Martin*, soon after *Constantine*, was made Bishop of *Turon* in *France* by the peoples consent, from all places thereabout, maugre all the opposition that the Bishops could make. Thus went matters of the Church almost 400 years after *Christ*, and very probably far lower: for *Nicephorus Phocas* the Greek Emperor, whose reign fell near the 1000 year of our Lord, having done many things tyrannically, is said by *Cedrenus* to have done nothing more grievous and displeasing to the people, then to have enacted that no Bishop should be chosen without his will; so long did this right remain to the people in the midst of other palpable corruptions. Now for Episcopal dignity, what it was, see out of *Ignatius*, who in his Epistle to those of *Trallis* confesseth, that the *Presbyters* are his fellow-Counsellors and fellow-Benchers. And *Cyprian* in many places, as in the 6, 41, 52 Epist. speaking of *Presbyters*, calls them his *Compresbyters*, as if he deem'd himself no other, whenas by the same place it appears he was a Bishop, he calls them Brethren; but that will be thought his meekness: yea, but the *Presbyters* and Deacons writing to him, think they do him honour enough when they phrase him no higher then Brother *Cyprian*, and dear *Cyprian* in the 26 Epist. For their Authority 'tis evident not to have bin single, but depending on the counsel of the *Presbyters*, as from *Ignatius* was erewhile alledg'd; and the same *Cyprian* acknowledges as much in the 6 Epist. and adds thereto, that he had determin'd, from his entrance into the Office of Bishop, to do nothing without the consent of his people, and so in the 31 Epist. for it were tedious to course through all his writings, which are so full of the like assertions, inso-much that ev'n in the womb and center of Apostacy, *Rome* it self, there yet remains a glimpse of this truth; for the Pope himself, as a learned English writer notes well, performeth all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction as in Consistory amongst his Cardinals, which were originally but the Parish Priests of *Rome*. Thus then did the Spirit of unity and meekness inspire and animate every joint and sinew of the mystical body; but now the gravest and worthiest Minister, a true Bishop of his fold, shall be revil'd and ruff'd by an insulting and only Canon-wise Prelat, as if he were some slight paltry companion: and the people of God, redeem'd and wash'd with *Christ's* blood, and dignify'd with so many glorious titles of Saints, and Sons in the Gospel, are now no better reputed then impure Ethnicks; and lay dogs, stones and pillars, and crucifixes have now the honour and the alms due to *Christ's* living members; the Table of Communion, now become a Table of Separation, stands like an exalted platform upon the brow of the Quire, fortifi'd with bulwark and barricado, to keep off the profane touch of the Laicks, whilst the obscene and surfeted Priest scruples not to paw and mammock the Sacramental Bread, as familiarly as his Tavern Bisket. And thus the people, vilifi'd and rejected by them, give over the earnest study of vertue and godliness, as a thing of greater purity then they need, and the search of divine knowledg as a mystery too high for their capacities, and only for Church-men to meddle with; which is that the Prelats desire, that when they have brought us back to Popish blindness, we might commit to their dispose the whole managing of our Salvation, for they think it was never fair world with them since that time. But he that will mould a modern Bishop into a primitive, must yeild him to be elected by the popular voice, undiocest, unrevenu'd, unlorded, and leave him nothing but brotherly equality, matchless temperance, frequent fasting, incessant prayer and preaching, continual watchings and labours in his Ministry; which what a rich booty it would be, what a plump endowment to the many-benefice-gaping mouth of a Prelat, what a relish it would give to his canary-sucking, and swan-eating palat, let old Bishop *Mountain* judg for me.

How little therefore those ancient times make for modern Bishops hath bin plainly discours'd; but let them make for them as much as they will, yet why we ought not stand to their arbitrement, shall now appear by a threefold corruption which will be found upon them. 1. The best times were spreadingly infected. 2. The best men of those times foully tainted. 3. The best writings of those men dangerously adulterated. These Positions are to be made
good

good out of those times witnessing of themselves. First, *Ignatius* in his early days testifies to the Churches of *Asia*, that even then Heresies were sprung up, and rise every where, as *Eusebius* relates in his 3 Book, 35 chap. after the Greek number. And *Hegeſippus*, a grave Church-writer of prime Antiquity, affirms in the same Book of *Eusebius*, c. 32. *That while the Apostles were on earth, the depravers of Doctrine did but lurk; but they once gon, with open forehead they durst preach down the truth with falsities.* Yea, those that are reckon'd for orthodox began to make sad and shameful rents in the Church about the trivial celebration of Feasts, not agreeing when to keep Easter-day; which controverſie grew so hot, that *Victor* the Bishop of *Rome* excommunicated all the Churches of *Asia* for no other cause, and was worthily therof reprov'd by *Irenaeus*. For can any sound Theologer think that these great Fathers understood what was Gospel, or what was Excommunication? Doubtless that which led the good men into fraud and error was, that they attended more to the near tradition of what they heard the Apostles somtimes did, then to what they had left written, not considering that many things which they did were by the Apostles themselves profess'd to be done only for the present, and of mere indulgence to some scrupulous converts of the Circumcision, but what they writ was of firm decree to all future ages. Look but a century lower in the 1 cap. of *Eusebius* 8 Book. What a universal tetter of impurity had invenom'd every part, order, and degree of the Church, to omit the lay-herd, which will be little regarded, *those that seem'd to be our Pastors*, saith he, *overturning the Law of God's worship, burnt in contentions one towards another, and increasing in hatred and bitterness, outrageously sought to uphold Lordship, and command as it were a Tyranny.* Stay but a little, magnanimous Bishops, suppress your aspiring thoughts, for there is nothing wanting but *Constantine* to reign, and then Tyranny her self shall give up all her cittadels into your hands, and count ye thence forward her trustiest agents. Such were these that must be call'd the ancientest and most virgin times between *Christ* and *Constantine*. Nor was this general contagion in their actions, and not in their writings: who is ignorant of the foul errors, the ridiculous wresting of Scripture, the Heresies, the vanities thick sown through the volums of *Justin Martyr*, *Clement*, *Origen*, *Tertullian*, and others of eldest time? Who would think him fit to write an Apology for Christian Faith to the Roman Senat, that would tell them how of the Angels, which he must needs mean those in *Genesis* call'd the *Sons of God*, mixing with Women were begotten the Devils, as good *Justin Martyr* in his Apology told them. But more indignation would it move to any Christian that shall read *Tertullian*, terming *St. Paul* a novice, and raw in grace, for reproving *St. Peter* at *Antioch*, worthy to be blam'd if we beleave the Epistle to the *Galatians*: perhaps from this hint the blasphemous Jesuits presum'd in *Italy* to give their judgment of *St. Paul*, as of a hot-headed person, as *Sandys* in his Relations tells us.

Now besides all this, who knows not how many surreptitious works are ingraff'd into the legitimate writings of the Fathers? and of those Books that pass for authentick, who knows what hath bin tamper'd withal, what hath bin raz'd out, what hath bin insert'd? Besides the late legerdemain of the Papists, that which *Sulpitius* writes concerning *Origen's* Books, gives us cause vehemently to suspect, there hath bin packing of old. In the third chap. of his 1 Dialogue we may read what wrangling the Bishops and Monks had about the reading or not reading of *Origen*, some objecting that he was corrupted by Hereticks, others answering that all such Books had bin so dealt with. How then shall I trust these times to lead me, that testify so ill of leading themselves? Certainly of their defects their own witness may be best receiv'd, but of the rectitude and sincerity of their life and doctrine, to judg rightly, we must judg by that which was to be their rule.

But it will be objected, that this was an unsetl'd state of the Church, wanting the temporal Magistrate to suppress the licence of false Brethren, and the extravagancy of still new opinions; a time not imitable for Church-government, where the temporal and spiritual power did not close in one belief, as under *Constantine*. I am not of opinion to think the Church a *Vine* in this respect, because, as they take it, she cannot subsist without clasping about the Elm of worldly strength and felicity, as if the heavenly City could not support

port it self without the props and buttrelles of secular Authority. They extol *Constantine* because he extoll'd them; as our homebred Monks in their Histories blanch the Kings their Benefactors, and brand those that went about to be their Correctors. If he had curb'd the growing Pride, Avarice and Luxury of the *Clergy*, then every Page of his Story should have swell'd with his faults, and that which *Zozimus* the Heathen writes of him should have come in to boot: we should have heard then in every declamation how he slew his Nephew *Commodus* a worthy man, his noble and eldest Son *Crispus*, his Wife *Fausla*, besides numbers of his Friends; then his cruel exactions, his unsoundness in Religion, favoring the *Arians* that had been condemn'd in a Council, of which himself sat as it were President; his hard measure and banishment of the faithful and invincible *Athanasius*; his living unbaptiz'd almost to his dying day; these blurs are too apparent in his Life. But since he must needs be the Load-star of *Reformation*, as some men clatter, it will be good to see further his knowledg of Religion what it was, and by that we may likewise guess at the sincerity of his times in those that were not Heretical, being likely that he would converse with the famousst *Prelats* (for so he had made them) that were to be found for Learning.

Of his *Arianism* we heard, and for the rest, a pretty scantling of his Knowledg may be taken by his deferring to be baptiz'd so many years, a thing not usual, and repugnant to the tenor of *Scripture*, *Philip* knowing nothing that should hinder the *Eunuch* to be baptiz'd after profession of his Belief. Next, by the excessive devotion, that I may not say Superstition both of him and his Mother *Helena*, to find out the Cross on which *Christ* suffer'd, that had long lien under the rubbish of old ruines, (a thing which the Disciples and Kindred of our Saviour might with more ease have done, if they had thought it a pious duty :) some of the nails whereof he put into his Helmet, to bear off blows in battel, others he fasten'd among the studs of his bridle, to fulfil (as he thought, or his Court *Bishops* periwaded him) the Prophecie of *Zechariah*; And it shall be that that which is in the bridle shall be holy to the Lord. Part of the Cross in which he thought such Virtue to reside, as would prove a kind of *Palladium* to save the City wherever it remain'd, he caus'd to be laid up in a Pillar of *Porphyrie* by his Statue. How he or his Teachers could trifle thus with half an eye open upon *St. Paul's* Principles, I know not how to imagine.

How should then the dim Taper of this Emperor's age that had such need of snuffing, extend any beam to our times wherewith we might hope to be better lighted, then by those Luminaries that God hath set up to shine to us far nearer hand. And what *Reformation* he wrought for his own time, it will not be amiss to consider; he appointed certain times for Fasts and Feasts, built stately Churches, gave large Immunities to the Clergy, great Riches and Promotions to *Bishops*, gave and minister'd occasion to bring in a deluge of Ceremonies, thereby either to draw in the Heathen by a resemblance of their Rites, or to set a gloss upon the simplicity and plainness of Christianity; which to the gorgeous Solemnities of *Paganism*, and the sense of the World's Children, seem'd but a homely and yeomanly Religion, for the beauty of inward Sanctity was not within their prospect.

So that in this manner the *Prelats*, both then and ever since, coming from a mean and plebeian Life, on a sudden to be Lords of stately Palaces, rich furniture, delicious fare, and princely attendance, thought the plain and homespun verity of *Christ's* Gospel unfit any longer to hold their Lordships acquaintance, unless the poor thredbare Matron were put into better clothes; her chaste and modest vail, surrounded with celestial beams, they overlaid with wanton tresses, and in a slaving tire bespeckl'd her with all the gaudy allurements of a Whore.

Thus flourish'd the Church with *Constantine's* wealth, and thereafter were the effects that follow'd; his Son *Constantius* prov'd a flat *Arian*, and his Nephew *Julian* an Apostate, and there his Race ended: the Church that before by insensible degrees welk'd and impair'd, now with large steps went down hill decaying; at this time *Antichrist* began first to put forth his horn, and that saying was common, that former times had wooden Chalicees and golden *Priests*; but they golden Chalicees and wooden *Priests*. Formerly (*saith Sulpici-*

tius) *Martyrdom* by glorious death was sought more greedily then now Bishops by vile Ambition are hunted after, (speaking of these times) and in another place, they gape after possessions, they tend Lands and Livings, they coure over their Gold, they buy and sell: and if there be any that neither possess nor traffique, that which is worse, they sit still, and expect gifts, and prostitute every induement of Grace, every holy thing to sale. And in the end of his History thus he concludes, all things went to wrack by the *Faction*, *Wilfulness*, and *Avarice* of the *Bishops*, and by this means *God's people*, and every good man was had in scorn and derision: which St. *Martin* found truly to be said by his friend *Sulpitius*; for being held in admiration of all men, he had only the *Bishops* his enemies, found God less favourable to him after he was *Bishop* then before, and for his last 16 years would come at no *Bishop's* meeting. Thus you see, Sir, what *Constantine's* doings in the Church brought forth, either in his own or in his Son's Reign.

Now lest it should be thought that something else might ail this Author thus to hamper the Bishops of those days; I will bring you the opinion of three the famousst men for Wit and Learning that *Italy* at this day glories of, whereby it may be concluded for a receiv'd opinion even among men professing the *Romish Faith*, that *Constantine* marr'd all in the Church. *Dante* in his 19 *Canto* of *Inferno* hath thus, as I will render it you in English blank Verse:

*Ab Constantine, of how much ill was cause
Not thy Conversion, but those rich remains
That the first wealthy Pope receiv'd of thee.*

So in his 20 *Canto* of *Paradise* he makes the like complaint, and *Petrarch* seconds him in the same mind in his 108 Sonnet, which is wip't out by the Inquisitor in some Editions; speaking of the *Roman Antichrist* as merely bred up by *Constantine*.

*Founded in chaste and humble Poverty,
'Gainst them that rais'd thee dost thou list thy horn,
Impudent whoore, where hast thou plac'd thy hope?
In thy Adulterers, or thy ill-got wealth?
Another Constantine comes not in haste.*

Ariosto of *Ferrara*, after both these in time, but equal in fame, following the scope of his Poem in a difficult knot how to restore *Orlando* his chief Hero to his lost senses, brings *Astolfo* the English Knight up into the Moon, where St. *John*, as he feigns, met him. Cant. 34.

*And to be short, at last his guid him brings
Into a goodly valley, where he sees
A mighty mass of things strangely confus'd,
Things that on earth were lost, or were abus'd.*

And amongst these so abused things, listen what he met withal, under the Conduct of the *Evangelist*.

*Then past he to a flowry Mountain green,
Which once smelt sweet, now stinks as odiously;
This was that gift (if you the truth will have)
That Constantine to good Sylvestro gave.*

And this was a truth well known in *England* before this *Poet* was born, as our *Chaucer's* *Plowman* shall tell you by and by upon another occasion. By all these circumstances laid together, I do not see how it can be disputed what good this Emperor *Constantine* wrought to the Church, but rather whether ever any, though perhaps not wittingly, set open a door to more mischief in *Christendom*. There is just cause therefore that when the *Prelats* cry out, Let the Church be reform'd according to *Constantine*, it should sound to a judicious ear no otherwise, then if they should say, Make us rich, make us lofty,
make

make us lawless ; for if any under him were not so, thanks to those ancient remains of Integrity, which were not yet quite worn out, and not to his Government.

Thus finally it appears, that those purer Times were not such as they are cry'd up, and not to be follow'd without suspicion, doubt and danger. The last Point wherein the *Antiquary* is to be dealt with at his own Weapon, is to make it manifest, that the ancientest and best of the Fathers have disclaim'd all Sufficiency in themselves that Men should rely on, and sent all Comers to the Scriptures, as allsufficient : That this is true, will not be unduly gather'd by shewing what esteem they had of Antiquity themselves, and what validity they thought in it to prove Doctrine, or Discipline. I must of necessity begin from the second Rank of Fathers, because till then Antiquity could have no Plea. *Cyprian* in his 63 *Epistle* : If any, saith he, of our Ancestors, either ignorantly, or out of simplicity, hath not observ'd that which the Lord taught us by his Example, (speaking of the Lord's Supper) his simplicity *God* may pardon of his Mercy ; but we cannot be excus'd for following him, being instructed by the Lord. And have not we the same Instructions, and will not this holy Man, with all the whole Consistory of Saints and Martyrs that liv'd of old, rise up and stop our mouths in Judgment, when we shall go about to father our Errors and Opinions upon their Authority ? In the 73 *Epist.* he adds, In vain do they oppose Custom to us, if they be overcome by Reason ; as if Custom were greater then Truth, or that in spiritual things that were not to be follow'd, which is reveal'd for the better by the Holy Ghost. In the 74, Neither ought Custom to hinder that Truth should not prevail ; for Custom without Truth is but agedness of Error.

Next *Lactantius*, he that was prefer'd to have the bringing up of *Constantine's* Children, in his second Book of *Institutions*, Chap. 7 & 8. disputes against the vain trust in Antiquity, as being the chiefest Argument of the Heathen against the Christians : They do not consider, saith he, what Religion is ; but they are confident it is true, because the Ancients deliver'd it ; they count it a Trespass to examine it. And in the eighth : Not because they went before us in Time, therefore in Wisdom ; which being given alike to all Ages, cannot be prepossess'd by the Ancients : Wherefore seeing that to seek the Truth is inbred to all, they bereave themselves of Wisdom, the Gift of God, who without Judgment follow the Ancients, and are led by others like brute Beasts. *St. Austin* writes to *Fortunatian*, that he counts it lawful in the Books of whomsoever, to reject that which he finds otherwise then true, and so he would have others deal by him. He neither accounted, as it seems, those Fathers that went before, nor himself, nor others of his Rank, for Men of more then ordinary Spirit, that might equally deceive, and be deceiv'd : and oftentimes setting our servile humours aside, yea, *God* so ordering, we may find Truth with one Man, as soon as in a Council, as *Cyprian* agrees, 71 *Epist.* Many things, saith he, are better reveal'd to single Persons. At *Nicaea* in the first, and best reputed Council of all the World, there had gon out a Canon to divorce married Priests, had not one old Man *Paphnutius* stood up, and reason'd against it.

Now remains it to shew clearly that the Fathers refer all decision of Controversy to the Scriptures, as all-sufficient to direct, to resolve, and to determine. *Ignatius* taking his last leave of the *Asian* Churches, as he went to Martyrdom, exhorted them to adhere close to the written Doctrine of the Apostles, necessarily written for Posterity : so far was he from unwritten Traditions, as may be read in the 36 cap. of *Eusebius* 3. b. In the 74 *Epist.* of *Cyprian* against *Stefan* Bishop of *Rome* imposing upon him a Tradition ; Whence, quoth he, is this Tradition ? Is it fetcht from the Authority of Christ in the Gospel, or of the Apostles in their Epistles ? for God testifies that those things are to be done which are written. And then thus, What Obstinacy, what Presumption is this, to prefer Humane Tradition before Divine Ordinance ? And in the same *Epist.* If we shall return to the head, and beginning of Divine Tradition, (which we all know he means the Bible) humane Error ceases ; and the reason of heavenly Mysteries unfolded, whatsoever was obscure, becomes clear. And in the 14 distinct. of the same *Epist.* directly against our modern Fantasies of a still Visible Church, he teaches, That succession of Truth may fail ; to renew which, we

must have recourse to the Fountains ; using this excellent Similitude, If a Channel, or Conduit-pipe which brought in Water plentifully before, suddenly fail, do we not go to the Fountain to know the Cause, whether the Spring affords no more, or whether the Vein be stopt, or turn'd aside in the mid-course ? Thus ought we to do, keeping God's Precepts, that if in ought the Truth shall be chang'd, we may repair to the Gospel, and to the Apostles, that thence may arise the reason of our doings, from whence our order and beginning arose. In the 75 he inveighs bitterly against Pope *Stefanus*, for that he could boast his Succession from *Peter*, and yet foist in Traditions that were not Apostolical. And in his Book of the Unity of the Church, he compares those that, neglecting God's Word, follow the Doctrines of Men, to *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Airam*. The very first Page of *Athanasius* against the Gentiles, avers the Scriptures to be sufficient of themselves for the declaration of Truth ; and that if his friend *Macarius* read other Religious Writers, it was but φιλοκαλως come un virtuoso, (as the Italians say) as a lover of Elegance : And in his 2d Tome, the 39 pag. after he hath reckon'd up the Canonical Books, In these only, saith he, is the Doctrine of Godliness taught ; Let no Man add to these, or take from these. And in his *Synopsis*, having again set down all the Writers of the Old and New Testament, These, saith he, be the Anchors and Props of our Faith. Besides these, millions of other Books have been written by great and wise Men according to Rule, and agreement with these, of which I will not now speak, as being of infinite number, and meer dependance on the Canonical Books. *Basil* in his 2d Tome, writing of true Faith, tells his Auditors, He is bound to teach them that which he hath learn't out of the Bible : And in the same Treatise he saith, That seeing the Commandments of the Lord are faithful, and sure for ever ; it is a plain falling from the Faith, and a high pride, either to make void any thing therein, or to introduce any thing not there to be found : And he gives the reason, for *Christ* saith, My Sheep hear my Voice, they will not follow another, but fly from him, because they know not his Voice. But not to be endless in Quotations, it may chance to be objected, that there be many Opinions in the Fathers which have no ground in Scripture ; so much the less, may I say, should we follow them, for their own words shall condemn them, and acquit us that lean not on them ; otherwise these their words will acquit them, and condemn us. But it will be reply'd, the Scriptures are difficult to be understood, and therefore require the Explanation of the Fathers. 'Tis true, there be some Books, and especially some places in those Books, that remain clouded ; yet ever that which is most necessary to be known, is most easy ; and that which is most difficult, so far expounds it self ever, as to tell us how little it imports our saving Knowledge. Hence to infer a general Obscurity over all the Text, is a meer Suggestion of the Devil to dissuade Men from reading it, and casts an Aspersions of Dishonour both upon the Mercy, Truth, and Wisdom of God. We count it no gentleness, or fair dealing in a Man of Power amongst us, to require strict and punctual Obedience, and yet give out all his Commands ambiguous and obscure, we should think he had a Plot upon us ; certainly such Commands were no Commands, but Snares. The very Essence of Truth is plainness and brightness, the darkness and crookedness is our own. The Wisdom of God created Understanding, fit and proportionable to Truth, the Object, and End of it, as the Eye to the thing visible. If our Understanding have a Film of Ignorance over it, or be blear with gazing on other false Glisterings ; what is that to Truth ? If we will purge with sovraign Eyesalve that intellectual Ray which God hath planted in us, then we would believe the Scriptures protesting their own plainness and perspicuity, calling to them to be instructed, not only the Wise and Learned, but the Simple, the Poor, the Babes, foretelling an extraordinary effusion of Gods Spirit upon every Age, and Sex, attributing to all Men, and requiring from them the Ability of searching, trying, examining all things, and by the Spirit discerning that which is good ; and as the Scriptures themselves pronounce their own plainness, so do the Fathers testify of them.

I will not run into a Paroxysm of Citations again in this Point, only instance *Athanasius* in his fore-mention'd first page ; The knowledge of Truth, saith he, wants no humane Love ; as being evident in it self, and by the preaching of *Christ* now opens brighter then the Sun. If these Doctors, who had scarce half the Light that

that we enjoy, who all, except two or three, were ignorant of the Hebrew Tongue, and many of the Greek, blundering upon the dangerous and suspectful Translations of the Apostat *Aquila*, the Heretical *Theodotion*, the Judaiz'd *Symmachus*, the Erroneous *Origen*; if these could yet find the Bible so easy, why should we doubt, that have all the helps of Learning, and faithful Industry that Man in this Life can look for, and the Assistance of *God* as near now to us as ever? But let the Scriptures be hard; are they more hard, more crabbed, more abstruse then the Fathers? He that cannot understand the sober, plain, and unaffected stile of the Scriptures, will be ten times more puzzl'd with the knotty Africanisms, the pampers'd Metaphors, the intricate and involv'd Sentences of the Fathers, besides the fantastick and declamatory flashes, the cross-jingling Periods which cannot but disturb, and come thwart a settl'd Devotion, worse then the din of Bells and Rattles.

Now, Sir, for the love of holy *Reformation*, what can be said more against these importunate Clients of Antiquity, then she her self their Patroness hath said? Whether think ye would she approve still to dote upon immeasurable, innumerable, and therefore unnecessary and unmerciful Volumes, chusing rather to err with the specious Name of the Fathers, or to take a sound Truth at the hand of a plain upright Man, that all his days hath been diligently reading the holy Scriptures, and thereto imploring *God's* Grace, while the admirers of Antiquity have bin beating their Brains about their *Ambones*, their *Diptychs*, and *Adeniaia's*? Now, he that cannot tell of Stations and Inditions, nor has wasted his precious hours in the endless conferring of Councils and Conclaves that demolish one another, although I know many of those that pretend to be great Rabbies in these studies, have scarce saluted them from the Strings, and the Title Page; or to give 'em more, have bin but the Ferrets and Mous-hunts of an Index: Yet what Pastor or Minister, how learned, religious, or discreet soever, does not now bring both his Cheeks full blown with Oecumenical and Synodical, shall be counted a lank, shallow, insufficient Man, yea a Dunce, and not worthy to speak about *Reformation* of Church-Discipline. But I trust they for whom *God* hath reserv'd the honour of reforming this Church, will easily perceive their Adversaries drift in thus calling for Antiquity; they fear the plain Field of the Scriptures, the Chase is too hot; they seek the dark, the bushy, the tangled Forrest, they would imbosk: they feel themselves strook in the transparent Streams of Divine Truth, they would plunge, and tumble, and think to lie hid in the foul Weeds and muddy Waters, where no Plummet can reach the bottom. But let them beat themselves like Whales, and spend their Oil till they be drag'd ashoar: though wherefore should the Ministers give them so much Line for Shifts and Delays? Wherefore should they not urge only the Gospel, and hold it ever in their Faces like a Mirror of Diamond, till it dazle and pierce their misty Eye-balls? maintaining it the honour of its absolute Sufficiency and Supremacy inviolable: For if the Scripture be for *Reformation*, and Antiquity to boot, 'tis but an advantage to the Dozen, 'tis no winning Cast: And though Antiquity be against it, while the Scriptures be for it, the Cause is as good as ought to be wisht, Antiquity it self sitting Judg.

But to draw to an end; the second sort of those that may be justly number'd among the hinderers of *Reformation*, are Libertines; these suggest that the Discipline sought would be intolerable: For one Bishop now in a Diocess we should then have a Pope in every Parish. It will not be requisite to answer these Men, but only to discover them, for Reason they have none, but Lust and Licentiousness, and therefore Answer can have none. It is not any Discipline that they could live under, it is the corruption and remissness of Discipline that they seek. Episcopacy duly executed, yea, the Turkish and Jewish rigor against whoring and drinking; the dear and tender Discipline of a Father, the sociable and loving Reproof of a Brother, the bosom Admonition of a Friend, is a *Presbytery*, and a Consistory to them. 'Tis only the merry Frier in *Chaucer* can disple them.

Full sweetly heard he Confession,
And pleasant was his Absolution,
He was an easy Man to give Penance.

And so I leave them; and refer the political Discourse of Episcopacy to a Second Book.

OF REFORMATION, &c.

The Second B O O K.

S I R,

IT is a work good and prudent to be able to guide one Man ; of larger extended Vertue to order well one House : but to govern a Nation piously and justly, which only is to say happily, is for a Spirit of the greatest size, and divinest mettle. And certainly of no less a mind, nor of less excellence in another way, were they who by Writing laid the solid and true foundations of this Science ; which being of greatest importance to the Life of man, yet there is no Art that hath bin more canker'd in her Principles, more soil'd, and slubber'd with aphorisming pedantry, then the art of Policy ; and that most, where a man would think should least be in Christian Commonwealths. They teach not, that to govern well, is to train up a Nation in true Wisdom and Vertue, and that which springs from thence, Magnanimity, (take heed of that) and that which is our beginning, Regeneration, and happiest end, likenes to *God*, which in one word we call *Godlines* ; and that this is the true flourishing of a Land, other things follow as the shadow does the Substance ; to teach thus were meer pulpitry to them. This is the master-piece of a modern Politician, how to qualify and mould the sufferance and subjection of the People to the length of that Foot that is to tread on their Necks ; how Rapine may serve it self with the fair and honourable pretences of publick Good ; how the puny Law may be brought under the wardship and controul of Lust and Will : in which attempt if they fall short, then must a superficial colour of Reputation by all means, direct or indirect, be gotten to wash over the unsightly bruse of Honour. To make men governable in this manner, their Precepts mainly tend to break a national Spirit and Courage, by countenancing open Riot, Luxury, and Ignorance, till having thus disfigur'd and made men beneath men, as *Juno* in the Fable of *Iö*, they deliver up the poor transformed heifer of the Commonwealth to be stung and vext with the breefe and goad of Oppression, under the custody of some *Argus* with a hundred eyes of Jealousy. To be plainer, Sir, how to foder, how to stop a Leak, how to keep up the floating carcas of a crasy and diseased Monarchy or State, betwixt wind and water, swimming still upon her own dead Lees, that now is the deep design of a Politician. Alas, Sir ! a Commonwealth ought to be but as one huge Christian personage, one mighty growth and stature of an honest man, as big and compact in Vertue as in Body ; for look what the grounds and causes are of single Happiness to one man, the same ye shall find them to a whole State, as *Aristotle* both in his *Ethicks*, and *Politicks*, from the principles of Reason lays down : by consequence therefore that which is good and agreeable to Monarchy, will appear soonest to be so, by being good and agreeable to the true welfare of every Christian ; and that which can be justly prov'd hurtful and offensive to every true Christian, will be evinc't to be alike hurtful to Monarchy : for *God* forbid, that we should separate and distinguish the end and good of a Monarch, from the end and good of the Monarchy, or that from Christianity. How then this third and last sort that hinder Reformation, will justify that it stands not with reason of State, I much muse : For certain I am, the *Bible* is shut against them, as certain that neither *Plato* nor *Aristotle* is for their turns. What they can bring us now from the Schools of *Loyola* with his Jesuits, or their *Malvezzi*, that can cut *Tacitus* into slivers and steaks, we shall presently hear. They alledg, 1. That the Church-Government must be conformable to the civil Polity ; next, that no form of Church-Government is agreeable to Monarchy, but that of Bishops. Must Church-Government that is appointed in the Gospel, and has chief re-

spect

spe& to the Soul, be conformable and pliant to Civil, that is Arbitrary, and chiefly conversant about the visible and external part of man? This is the very Maxim that moulded the Calvs of *Bethel* and of *Dan*; this was the quintessence of *Jeroboams* Policy, he made Religion conform to his politick Interests; and this was the Sin that watcht over the Israelites till their final Captivity. If this State-principle come from the Prelats, as they affect to be counted Statists, let them look back to *Elutherius* Bishop of *Rome*, and see what he thought of the Policy of *England*; being requir'd by *Lucius*, the first Christian King of this Iland, to gixe his Counsel for the founding of Religious Laws, little thought he of this sage Caution, but bids him betake himself to the Old and New Testament, and receive direction from them how to administer both Church and Commonwealth; that he was *Gods* Vicar, and therefore to rule by *Gods* Laws; that the Edicts of *Cesar* we may at all times disallow, but the Statutes of *God* for no reason we may reject. Now certain if Church-Government be taught in the Gospel, as the Bishops dare not deny, we may well conclude of what late standing this Polition is, newly calculated for the altitude of Bishop-elevation, and lettice for their Lips. But by what example can they shew that the form of Church-Discipline must be minted, and modell'd out to secular pretences? The antient Republick of the Jews is evident to have run through all the changes of civil Estate, if we survey the Story from the giving of the Law to the *Herods*; yet did one manner of Priestly Government serve without inconvenience to all these temporal Mutations; it serv'd the mild Aristocracy of elective Dukes, and heads of Tribes join'd with them; the dictatorship of the Judges, the easy or hard-handed Monarchy's, the domestick or foreign Tyrannies: Lastly, The Roman Senat from without, the Jewish Senat at home, with the Galilean Tetrarch; yet the Levites had some right to deal in civil Affairs: but seeing the Evangelical Precept forbids Churchmen to intermedle with worldly Employments, what interweavings, or interworkings can knit the Minister and the Magistrate in their severall Functions, to the regard of any precise Correspondency? Seeing that the Churchmans Office is only to teach men the Christian Faith, to exhort all, to encourage the Good, to admonish the Bad, privately the less Offender, publickly the scandalous and stubborn; to censure and separate from the Communion of *Christs* Flock, the contagious and incorrigible, to receive with Joy and fatherly Compassion the Penitent; all this must be done, and more then this, is beyond any Church Authority. What is all this either here or there, to the Temporal regiment of Wealpublick, whether it be Popular, Princely, or Monarchical? Where doth it intrench upon the temporal Governor? where does it come in his walk? Where does it make inrode upon his Jurisdiction? Indeed if the Ministers part be rightly discharg'd, it renders him the People more conscionable, quiet, and easy to be govern'd; if otherwise, his Life and Doctrine will declare him. If therefore the Constitution of the Church be already set down by divine Prescript, as all sides confess, then can she not be a Handmaid to wait on civil Commodities, and Respects: and if the Nature and Limits of Church-Discipline be such, as are either helpful to all political Estates indifferently, or have no particular relation to any, then is there no necessity, nor indeed possibility of linking the one with the other in a special conformation.

Now for their second conclusion, *That no form of Church-Government is agreeable to Monarchy, but that of Bishops*, although it fall to pieces of it self by that which hath bin said; yet to give them play, front and rear, it shall be my task to prove that Episcopacy, with that Authority which it challenges in *England*, is not only not agreeable, but tending to the destruction of Monarchy. While the Primitive Pastors of the Church of *God* labour'd faithfully in their Ministry, tending only their Sheep, and not seeking, but avoiding all worldly matters as clogs, and indeed derogations and debasements to their high Calling; little needed the Princes and Potentates of the Earth, which way soever the Gospel was spread, to study ways how to make a Coherence between the Churches Polity, and theirs: therefore when *Pilate* heard once our Saviour *Christ* professing that *his Kingdom was not of this World*, he thought the man could not stand much in *Cesars* light, nor much indamage the Roman Empire: for if the Life of *Christ* be hid to this World, much more is his

Scepter unoperative, but in spiritual things. And thus liv'd for 2 or 3 Ages, the Successors of the Apostles. But when through *Constantines* lavish Superstition they forsook their *first love*, and set themselves up too in Gods stead; *Mammon* and their Belly, then taking advantage of the spiritual Power which they had on mens Consciences, they began to cast a longing eye to get the Body also, and bodily things into their command; upon which their carnal desires, the Spirit daily quenching and dying in them, knew no way to keep themselves up from falling to nothing, but by bolstering and supporting their inward rottenness, by a carnal and outward Strength. For a while they rather privily sought opportunity, then hastily disclos'd their Project; but when *Constantine* was dead, and 3 or 4 Emperors more, their drift became notorious and offensive to the whole World; for while *Theodosius* the younger reign'd, thus writes *Socrates* the Historian in his 7th Book Chap. 11. Now began an ill name to stick upon the Bishops of *Rome* and *Alexandria*, who beyond their Priestly bounds now long ago had stept into Principality, and this was scarce 80 years since their raising from the meanest worldly Condition. Of courtesy now let any man tell me, if they draw to themselves a *temporal Strength* and *Power* out of *Cæsars* Dominion, is not *Cæsars* Empire thereby diminished? But this was a stoln bit, hitherto he was but a Caterpillar secretly gnawing at *Monarchy*; the next time you shall see him a Wolf, a Lion, lifting his Paw against his Kaiser, as *Petrarch* express it, and finally an open enemy and subverter of the Greek Empire. *Philippicus* and *Leo*, with divers other Emperors after them, not without the advice of their *Patriarchs*, and at length of a whole Eastern Council of three hundred thirty eight *Bishops*, threw the Images out of *Churches* as being decreed Idolatrous.

Upon this goodly occasion, the *Bishop* of *Rome* not only seizes the City, and all the Territory about into his own Hands, and makes himself Lord thereof, which till then was govern'd by a Greek Magistrate, but absolves all *Italy* of their Tribute and Obedience due to the Emperor, because he obey'd Gods Commandment in abolishing Idolatry.

Mark, Sir, here how the Pope came by *S. Peters* Patrimony, as he feigns it; not the Donation of *Constantine*, but Idolatry and Rebellion got it him. Ye need but read *Sigonius*, one of his own Sect, to know the Story at large. And now to shroud himself against a Storm from the Greek Continent, and provide a Champion to bear him out in these practices, he takes upon him by Papal sentence to unthrone *Chilpericus* the rightful King of *France*, and gives the Kingdom to *Pepin* for no other cause, but that he seem'd to him the more active man. If he were a Friend herein to *Monarchy* I know not, but to the *Monarch* I need not ask what he was.

Having thus made *Pepin* his fast Friend, he calls him into *Italy* against *Aistulphus* the *Lombard*, that war'd upon him for his late Usurpation of *Rome* as belonging to *Ravenna* which he had newly won. *Pepin*, not unobedient to the Popes call, passing into *Italy*, frees him out of danger, and wins for him the whole Exarchat of *Ravenna*; which though it had been almost immediately before the hereditary Possession of that *Monarchy* which was his chief Patron and Benefactor, yet he takes and keeps it to himself as lawful prize, and given to *St. Peter*. What a dangerous fallacy is this, when a Spiritual man may snatch to himself any temporal Dignity or Dominion, under pretence of receiving it for the Churches use? thus he claims *Naples*, *Sicily*, *England*, and what not? To be short, under shew of his zeal against the errors of the Greek Church, he never ceas'd baiting and goring the Successors of his best Lord *Constantine*, what by his barking Curses and Excommunications, what by his hindring the Western Princes from aiding them against the Sarazens and Turks, unless when they humour'd him; so that it may be truly affirm'd, he was the subversion and fall of that *Monarchy*, which was the hoisting of him. This besides *Petrarch*, whom I have cited, our *Chaucer* also hath observ'd, and gives from hence a caution to *England*, to beware of her *Bishops* in time, for that their ends and aims are no more friendly to *Monarchy*, then the Popes.

Thus he brings in the Plow-man speaking, *Part 2. Stanz. 28.*

*The Emperor Tase the Pope sometime
So high Lordship him about,
That at last the silly Kime,
The proud Pope put him out ;
So of this Realm is no doubt,
But Lords beware, and them defend ;
For now these Folks be wonders stout,
The King and Lords now this amend.*

And in the next *Stanza*, which begins the third part of the Tale, he argues that they ought not to be Lords:

*Moses Law forbode it tho
That Priests should no Lordships welde,
Christs Gospel biddeth also
That they should no Lordships held :
Ne Christs Apostles were never so bold
No such Lordships to hem embrace,
But smeren her Sheep, and keep her Fold.*

And so forward. Whether the Bishops of *England* have deserv'd thus to be fear'd by men so wise as our *Chaucer* is esteem'd ; and how agreeable to our *Monarchy*, and *Monarchs*, their demeanour has been, he that is but meanly read in our *Chronicles* needs not be instructed. Have they not been as the *Canaanites*, and *Philistins*, to this Kingdom ? What Treasons, what revolts to the Pope ? what Rebellions, and those the basest and most pretenceless, have they not been chief in ? What could *Monarchy* think, when *Becket* durst challenge the Custody of *Rocheſter-Caſtle*, and the Tower of *London*, as appertaining to his Signory ? To omit his other insolencies and affronts to regal Majesty, till the Lashes inflicted on the anointed Body of the King, washt off the holy *Unction* with his Blood drawn by the polluted hands of *Bishops*, *Abbots*, and *Monks*.

What good upholders of Royalty were the *Bishops*, when by their rebellious opposition against King *John*, *Normandy* was lost, he himself depos'd, and this Kingdom made over to the Pope ? When the *Bishop* of *Wincheſter* durst tell the Nobles, the Pillars of the Realm, that there were no Peers in *England*, as in *France*, but that the King might do what he pleas'd. What could Tyranny say more ? It would be petty now, if I should insist upon the rendring up of *Tournay* by *Woolſeys* Treason, the Excommunications, Cursings, and Interdicts upon the whole Land : For haply I shall be cut off short by a Reply, that these were the faults of the men and their Popish errors, not of *Episcopacy*, that hath now renounc'd the Pope, and is a Protestant. Yes sure ; as wise and famous men have suspected and fear'd the Protestant *Episcopacy* in *England*, as those that have fear'd the Papal.

You know, Sir, what was the judgment of *Padre Paolo*, the great Venetian Antagonist of the Pope, for it is extant in the hands of many men, whereby he declares his fear, that when the Hierarchy of *England* shall light into the hands of busy and audacious men, or shall meet with Princes tractable to the Prelacy, then much mischief is like to ensue. And can it be nearer hand, then when *Bishops* shall openly affirm that, No *Bishop*, no *King* ? A trim Paradox, and that ye may know where they have been a begging for it, I will fetch you the Twin-brother to it out of the Jesuits Cell ; they feeling the Ax of Gods Reformation, hewing at the old and hollow trunk of Papacy, and finding the Spaniard their surest friend, and safest refuge, to sooth him up in his Dream of a fifth Monarchy, and withal to uphold the decrepit Papalty, have invented this super-politick Aphorism, as one terms it, One Pope, and one King.

Surely there is not any Prince in *Christendom*, who hearing this rare Sophistry, can choose but smile ; and if we be not blind at home, we may as well perceive that this worthy Motto, No *Bishop*, no *King*, is of the same batch, and infanted out of the same fears, a meer Ague-cake coagulated of a certain

Fever they have, presaging their time to be but short: and now like those that are sinking, they catch round at that which is likeliest to hold them up; and would periwade Regal Power, that if they dive, he must after. But what greater debasement can there be to Royal Dignity, whose towring and stedfast heighth rests upon the unmovable foundations of Justice, and Heroick Vertue, then to chain it in a dependance of subsisting, or ruining to the painted Battlements and gaudy rottenness of Prelatry, which want but one puff of the Kings to blow them down like a past-bord House built of *Court-Cards*. Sir, the little ado which methinks I find in untacking these pleasant Sophisms, puts me into the mood to tell you a Tale ere I proceed further; and *Menenius Agrippa* speed us.

A Tale of the
Head and a
Wen.

Upon a time the Body summon'd all the Members to meet in the Guild for the common good (as *Æsops* Chronicles aver many stranger Accidents) the Head by right takes the first seat, and next to it a huge and monstrous Wen little less then the Head it self, growing to it by a narrower excrescency. The Members amaz'd began to ask one another what he was that took place next their chief; none could resolve. Whereat the Wen, though unweildy, with much ado gets up, and bespeaks the Assembly to this purpose: That as in place he was second to the Head, so by due of merit; that he was to it an ornament, and strength, and of special near relation; and that if the Head should fail, none were fitter then himself to step into his place; therefore he thought it for the honour of the Body, that such Dignities and rich Indowments should be decreed him, as did adorn, and set out the noblest Members. To this was answer'd, that it should be consulted. Then was a wise and learned Philosopher sent for, that knew all the Charters, Laws and Tenures of the Body. On him it is impos'd by all, as chief Committee, to examine, and discuss the Claim and Petition of Right put in by the Wen; who soon perceiving the matter, and wondring at the boldness of such a swoln Tumor, Wilt thou (quoth he) that art but a bottle of vitious and harden'd Excrements, contend with the lawful and free-born Members, whose certain number is set by ancient, and unrepealable Statute? Head thou art none, though thou receive this huge substance from it: What Office bearest thou? What good canst thou shew by thee done to the Common-weal? The Wen not easily dash't replies, that his Office was his Glory; for so oft as the Soul would retire out of the Head from over the steaming vapours of the lower parts to Divine Contemplation, with him she found the purest and quietest retreat, as being most remote from soil, and disturbance. *Lourdan*, quoth the Philosopher, thy folly is as great as thy filth; know that all the faculties of the Soul are confin'd of old to their several vessels and *ventricles*, from which they cannot part without dissolution of the whole Body; and that thou containst no good thing in thee, but a heap of hard and loathsome Uncleanes, and art to the head a foul disfigurement and burden; when I have cut thee off, and open'd thee, as by the help of these Implements I will do, all men shall see.

But to return whence was digress't: seeing that the Throne of a King, as the wise King *Solomon* often remembers us, is *establish'd in Justice*, which is the universal Justice that *Aristotle* so much praises, containing in it all other Vertues, it may assure us that the fall of Prelacy, whose actions are so far distant from Justice, cannot shake the least fringe that borders the royal Canopy; but that their standing doth continually oppose and lay battery to regal safety, shall by that which follows easily appear. Amongst many secondary and accessory Causes that support Monarchy, these are not of least reckoning, though common to all other States: the love of the Subjects, the multitude, and valour of the People, and store of Treasure. In all these things hath the Kingdom bin of late fore weak'nd, and chiefly by the Prelates. First, let any man consider, that if any Prince shall suffer under him a commission of Authority to be exerciz'd, till all the Land grone and cry out, as against a whip of Scorpions, whether this be not likely to lessen, and keel the affections of the Subject. Next what numbers of faithful, and free-born Englishmen, and good Christians have bin constrain'd to forsake their dearest home, their friends, and kindred, whom nothing but the wide Ocean, and the savage Deserts of *America* could hide and shelter from the fury of the

Bishops?

Bishops? O Sir, if we could but see the shape of our dear Mother *England*, as Poets are wont to give a personal form to what they please, how would she appear, think ye, but in a mourning weed, with ashes upon her Head, and tears abundantly flowing from her Eyes, to behold so many of her Children expos'd at once, and thrust from things of dearest necessity, because their Conscience could not assent to things which the Bishops thought *indifferent*? What more binding then Conscience? What more free then *Indifferency*? Cruel then must that *Indifferency* needs be, that shall violate the strict necessity of Conscience; merciles and inhuman that free choyse and liberty that shall break asunder the bonds of Religion. Let the Astrologer be dismay'd at the portentous blaze of Comets, and impressions in the Air, as foretelling troubles and changes to States: I shall believe there cannot be a more ill-boding Sign to a Nation (*God* turn the Omen from us) then when the Inhabitants, to avoid insufferable Grievances at home, are inforc'd by heaps to forsake their Native Country. Now whereas the only remedy and amends against the depopulation and thinness of a Land within, is the borrow'd strength of firm alliance from without, these Priestly Policies of theirs having thus exhausted our domestick Forces, have gone the way also to leave us as naked of our firmest and faithfulest Neighbours abroad, by disparaging, and alienating from us all Protestant Princes, and Common-wealths, who are not ignorant that our Prelats, and as many as they can infect, account them no better then a sort of sacrilegious and puritanical Rebels, preferring the *Spaniard* our deadly Enemy before them, and set all Orthodox Writers at nought in comparison of the Jesuits, who are indeed the only corrupters of Youth, and good Learning; and I have heard many wise and learned men in *Italy* say as much. It cannot be that the strongest knot of Confederacy should not daily slack'n, when Religion, which is the chief ingagement of our League, shall be turn'd to their reproach. Hence it is that the prosperous and prudent States of the United Provinces, whom we ought to love, if not for themselves, yet for our own good work in them, they having bin in a manner planted and erected by us, and having bin since to us the faithful watch-men and discoverers of many a Popish and Austrian complotted Treason, and with us the partners of many a bloody and victorious Battel; whom the similitude of Manners and Language, the commodity of Traffick, which founded the old Burgundian League betwixt us, but chiefly Religion, should bind to us immortally; even such friends as these, out of some Principles instill'd into us by the Prelats, have bin often dismiss'd with distastful Answers, and sometimes unfriendly Actions: nor is it to be consider'd to the breach of confederate Nations, whose mutual Interest is of such high consequence, though their Merchants bicker in the *East Indies*; neither is it safe, or warie, or indeed christianly, that the *French* King, of a different Faith, should afford our neereff Allies as good Protection as we. Sir, I perswade my self, if our zeal to true Religion, and the brotherly usage of our truest Friends, were as notorious to the world, as our *Prelatical Schism*, and Captivity to *Rochet Apopthegmes*, we had ere this seen our old Conquerours, and afterwards Liegemen the *Normans*, together with the *Britains* our proper Colony, and all the *Gascoins* that are the rightful *Dorry* of our ancient Kings, come with cap and knee, desiring the shadow of the *English* Scepter to defend them from the hot Persecutions and Taxes of the *French*. But when they come hither, and see a Tympany of *Spanioliz'd Bishops* swaggering in the fore-top of the State, and meddling to turn and dandle the *Royal Ball* with unskilful and *Pedantick Palms*, no marvel though they think it as unsafe to commit Religion and Liberty to their arbitrating as to a Synagogue of Jesuits.

But what do I stand reck'ning upon Advantages and Gains lost by the misrule and turbulency of the *Prelats*? what do I pick up so thriftily their scatterings and diminishings of the meaner Subject, whilst they by their seditious Practices have indanger'd to lose the King one third of his main Stock? What have they not done to banish him from his own Native Country? But to speak of this as it ought would ask a Volume by it self.

Thus as they have unpeopl'd the Kingdom by expulsion of so many thousands, as they have endeavour'd to lay the skirts of it bare by disheartning and dishonouring our loyallest Confederates abroad, so have they hamstring

the Valour of the Subject by seeking to effeminate us all at home. Well knows every wise Nation that their Liberty consists in manly and honest Labours, in sobriety and rigorous honour to the Marriage-Bed, which in both Sexes should be bred up from chaste Hopes to loyal Enjoyments; and when the People slacken, and fall to Looseness and Riot, then do they as much as if they laid down their Necks for some wily Tyrant to get up and ride. Thus learnt *Cyrus* to tame the *Lydians*, whom by Arms he could not whilst they kept themselves from Luxury; with one easy Proclamation to set up *Stews*, dancing, feasting, and dicing, he made them soon his Slaves. I know not what drift the *Prelats* had, whose Brokers they were to prepare, and supple us either for a Foreign Invasion or Domestick Oppression; but this I am sure they took the ready way to despoil us both of *Manhood* and *Grace* at once, and that in the shamefullest and ungodliest manner, upon that Day which God's Law, and even our own Reason hath consecrated, that we might have one day at least of seven set apart wherein to examin and encrease our knowledge of God, to meditate, and commune of our Faith, our Hope, our eternal City in Heaven, and to quick'n withal the study and exercise of Charity; at such a time that Men should be pluck't from their soberest and saddest Thoughts, and by *Bishops*, the pretended *Fathers of the Church*, instigated by publick Edict, and with earnest endeavour pusht forward to gaming, jigging, wassailing, and mixt dancing, is a horror to think. Thus did the Reprobate hireling Priest *Balaam* seek to subdue the Israelites to *Moab*, if not by force, then by this divelish *Policy*, to draw them from the Sanctuary of God to the luxurious and ribald Feasts of *Baal-peor*. Thus have they trespas't not only against the *Monarchy of England*, but of Heaven also, as others, I doubt not, can prosecute against them.

I proceed within my own bounds to shew you next what good Agents they are about the Revenues and Riches of the Kingdom, which declares of what moment they are to *Monarchy*, or what avail. Two Leeches they have that still suck, and suck the Kingdom, their Ceremonies and their Courts. If any man will contend that Ceremonies be lawful under the Gospel, he may be answer'd other where. This doubtless, that they ought to be many and over-costly, no true *Protestant* will affirm. Now I appeal to all wise Men, what an excessive wast of Treasury hath been within these few years in this Land, not in the expedient, but in the idolatrous erection of Temples beautified exquisitely to out-vie the Papists, the costly and dear-bought Scandals and Snares of Images, Pictures, rich Coaps, gorgeous Altar-clothes: and by the courses they took, and the opinions they held, it was not likely any stay would be, or any end of their madness, where a pious Pretext is so ready at hand to cover their insatiate Desires. What can we suppose this will come to? What other materials then these have built up the *spiritual BABEL* to the heighth of her Abominations? Believe it, Sir, right truly it may be said, that *Antichrist* is *Mammons* Son. The four Leven of human Traditions, mixt in one putrifi'd Mass with the poisonous dregs of Hypocrisie in the Hearts of *Prelats*, that lie basking in the sunny warmth of Wealth and Promotion, is the Serpents Egg that will hatch an *Antichrist* wheresoever, and ingender the same Monster as big, or little, as the Lump is which breeds him. If the Splendor of *Gold* and *Silver* begin to lord it once again in the Church of *England*, we shall see *Antichrist* shortly wallow here, though his chief Kennel be at *Rome*. If they had one thought upon *God's Glory*, and the advancement of Christian Faith, they would be a means that with these Expences, thus profusely thrown away in trash, rather *Churches* and *Schools* might be built, where they cry out for want, and more added where too few are; a moderate Maintenance distributed to every painful Minister, that now scarce sustains his Family with Bread, while the *Prelats* revel like *Belshazzar* with their full carouses in *Goblets*, and *Vessels* of *Gold* snatched from *God's Temple*: Which (I hope) the worthy Men of our Land will consider. Now then for their *Courts*. What a Mass of Money is drawn from the Veins into the Ulcers of the Kingdom this way; their Extortions, their open Corruptions, the multitude of hungry and ravenous Harpies that swarm about their Offices declare sufficiently. And what though all this go not over Sea? 'twere better it did: better a penurious Kingdom, then where excessive
Wealth

Wealth flows into the graceless and injurious hands of common sponges, to the impoverishing of good and loyal men, and that by such execrable, such irreligious courses.

If the sacred and dreadful works of holy *Discipline*, *Censure*, *Penance*, *Excommunication*, and *Absolution*, where no prophane thing ought to have access, nothing to be assistant but sage and christianly *Admonition*, brotherly *Love*; flaming *Charity* and *Zeal*; and then according to the effects, paternal *Sorrow* or paternal *Joy*, mild *Severity*, melting *Compassion*; if such Divine *Ministeries* as these, wherein the Angel of the *Church* represents the Person of *Christ Jesus*, must lie prostitute to sordid Fees, and not pass to and fro between our Saviour that of free Grace redeem'd us, and the submissive Penitent, without the truccage of perishing Coin, and the butcherly execution of Tormentors, Rooks and Rakehames sold to lucre, then have the Babylonish Merchants of *Souls* just excuse. Hitherto, Sir, you have heard how the *Prelats* have weaken'd and withdrawn the external Accomplishments of Kingly prosperity, the love of the People, their multitude, their valour, their wealth; mining and sapping the out-works and redoubts of *Monarchy*. Now hear how they strike at the very heart and vitals.

We know that *Monarchy* is made up of two parts, the Liberty of the Subject, and the Supremacy of the King. I begin at the root. See what gentle and benign Fathers they have been to our Liberty. Their trade being, by the same Alchymy that the *Pope* uses, to extract heaps of *Gold* and *Silver* out of the drossie *Bullion* of the Peoples sins; and justly fearing that the quick-sighted *Protestants* eye, clear'd in great part from the milt of Superstition, may at one time or other look with a good judgment into these their deceitful Pedleries; to gain as many associats of guiltiness as they can, and to infect the temporal Magistrate with the like lawless, though not sacrilegious extortion, see a while what they do; they ingage themselves to preach, and perswade an assertion for truth the most false, and to this *Monarchy* the most pernicious and destructive that could be chosen. What more baneful to *Monarchy* then a popular Commotion, for the dissolution of *Monarchy* slides aptest into a *Democracy*; and what stirs the Englishmen, as our wisest Writers have observ'd, sooner to Rebellion, then violent and heavy hands upon their goods and purses? Yet these devout *Prelats*, spight of our great Charter, and the Souls of our Progenitors that wrested their Liberties out of the *Norman* gripe with their dearest blood and highest prowess, for these many years have not ceas't in their Pulpits wrinching and spraining the *Text*, to set at nought and trample under foot all the most sacred and life-blood Laws, Statutes, and Acts of *Parliament*, that are the holy Cov'nant of Union and Marriage between the King and his Realm, by proscribing and confiscating from us all the right we have to our own Bodies, Goods and Liberties. What is this but to blow a trumpet, and proclaim a fire-cross to a hereditary and perpetual Civil War? Thus much against the Subjects Liberty hath been assaulted by them. Now how they have spar'd Supremacy, or likely are hereafter to submit to it, remains lastly to be consider'd.

The emulation that under the old Law was in the King toward the *Priest*, is now so come about in the Gospel, that all the danger is to be fear'd from the *Priest* to the *King*. Whilst the *Priests* Office in the Law was set out with an exterior lustre of Pomp and Glory, Kings were ambitious to be *Priests*; now *Priests* not perceiving the heavenly brightness and inward splendor of their more glorious *Evangelick* Ministry, with as great ambition affect to be Kings, as in all their courses is easy to be observ'd. Their eyes ever imminent upon worldly matters, their desires ever thirsting after worldly employments; instead of diligent and fervent study in the Bible, they covet to be expert in Canons and Decretals, which may inable them to judg and interpose in temporal Causes, however pretended *Ecclesiastical*. Do they not hoard up *Pelf*, seek to be potent in *secular* Strength, in *State* Affairs, in *Lands*, *Lordships*, and *Demeans*, to sway and carry all before them in *High Courts* and *Privy Councils*, to bring into their grasp the *high* and *principal* Offices of the Kingdom? have they not been bold of late to check the *Common Law*, to slight and brave the indiminishable Majesty of our highest Court, the Law-giving and Sacred *Parliament*? Do they not plainly labour to exempt *Churchmen* from the *Magistrate*?

Yea, so presumptuously as to question and menace *Officers* that represent the *King's Person* for using their Authority against drunken *Priests*? The cause of protecting *murderous Clergy-men* was the first heart-burning that swell'd up the audacious *Becket* to the pestilent and odious vexation of *Henry the Second*. Nay more, have not some of their devoted *Scholars* begun, I need not say to nibble, but openly to argue against the King's *Supremacy*? Is not the Chief of them accus'd out of his own Book, and his late *Canons*, to affect a certain unquestionable *Patriarchat*, independent and un subordinate to the Crown? From whence having first brought us to a servile *Estate* of *Religion* and *Manhood*, and having predispos'd his Conditions with the *Pope*, that lays claim to this *Land*, or some *Pepin* of his own creating, it were all as likely for him to aspire to the *Monarchy* among us, as that the *Pope* could find means so on the sudden both to bereave the Emperor of the *Roman Territory* with the favour of *Italy*, and by an unexpected friend out of *France*, while he was in danger to lose his new-got *Purchase*, beyond hope to leap into the fair *Exarchat* of *Ravenna*.

A good while the *Pope* sutt'ly acted the *Lamb*, writing to the Emperor, my Lord *Tiberius*, my Lord *Mauritius*; but no sooner did this his Lord pluck at the Images and Idols, but he threw off his *Sheeps* clothing, and started up a *Wolf*, laying his paws upon the Emperor's Right, as forfeited to *Peter*. Why may not we as well, having been forewarn'd at home by our renowned *Chaucer*, and from abroad by the great and learned *Padre Paolo*, from the like beginnings, as we see they are, fear the like events? Certainly a wise and provident King ought to suspect a *Hierarchy* in his Realm, being ever attended, as it is, with two such greedy *Purveyers*, *Ambition* and *Usurpation*; I say, he ought to suspect a *Hierarchy* to be as dangerous and derogatory from his Crown as a *Tetrarchy* or a *Heptarchy*. Yet now that the *Prelats* had almost attain'd to what their insolent and unbridl'd minds had hurried them; to thrust the *Laitie* under the despotical rule of the *Monarch*, that they themselves might confine the *Monarch* to a kind of *Pupillage* under their *Hierarchy*, observe but how their own Principles combat one another, and supplant each one his fellow.

Having fitted us only for Peace, and that a servile Peace, by lessening our numbers, dreining our Estates, enfeebling our Bodies, cowing our free Spirits by those ways as you have heard, their impotent actions cannot sustain themselves the least moment, unless they rouze us up to a War fit for *Cain* to be the Leader of; an abhorred, a cursed, a fraternal War. *ENGLAND* and *SCOTLAND*, dearest Brothers both in *Nature* and in *CHRIST*, must be set to wade in one another's blood; and *IRELAND* our free Denizon upon the back of us both, as occasion should serve: a piece of Service that the *Pope* and all his Factors have been compassing to do ever since the *Reformation*.

But ever-blessed be he, and ever glorifi'd, that from his high watch-Tower in the Heav'ns, discerning the crooked ways of perverse and cruel men, hath hitherto maim'd and infatuated all their damnable Inventions, and deluded their great Wizards with a delusion fit for Fools and Children: had God been so minded, he could have sent a Spirit of *Mutiny* amongst us, as he did between *Abimilech* and the *Sechemites*, to have made our Funerals, and slain heaps more in number then the miserable surviving remnant; but he, when we least deserv'd, sent out a gentle gale and message of Peace from the wings of those his Cherubins that fan his Mercy-seat. Nor shall the Wisdom, the Moderation, the Christian Piety, the Constancy of our Nobility and Commons of *England* be ever forgotten, whose calm and temperat connivance could sit still and smile out the stormy bluster of men more audacious and precipitant then of solid and deep reach, till their own fury had run it self out of breath, assailing by rash and heady Approaches the impregnable situation of our Liberty and Safety, that laught such weak enginry to scorn, such poor drifts to make a *National War* of a *Surplice Brabble*, a *Tippet-scuffle*, and ingage the unattainted Honour of English Knighthood to unfurl the streaming *Red Cross*, or to rear the horrid Standard of those fatal guly Dragons for so unworthy a purpose, as to force upon their Fellow-Subjects that which themselves are weary of, the *Skeleton* of a *Mass-Book*. Nor must the Patience, the Fortitude, the firm Obedience of the Nobles and People of *Scotland*, striving against manifold Provocations; nor must their sincere and moderate proceed-

ings hitherto be unremember'd, to the shameful Conviction of all their De-
tractors.

Go on both hand in hand, O NATIONS, never to be dis-united; be the Praise and the Heroick Song of all POSTERITY; merit this, but seek only Vertue, not to extend your Limits; for what needs? to win a fading triumphant Lawrel out of the tears of wretched Men, but to settle the pure Worship of God in his Church, and Justice in the State: then shall the hardest difficulties smoothe out themselves before ye; Envy shall sink to Hell, Craft and Malice be confounded, whether it be homebred mischief or outlandish cunning: yea other Nations will then covet to serve ye, for Lordship and Victory are but the pages of Justice and Vertue. Commit securely to true Wisdom the vanquishing and uncasing of craft and subtlety, which are but her two runnagates: join your invincible might to do worthy and Godlike deeds; and then he that seeks to break your Union, a cleaving Curse be his inheritance to all Generations.

Sir, you have now at length this question for the time, and as my memory would best serve me in such a copious and vast Theme, fully handl'd, and you your self may judg whether Prelacy be the only Church-government agreeable to MONARCHY. Seeing therefore the perillous and confused estate into which we are faln, and that to the certain knowledg of all men, through the irreligious Pride and hateful Tyranny of Prelats, (as the innumerable and grievous complaints of every Shire cry out) if we will now resolve to settle affairs either according to pure Religion or sound Policy, we must first of all begin roundly to cashier and cut away from the publick body the noysom and diseased tumor of Prelacy, and come from Schism to Unity with our neighbour Reformed Sister Churches, which with the blessing of Peace and pure Doctrine have now long time flourish'd; and doubtless with all hearty Joy and Gratulation will meet and welcome our Christian Union with them, as they have bin all this while griev'd at our strangeness, and little better then Separation from them. And for the Discipline propounded, seeing that it hath bin inevitably prov'd that the natural and fundamental causes of political Happiness in all Governments are the same, and that this Church-discipline is taught in the Word of God, and, as we see, agrees according to wish with all such States as have receiv'd it, we may infallibly assure our selves that it will as well agree with Monarchy, though all the Tribe of *Aphorismers* and *Politicafters* would perswade us there be secret and mysterious reasons against it. For upon the settling hereof mark what nourishing and cordial restorments to the State will follow, the Ministers of the Gospel attending only to the work of Salvation, every one within his limited charge; besides the diffusive Blessings of God upon all our actions, the King shall sit without an old Disturber, a daily Incroacher and Intruder; shall rid his Kingdom of a strong sequester'd and collateral Power; a confronting Miter, whose potent Wealth and wakeful Ambition he had just cause to hold in jealousy: not to repeat the other present evils which only their removal will remove, and because things simply pure are inconsistent in the mass of Nature, nor are the Elements or Humors in Man's Body exactly *homogeneous*; and hence the best founded Commonwealths and least barbarous have aim'd at a certain mixture and temperament, partaking the several vertues of each other State, that each part drawing to it self may keep up a stedd and ev'n uprightness in common.

There is no Civil Government that hath been known, no not the *Spartan*, not the *Roman*, though both for this respect so much prais'd by the wise *Polybius*, more divinely and harmoniously tun'd, more equally ballanc'd as it were by the hand and scale of Justice, then is the Commonwealth of *England*; where under a free and untutor'd *Monarch*, the noblest, worthiest, and most prudent men, with full approbation and suffrage of the People, have in their power the supream and final determination of highest Affairs. Now if Conformity of Church-Discipline to the Civil be so desir'd, there can be nothing more parallel, more uniform, then when under the Sovereign Prince, Christ's Vicegerent, using the Scepter of *David*, according to God's Law, the godliest, the wisest, the learnedest Ministers in their several charges have the instructing and disciplining of God's People, by whose full and free Election
they

they are consecrated to that holy and equal *Aristocracy*. And why should not the Piety and Conscience of Englishmen, as Members of the Church, be trusted in the Election of Pastors to Functions that nothing concern a *Monarch*, as well as their worldly Wifdoms are privileg'd as Members of the State in suffering their Knights and Burgesses to Matters that concern him nearly? And if in weighing these several Offices, their difference in time and quality be cast in, I know they will not turn the beam of equal Judgment the moiety of a Scruple. We therefore having already a kind of Apostolical and ancient Church-Election in our State, what a perverseness would it be in us of all others to retain forcibly a kind of imperious and stately Election in our Church? And what a blindness to think that what is already Evangelical, as it were by a happy chance in our Polity, should be repugnant to that which is the same by divine Command in the Ministry? Thus then we see that our Ecclesial and Political choyses may consent and sort as well together without any rupture in the STATE, as Christians and Freeholders. But as for Honour, that ought indeed to be different and distinct, as either Office looks a several way; the Minister whose Calling and End is spiritual, ought to be honour'd as a Father and Physician to the Soul, (if he be found to be so) with a Son-like and Disciple-like Reverence, which is indeed the dearest and most affectionate Honour, most to be desir'd by a wise man, and such as will easily command a free and plentiful provision of outward necessities, without his furdur care of this World.

The Magistrate, whose Charge is to see to our Persons and Estates, is to be honour'd with a more elaborate and personal Courtship, with large Salaries and Stipends, that he himself may abound in those things whereof his legal Justice and watchful Care gives us the quiet Enjoyment. And this distinction of Honour will bring forth a seemly and graceful Uniformity over all the Kingdom.

Then shall the Nobles possess all the Dignities and Offices of temporal Honour to themselves, sole Lords without the improper mixture of scholastick and pusillanimous upstarts; the *Parliament* shall void her *Upper House* of the same annoyances; the Common and Civil Laws shall be both set free, the former from the controul, the other from the meer vassalage and Copy-hold of the Clergy.

And whereas *temporal Laws* rather punish men when they have transgress'd, then form them to be such as should transgress seldomest, we may conceive great hopes, through the showers of Divine Benediction watering the unmoled and watchful pains of the Ministry, that the whole Inheritance of God will grow up so straight and blameless, that the Civil Magistrate may with far less toyl and difficulty, and far more ease and delight, steer the tall and goodly Vessel of the Commonwealth through all the gusts and tides of the World's mutability.

Here I might have ended, but that some Objections, which I have heard commonly flying about, press me to the endeavour of an Answer. We must not run, they say, into sudden extreams. This is a fallacious Rule, unless understood only of the actions of Vertue about things indifferent: for if it be found that those two extreams be Vice and Vertue, Falshood and Truth, the greater extremity of Vertue and superlative Truth we run into, the more vertuous and the more wise we become; and he that flying from degenerate and traditional Corruption, fears to shoot himself too far into the meeting Imbraces of a divinely warranted Reformation, had better not have run at all. And for the suddenness it cannot be fear'd. Who should oppose it? The Papists? They dare not. The Protestants otherwise affected? They were mad. There is nothing will be remov'd but what to them is profess'dly indifferent. The long affection which the People have born to it, what for it self, what for the odiousness of Prelats, is evident: From the first year of Queen *Elizabeth* it hath still been more and more propounded, desir'd, and beseech'd, yea sometimes favourably forwarded by the Parliaments themselves. Yet if it were sudden and swift, provided still it be from worse to better, certainly we ought to hie us from evil like a torrent, and rid our selves of corrupt Discipline, as we would shake fire out of our bosoms.

Speedy and vehement were the *Reformations* of all the good Kings of *Juda*, though the People had been nuzzl'd in Idolatry never so long before ; they fear'd not the bug-bear danger, nor the Lion in the way that the sluggish and timorous Politician thinks he sees ; no more did our Brethren of the *Reformed Churches* abroad, they ventur'd (God being their guide) out of rigid *POPE-RY*, into that which we in mockery call precise *Puritanism*, and yet we see no inconvenience befel them.

Let us not dally with God when he offers us a full Blessing, to take as much of it as we think will serve our ends, and turn him back the rest upon his hands, lest in his anger he snatch all from us again. Next they alledg the Antiquity of *Episcopacy* through all Ages. What it was in the Apostles time that questionless it must be still, and therein I trust the Ministers will be able to satisfy the Parliament. But if *Episcopacy* be taken for *Prelacy*, all the Ages they can deduce it through will make it no more venerable than *Papacy*.

Most certain it is (as all our Stories bear witness) that ever since their coming to the See of *Canterbury* for near twelve hundred years, to speak of them in general, they have been in *England* to our Souls a sad and doleful succession of illiterate and blind guides ; to our purses and goods a wastful band of robbers, a perpetual havock and rapine ; to our State a continual *Hydra* of mischief and molestation, the forge of discord and rebellion : This is the Trophy of their Antiquity, and boasted Succession through so many ages. And for those *Prelat-Martyrs* they glory of, they are to be judg'd what they were by the Gospel, and not the Gospel to be tried by them.

And it is to be noted, that if they were for Bishopricks and Ceremonies, it was in their Prosperity and fulness of Bread ; but in their Persecution, which purifi'd them, and near their Death, which was their Garland, they plainly dislik'd and condemn'd the Ceremonies, and threw away those Episcopal Ornaments wherein they were instal'd as foolish and detestable, for so the words of *Ridley* at his Degradement, and his Letter to *Hooper*, expressly shew. Neither doth the Author of our Church-History spare to record sadly the Fall (for so he terms it) and Infirmities of these Martyrs, though we would deify them. And why should their Martyrdom more countenance corrupt Doctrine or Discipline, then their Subscriptions justify their Treason to the Royal Blood of this Realm, by diverting and intaling the Right of the Crown from the true Heirs, to the houses of *Northumberland* and *Suffolk* ? which had it took effect, this present King had in all likelihood never sat on this Throne, and the happy Union of this Iland had bin frustrated.

Lastly, Whereas they add that some the learnedest of the Reformed abroad admire our Episcopacy ; it had bin more for the strength of the Argument to tell us, that some of the wisest States-men admire it, for thereby we might guess them weary of the present Discipline, as offensive to their State, which is the bug we fear : but being they are Church-men, we may rather suspect them for some *Prelatizing Spirits* that admire our Bishopricks, not Episcopacy. The next Objection vanishes of it self, propounding a doubt, whether a greater Inconvenience would not grow from the corruption of any other Discipline then from that of Episcopacy. This seems an unseasonable foresight, and out of order to defer and put off the most needful Constitution of one right Discipline, while we stand ballancing the Discommodities of two corrupt ones. First constitute that which is right, and of it self it will discover and rectify that which swerves, and easily remedy the pretended fear of having a Pope in every Parish, unless we call the zealous and meek censure of the Church a *Popedom*, which who so does, let him advise how he can reject the Pastorly Rod and Sheep-hook of *CHRIST*, and those Cords of Love, and not fear to fall under the iron Scepter of his Anger, that will dash him to pieces like a Potsherd.

At another Doubt of theirs I wonder, whether this Discipline which we desire be such as can be put in practise within this Kingdom ; they say it cannot stand with the common Law nor with the King's Safety, the Government of Episcopacy is now so weav'd into the common Law. In God's name let it weave out again ; let not humane Quillets keep back divine Authority. 'Tis not the common Law, nor the civil, but Piety and Justice that are our foundresses ; they stoop not, neither change colour for *Aristocracy*, *Democracy*, or

Monarchy, nor yet at all interrupt their just Courses ; but far above the taking notice of these inferior Niceties with perfect Sympathy, where-ever they meet, kiss each other. Lastly, they are fearful that the Discipline which will succeed cannot stand with the King's Safety. Wherefore ? it is but Episcopacy reduc'd to what it should be : were it not that the Tyranny of *Prelats* under the name of *Bishops* hath made our ears tender, and startling, we might call every good Minister a *Bishop*, as every *Bishop*, yea the Apostles themselves are call'd *Ministers*, and the Angels *ministering Spirits*, and the *Ministers* again *Angels*. But wherein is this propounded Government so shrewd ? Because the Government of Assemblies will succeed. Did not the *Apostles* govern the Church by Assemblies ? how should it else be Catholick, how should it have Communion ? We count it Sacrilege to take from the rich *Prelats* their Lands and Revenus, which is Sacrilege in them to keep, using them as they do ; and can we think it safe to defraud the living Church of GOD of that right which GOD has given her in Assemblies ? O but the Consequence ! Assemblies draw to them the Supremacy of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. No surely, they draw no Supremacy, but that Authority which CHRIST, and Saint Paul in his Name confers upon them. The King may still retain the same Supremacy in the Assemblies, as in the *Parliament* ; here he can do nothing alone against the Common Law, and there neither alone, nor with consent against the Scriptures. But is this all ? No, this Ecclesiastical Supremacy draws to it the Power to excommunicate Kings ; and then follows the worst that can be imagin'd. Do they hope to avoid this, by keeping *Prelats* that have so often done it ? Not to exemplify the malapert Insolence of our own *Bishops* in this kind towards our Kings, I shall turn back to the *Primitive* and pure Times, which the Objectors would have the Rule of Reformation to us.

Not an Assembly, but one *Bishop* alone, Saint AMBROSE of *Millan*, held *Theodosius* the most Christian Emperor, under Excommunication above eight months together, drove him from the Church in the presence of his Nobles ; which the good Emperor bore with heroick *humility*, and never ceas't by Prayers and Tears, till he was absolv'd ; for which coming to the Bishop with *Supplication* into the *Salutatory*, some out Porch of the Church, he was charg'd by him of tyrannical madness against God, for coming into holy Ground. At last upon Conditions absolv'd, and after great *humiliation* approaching to the Altar to offer, (as those thrice pure times then thought meet) he had scarce withdrawn his hand, and stood awhile, when a bold Arch-deacon comes in the Bishop's name, and chaces him from within the Rails, telling him peremptorily that the place wherein he stood, was for none but the *Priests* to enter, or to touch ; and this is another peece of pure *Primitive Divinity*. Think ye then our Bishops will forgo the Power of Excommunication on whomsoever ? No certainly, unless to compass sinister Ends, and then revoke when they see their time. And yet this most mild, though withal dreadful and inviolable Prerogative of *Christ's* Diadem, Excommunication, servs for nothing with them, but to prog and pander for Fees, or to display their Pride, and sharpen their Revenge, debarring Men the protection of the Law ; and I remember not whether in some Cases it bereave not Men all right to their worldly Goods and Inheritances, besides the denial of Christian burial. But in the Evangelical, and reformed use of this sacred Censure, no such *Prostitution*, no such *Isca-riotical* Drifts are to be doubted, as that *spiritual* Doom and Sentence should invade worldly possession, which is the rightful Lot and Portion even of the wickedest Men, as frankly bestow'd upon them by the al-dispensing Bounty, as *Rain* and *Sunshine*. No, no, it seeks not to bereave or destroy the Body ; it seeks to save the Soul by humbling the Body, not by imprisonment, or pecuniary Mulct, much less by Stripes, or Bonds, or disinherittance, but by fatherly Admonishment and christian Rebuke, to cast it into godly Sorrow, whose End is Joy, and ingenuous bashfulness to Sin : If that cannot be wrought, then as a tender Mother takes her Child and holds it over the Pit with scaring words, that it may learn to fear where Danger is ; so doth Excommunication as dearly and as freely, without Money, use her wholsome and saving Terrors, she is instant, she beseeches, by all the dear and sweet Promises of SALVATION she entices and woes, by all the Threatnings and Thunders of the Law, and rejected *Gospel*, she charges, and adjures ; this is all her Armory, her

her Munition, her Artillery, then she awaits with long-sufferance, and yet ardent Zeal. In brief, there is no Act in all the Errand of *Gods Ministers* to Mankind, wherein passes more loverlike contestation between *CHRIST* and the Soul of a regenerate Man lapsing, then before, and in, and after the Sentence of Excommunication. As for the fogging Proctorage of Money, with such an eye as strook *Gebezi* with Leprosy, and *Simon Magus* with a Curse; so does she look, and so threaten her fiery Whip against that banking Den of Thieves that dare thus baffle, and buy and sell the awful and majestick wrinkles of her Brow. He that is rightly and apostolically sped with her invisible Arrow, if he can be at peace in his Soul, and not smel within him the Brimstone of Hell, may have fair leave to tell all his Bags over undiminish't of the least Farding, may eat his Dainties, drink his Wine, use his Delights, enjoy his Lands and Liberties, not the least Skin rais'd, not the least Hair misplac't for all that Excommunication has done: Much more may a King enjoy his Rights and Prerogatives undeflour'd, untouch'd, and be as absolute and compleat a King, as all his Royalties and Revenu's can make him. And therefore little did *Theodosius* fear a Plot upon his Empire, when he stood excommunicat by St. *Ambrose*, though it were done either with much haughty Pride, or ignorant Zeal. But let us rather look upon the reformed Churches beyond the Seas, the *Grizons*, the *Swisses*, the *Hollanders*, the *French*, that have a Supremacy to live under as well as we; where do the Churches in all these places strive for Supremacy? where do they clash and jostle Supremacies with the *Civil Magistrate*? In *France*, a more severe Monarchy then ours, the *Protestants* under this Church-Government, carry the name of the best Subjects the King has; and yet *Presbytery*, if it must be so call'd, does there all that it desires to do: How easy were it, if there be such great suspicion, to give no more scope to it in *England*. But let us not, for fear of a Scare-crow, or else through hatred to be reform'd, stand hankering and politizing, when *GOD* with spread hands testifies to us, and points us out the way to our Peace.

Let us not be so overcredulous, unless *GOD* hath blinded us, as to trust our deer Souls into the hands of Men that beg so devoutly for the pride and gluttony of their own Backs and Bellies, that sue and solicit so eagerly, not for the saving of Souls, the consideration of which can have here no place at all, but for their Bishopricks, Deaneries, Prebends, and Chanonies: how can these Men not be corrupt, whose very cause is the Bribe of their own pleading, whose mouths cannot open without the strong breath and loud stench of Avarice, Simony, and Sacrilege, embezzling the Treasury of the Church on painted and gilded Walls of Temples, wherein *GOD* hath testified to have no delight, warming their Palace Kitchens, and from thence their unctuous and epicurean Paunches, with the Alms of the Blind, the Lame, the Impotent, the Aged, the Orphan, the Widow? for with these the Treasury of *CHRIST* ought to be, here must be his Jewels bestow'd, his rich Cabinet must be emptied here; as the constant Martyr Saint *Lawrence* taught the *Roman Prator*. Sir, would you know what the Remonstrance of these Men would have, what their Petition implies? They intreat us that we would not be weary of those insupportable Grievances that our Shoulders have hitherto crackt under, they beseech us that we would think 'em fit to be our Justices of Peace, our Lords, our highest Officers of State, though they come furnish't with no more experience then they learnt between the *Cook* and the *Manciple*, or more profoundly at the Colledg *Audit*, or the *Regent House*, or to come to their deepest insight at their *Patrons Table*; they would request us to indure still the rusling of their silken Cassocks, and that we would burst our *Midriffs*, rather then laugh to see them under Sail in all their Lawn and Sarcenet, their Shrouds and Tackle, with a *Geometrical Rhomboides* upon their Heads: they would bear us in hand that we must of duty still appear before them once a Year in *Jerusalem*, like good circumciz'd *Males* and *Females*, to be taxt by the Poul, to be scons't our Head-money, our Tuppences in their Chaunlerly Shop-book of *Easter*. They pray us that it would please us to let them still hale us, and worry us with their Band-dogs and Pursivants; and that it would please the *Parliament* that they may yet have the whipping, fleecing, and fleeing of us in their diabolical Courts, to tear the Flesh from our Bones, and into our wide wounds instead of Balm, to pour in the Oil of Tartar, Vitriol, and Mercury; surely

surely a right reasonable, innocent and soft-hearted Petition. O the relenting Bowels of the Fathers! Can this be granted them, unless God have smitten us with Frensie from above, and with a dazling giddiness at noon day? Should not those Men rather be heard that come to plead against their own Preferences, their worldly Advantages, their own Abundance; for Honour and Obedience to *God's Word*, the Conversion of Souls, the *Christian Peace* of the Land, and Union of the Reformed *Catholick Church*, the *unappropriating* and *unmonopolizing* the Rewards of *Learning* and *Industry*, from the greasy clutch of Ignorance, and high feeding. We have tri'd already, and miserably felt what Ambition, *worldly Glory* and *immoderate Wealth* can do, what the boistrous and contradictional hand of a temporal, earthly, and corporeal Spirituality can avail to the edifying of Christ's holy *Church*; were it such a desperate hazard to put to the venture the universal Votes of *Christ's* Congregation, the fellowly and friendly Yoke of a teaching and laborious Ministry, the Pastor-like and Apostolick imitation of meek and unlordly Discipline, the gentle and benevolent Mediocrity of Church-maintenance, without the ignoble Hufferage of piddling *Tithes*? Were it such an incurable mischief to make a little trial, what all this would do to the flourishing and growing up of *Christ's* mystical Body? As rather to use every poor shift, and if that serve not, to threaten Uproar and Combustion, and shake the Brand of Civil Discord?

O, Sir, I do now feel my self inwrapt on the sudden into those Mazes and *Labyrinths* of dreadful and hideous thoughts, that which way to get out, or which way to end, I know not, unless I turn mine eyes, and with your help lift up my hands to that eternal and propitious *Throne*, where nothing is readier then *Grace* and *Refuge* to the distresses of mortal Suppliants: And it were a shame to leave these serious thoughts less piously then the Heathen were wont to conclude their graver Discourses.

Thou therefore that sitst in Light and Glory, unapproachable, *Parent* of *Angels* and *Men*! next thee I implore Omnipotent King, Redeemer of that lost Remnant whose Nature thou didst assume, ineffable and everlasting *Love*! And thou the third subsistence of Divine Infinitude, *illuminating Spirit*, the Joy and Solace of created *Things*! one *Tri-personal* GODHEAD! look upon this thy poor and almost spent and expiring *Church*, leave her not thus a Prey to these importunate *Wolves*, that wait and think long till they devour thy tender *Flock*; these wild *Boars* that have broke into thy *Vineyard*, and left the print of their polluting Hoofs on the Souls of thy Servants. O let them not bring about their damned *Designs*, that stand now at the entrance of the bottomless Pit, expecting the Watch-word to open and let out those dreadful *Locusts* and *Scorpions*, to re-involve us in that pitchy *Cloud* of infernal Darkness, where we shall never more see the *Sun* of thy *Truth* again, never hope for the chearful dawn, never more hear the *Bird* of *Morning* sing. Be mov'd with pity at the afflicted state of this our shaken *Monarchy*, that now lies labouring under her Throws, and struggling against the Grudges of more dreaded Calamities.

O thou that after the impetuous rage of five bloody Inundations, and the succeeding Sword of intestine *War*, soaking the Land in her own Gore, didst pity the sad and ceaseless Revolution of our swift and thick-coming Sorrows, when we were quite breathless, of thy *free Grace* didst motion *Peace*, and terms of Cov'nant with us; and having first well-nigh freed us from *Anti-christian* Thralldom, didst build up this *Britannick Empire* to a glorious and enviable height, with all her Daughter-Ilands about her; stay us in this Felicity, let not the Obstinacy of our half-Obedience and Will-worship, bring forth that *Viper* of *Sedition*, that for these fourscore Years hath been breeding to eat through the Entrails of our *Peace*; but let her cast her Abortive Spawn without the danger of this travelling and throbbing *Kingdom*. That we may still remember in our *solemn Thanksgivings*, how for us, the *Northern Ocean* even to the frozen *Thule*, was scatter'd with the proud Shipwracks of the *Spanish Armado*, and the very Maw of Hell ransack't, and made to give up her conceal'd Destruction, ere she could vent it in that horrible and damned blast.

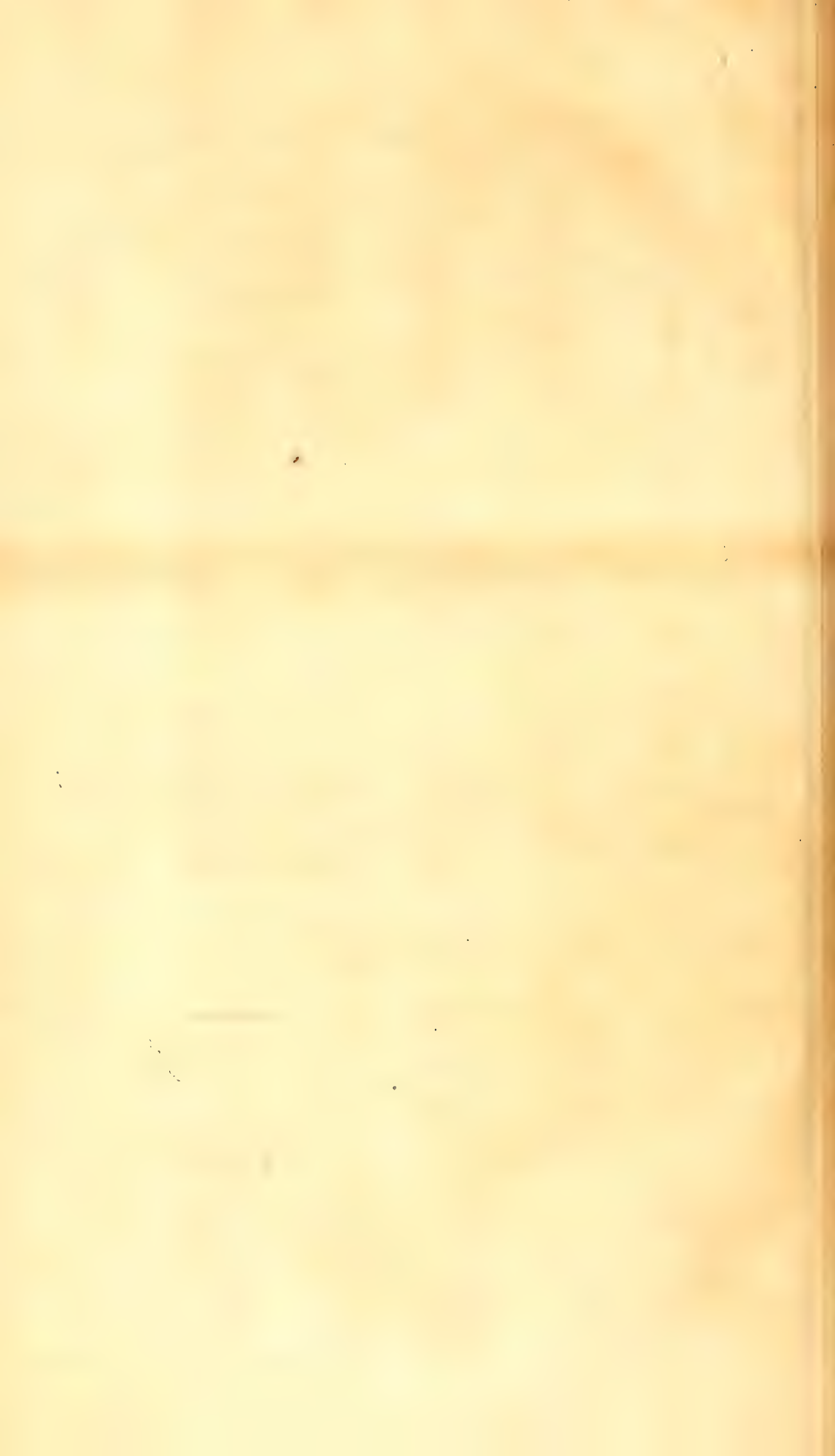
O how much more glorious will those former Deliverances appear, when we shall know them not only to have sav'd us from greatest Miseries past, but to have reserv'd us for greatest happiness to come? Hitherto thou hast but freed us,

and that not fully, from the unjust and tyrannous Claim of thy Foes, now unite us intirely, and appropriate us to thy self, tie us everlastingly in willing Homage to the *Prerogative* of thy Eternal *Throne*.

And now we know, O thou our most certain Hope and Defence, that thine Enemies have been consulting all the Sorceries of the *great Whore*, and have joyn'd their Plots with that sad Intelligencing Tyrant that mischiefs the World with his Mines of *Ophir*, and lies thirsting to revenge his naval Ruins that have larded our Seas: but let them all take Counsel together, and let it come to nought; let them decree, and do thou cancel it; let them gather themselves, and be scattered; let them imbattle themselves, and be broken; let them imbattel, and be broken, for thou art with us.

Then amidst the *Hymns* and *Hallelujahs* of *Saints*, some one may perhaps be heard offering at high *Strains* in new and lofty *Measures*, to sing and celebrate thy *divine Mercies*, and *marvelous Judgments* in this Land throughout all *AGES*; whereby this great and warlike Nation, instructed and inur'd to the fervent and continual practice of *Truth* and *Righteousness*, and casting far from her the *Rags* of her old *Vices*, may press on hard to that *high* and *happy* Emulation to be found the *sobereft*, *wifest*, and *most Christian People* at that day, when thou the Eternal and shortly-expected King, shalt open the Clouds to judg the several Kingdoms of the World, and distributing *National Honours* and *Rewards* to religious and just *Common-wealths*, shalt put an end to all earthly *Tyrannies*, proclaiming thy universal and mild *Monarchy* through Heaven and Earth. Where they undoubtedly, that by their *Labours*, *Counsels* and *Prayers*, have been earnest for the *common Good* of *Religion* and their *Country*, shall receive above the inferior *Orders* of the *Blessed*, the *regal* Addition of *Principalities*, *Legions*, and *Thrones* into their glorious Titles, and in supereminence of *beatifick Vision*, progressing the *dateless* and *irrevoluble* Circle of *Eternity*, shall clasp inseparable Hands with *Joy* and *Bliss*, in over measure for ever.

But they contrary, that by the impairing and diminution of the true *Faith*, the Distresses and Servitude of their *Country*, aspire to high *Dignity*, *Rule* and *Promotion* here, after a shameful end in this *Life*, (which *God* grant them) shall be thrown down eternally into the *darkest* and *deepest* Gulf of *HELL*, where under the *despiteful Controul*, the Trample and Spurn of all the other *Damned*, that in the anguish of their *Torture*, shall have no other ease then to exercise a raving and bestial *Tyranny* over them as their *Slaves* and *Negroes*, they shall remain in that plight for ever, the *basest*, the *lowermost*, the most *dejected*, most *underfoot* and *down-trodden Vassals* of *Perdition*.



F O U R
TRACTS
Concerning
DIVORCE

Published in the Years 1644, and 1645.

V I Z.

- I. The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, restor'd to the Good of both Sexes, &c.
- II. *Tetrachordon*; Expositions upon the four chief Places in Scripture which treat of Marriage, or Nullities in Marriage.
- III. The Judgment of *Martin Bucer* concerning Divorce, written to *Edward* the Sixt, in his second Book of the Kingdom of Christ.
- IV. *Colasterion*; A Reply to a nameless Answer against the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce.

To which is added,

Areopagitica: A Speech for the Liberty of Unlicens'd Printing, to the Parliament of *England*.

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The Doctrine and Discipline of DIVORCE; restored to the good of both Sexes, from the Bondage of Canon Law, and other Mistakes, to the true meaning of Scripture in the Law and Gospel compar'd.

Wherein also are set down the bad Consequences of abolishing or condemning of Sin; that which the Law of God allows, and Christ abolish't not.

Now the second time Revis'd, and much Augmented, in two Books:
To the Parliament of *England*, with the Assembly.

Matth. 13. 52. *Every Scribe instructed in the Kingdom of Heav'n, is like the Master of a House which bringeth out of his Treasury things new and old.*

Prov. 18. 13. *He that answereth a matter before he heareth it, it is folly and shame unto him.*

To the Parliament of ENGLAND, with the Assembly.

IF it were seriously askt, and it would be no untimely Question, Renowned Parliament, Select Assembly, Who of all Teachers and Masters that ever have taught, hath drawn the most Disciples after him, both in Religion and in Manners? it might not be untruly answer'd, Custom. Though Vertue be commended for the most perswasive in her *Theory*, and Conscience in the plain demonstration of the Spirit finds most evincing, yet whether it be the secret of Divine Will, or the original blindness we are born in, so it happens for the most part, that Custom still is silently receiv'd for the best instructor. Except it be, because her method is so glib and easie, in some manner like to that Vision of *Ezekiel*, rowling up her sudden book of implicit Knowledge, for him that will, to take and swallow down at pleasure; which proving but of bad nourishment in the concoction, as it was heedless in the devouring, puffs up unhealthily a certain big face of pretended learning, mistaken among credulous men for the wholsom habit of soundness and good constitution, but is indeed no other than that swollen visage of counterfeit knowledge and literature, which not only in private mars our Education, but also in publick is the common Climer into every chair, where either Religion is preach't, or Law reported, filling each estate of Life and Profession with abject and servile principles, depressing the high and Heaven-born spirit of man, far beneath the condition wherein either God created him, or Sin hath sunk him. To pursue the Allegory, Custom being but a meer face, as Echo is a meer voice, rests not in her unaccomplishment, until by secret inclination she accorporate her self with Error, who being a blind and serpentine body without a head, willingly accepts what he wants, and supplies what her Incompleatness went seeking. Hence it is, that Error supports Custom, Custom countenances Error: and these two between them would persecute and chase away all truth and solid wisdom out of humane Life, were it not that God, rather than Man, once in many Ages, calls together the prudent and religious Counsels of men, deputed to repress the incroachments, and to work off the inveterate blots and obscurities wrought upon our minds by the subtle insinuating of Error and Custom; who with the numerous and vulgar train of their Followers,

make it their chief design to envy and cry down the industry of free reasoning, under the terms of humour and innovation; as if the Womb of teeming Truth were to be clos'd up, if she presume to bring forth ought that sorts not with their unchew'd notions and suppositions. Against which notorious injury and abuse of mans free soul, to testify and oppose the utmost that study and true labour can attain, heretofore the incitement of men reputed grave, hath led me among others; and now the duty and the right of an instructed Christian calls me thro the chance of good or evil report, to be the sole Advocate of a discountenanc'd truth; a high enterprise, Lords and Commons, a high enterprise and a hard, and such as every 7th Son of a 7th Son does not venture on. Nor have I amidst the clamour of so much envy and impertinence, whither to appeal, but to the concurrence of so much Piety and Wisdom here assembled. Bringing in my hands an ancient and most necessary, most charitable, and yet most injur'd Statute of *Moses*; not repeal'd ever by him who had the Authority, but thrown aside with much inconsiderat Neglect, under the Rubbish of Canonical Ignorance, as once the whole Law was by some such like conveyance in *Josiah's* time. And he who shall endeavor the amendment of any old neglected Grievance in Church or State, or in the daily course of Life, if he be gifted with abilities of mind that may raise him to so high an undertaking, I grant he hath already much whereof not to repent him; yet let me arreede him, not to be the foreman of any misjudg'd Opinion, unless his Resolutions be firmly seated in a square and constant mind, not conscious to it self of any deserved blame, and regardless of ungrounded suspicions. For this let him be sure he shall be boarded presently by the ruder sort, but not by discreet and well-nurtur'd men, with a thousand idle Descants and Surmises. Who when they cannot confute the least joynt or sinew of any passage in the Book; yet God forbid that truth should be truth, because they have a boistrous conceit of some pretences in the Writer. But were they not more busie and inquisitive than the Apostle commends, they would hear him at least, *rejoycing so the truth be preach'd, whether of envy or other pretence whatsoever*: for Truth is as impossible to be soil'd by any outward touch, as the Sun beam; though this ill hap wait on her Nativity, that she never comes into the World, but like a Bastard, to the ignominy of him that brought her forth; till Time, the Midwife rather than the Mother of Truth, have wash'd and salted the Infant, declar'd her legitimate, and church't the Father of his young *Minerva*, from the needless causes of his Purgation. Your selves can best witness this, worthy Patriots, and better will, no doubt, hereafter: for who among ye of the foremost that have travail'd in her behalf to the good of Church or State, hath not been often traduc't to be the Agent of his own by-ends, under pretext of Reformation? So much the more I shall not be unjust to hope, that however Infamy or Envy may work in other men to do her fretful Will against this Discourse, yet that the experience of your own uprightness mis-interpreted, will put ye in mind to give it free Audience and generous Constrution. What though the blood of *Belial*, the draffe of men, to whom no Liberty is pleasing, but unbridl'd and vagabond Lust without pale or partition, will laugh abroad perhaps, to see so great a strength of Scripture mustering up in favour, as they suppose, of their Debaucheries; they will know better when they shall hence learn, that honest Liberty is the greatest foe to dishonest Licence. And what though others, out of a waterish and queasie Conscience, because ever crazy and never yet sound, will rail and fancy to themselves, that Injury and Licence is the best of this Book? Did not the Distemper of their own Stomachs affect them with a dizzy Megrim, they would soon tie up their Tongues, and discern themselves, like that *Assyrian* Blasphemer, all this while reproaching not Man but the Almighty, the *Holy One of Israel*, whom they do not deny to have belawg'd his own sacred People with this very allowance, which they now call Injury and Licence, and dare cry shame on, and will do yet a while, till they get a little cordial Sobriety to settle their qualming Zeal. But this Question concerns not us perhaps: indeed mans disposition though prone to search after vain Curiosities, yet when points of difficulty are to be discuss'd, appertaining to the removal of unreasonable wrong and burden from the perplext life of our Brother, it is incredible how cold, how dull, and far from all fellow-feeling we are, without the spur of self-concernment. Yet if the Wisdom, the Justice, the Purity of God be to be clear'd from foulest Imputations which are not yet avoided; if Charity be not to be degraded and trodden down under a civil Ordinance; if Matrimony be not to be advanc'd like that exalted Perdition written of to the *Thessalonians*, *above all that is called God*, or Goodness, nay against them both; then I dare affirm there will be

found

found in the Contents of this Book, that which may concern us all. You it concerns chiefly, Worthies in Parliament, on whom, as on our Deliverers, all our Grievances and Cares, by the merit of your eminence and fortitude, are devolv'd. Me it concerns next, having with much labour and faithful diligence first found out, or at least with a fearless and communicative candor first publish'd to the manifest good of Christendom, that which calling to witness every thing mortal and immortal, I believe unfain'dly to be true. Let not other men think their Conscience bound to search continually after truth, to pray for enlightning from above, to publish what they think they have so obtain'd, and debar me from conceiving my self ty'd by the same duties. Ye have now, doubtless by the favour and appointment of God, ye have now in your hands a great and populous Nation to reform; from what corruption, what blindness in Religion, ye know well; in what a degenerate and fall'n Spirit from the apprehension of native Liberty, and true Manliness, I am sure ye find; with what unbounded licence rushing to Whoredoms and Adulteries, needs not long enquiry: insomuch that the Fears which men have of too strict a Discipline, perhaps exceed the Hopes that can be in others, of ever introducing it with any great success. What if I should tell ye now of Dispensations and Indulgences, to give a little the reins, to let them play and nibble with the bait a while; a People as hard of heart as that Egyptian Colony that went to *Canaan*. This is the common Doctrine that adulterous and injurious Divorces were not conniv'd only, but with eye open allow'd of old for hardness of heart. But that Opinion, I trust, by then this following Argument hath been well read, will be left for one of the Mysteries of an indulgent Antichrist, to farm out Incest by, and those his other tributary pollutions. What middle way can be taken then, may some interrupt, if we must neither turn to the right, nor to the left, and that the People hate to be reform'd? Mark then, Judges and Law-givers, and ye whose Office it is to be our Teachers, for I will utter now a Doctrine, if ever any other, though neglected or not understood, yet of great and powerful importance to the governing of Mankind. He who wisely would restrain the reasonable Soul of Man within due bounds, must first himself know perfectly, how far the Territory and Dominion extends of just and honest Liberty. As little must he offer to bind that which God hath loos'n'd, as to loos'n that which he hath bound. The ignorance and mistake of this high point, hath heapt up one huge half of all the misery that hath been since *Adam*. In the Gospel we shall read a supercilious crew of Masters, whose Holiness, or rather whose evil eye, grieving that God should be so facil to Man, was to set straiter limits to Obedience than God had set, to enslave the dignity of Man, to put a garrison upon his neck of empty and over-dignifi'd Precepts: And we shall read our Saviour never more griev'd and troubl'd, than to meet with such a pievish Madnes among men against their own freedom. How can we expect him to be less offended with us, when much of the same folly shall be found yet remaining where it least ought, to the perishing of thousands? The greatest burden in the world is Superstition, not only of Ceremonies in the Church, but of imaginary and scarecrow Sins at home. What greater weakning, what more subtle stratagem against our Christian Warfare, when besides the gross body of real Transgressions to incounter, we shall be terrifi'd by a vain and shadowy menacing of faults that are not: When things indifferent shall be set to over-front us under the Banners of Sin, what wonder if we be routed, and by this art of our Adversary, fall into the subjection of worst and deadliest Offences? The Superstition of the *Papist* is, *touch not, tast not*, when *God* bids both; and ours is, *part not, separate not*, when *God* and *Charity* both permits and commands. *Let all your things be done with charity*, saith *S. Paul*; and his Master saith, *She is the fulfilling of the Law*. Yet now a civil, an indifferent, a sometime dissuaded Law of Marriage, must be forc't upon us to fulfil, not only without Charity, but against her. No place in Heav'n or Earth, except Hell, where Charity may not enter: yet Marriage, the Ordinance of our Solace and Contentment, the Remedy of our Loneliness, will not admit now either of Charity or Mercy, to come in and mediate, or pacifie the fierceness of this gentle Ordinance, the unremedied loneliness of this Remedy. Advise ye well, Supreme Senate, if Charity be thus excluded and expuls'd, how ye will defend the untainted Honour of your own Actions and Proceedings. He who marries, intends as little to conspire his own ruin, as he that swears Allegiance: and as a whole People is in proportion to an ill Government, so is one Man to an ill Marriage. If they, against any Authority, Cov'nant, or Statute, may by the sovereign Edict of Charity, save not only their Lives but honest Liberties from unworthy Bondage, as well may he against any private

private Cov'nant, which he never enter'd to his mischief, redeem himself from unsupportable Disturbances to honest Peace, and just Contentment: And much the rather, for that to resist the highest Magistrate though tyrannizing, God never gave us express allowance, only he gave us Reason, Charity, Nature, and good Example to bear us out; but in this Economical misfortune thus to demean our selves, besides the Warrant of those four great Directors, which doth as justly belong hither, we have an express Law of *God*, and such a Law, as whereof our Saviour with a solemn Threat forbid the abrogating. For no effect of Tyranny can be more heavy on the Common-wealth, than this household unhappiness on the Family. And farewell all hope of true Reformation in the State, while such an evil as this lies undiscern'd or unregarded in the house. On the redress whereof depends not only the spiritual and orderly life of our grown men, but the willing and careful education of our children. Let this therefore be now examin'd, this tenure and freehold of mankind, this native and domestick Charter giv'n us by a greater Lord than that *Saxon King* the Confessor. Let the statutes of God be turn'd over, be scann'd anew, and considered not altogether by the narrow intellectuals of Quotationists and common Places, but (as was the ancient right of Councils) by men of what liberal profession soever, of eminent spirit and breeding, joyn'd with a diffuse and various knowledge of divine and human things; able to ballance and define good and evil, right and wrong, throughout every state of life; able to shew us the ways of the Lord strait and faithful as they are, not full of cranks and contradictions, and pit-falling dispensances, but with divine insight and benignity measured out to the proportion of each mind and spirit, each temper and disposition created so different each from other, and yet by the skill of wise conducting, all to become uniform in vertue. To expedite these knots were worthy a learned and memorable Synod; while our enemies expect to see the expectation of the Church tir'd out with dependencies and independencies how they will compound, and in what Calends. Doubt not, worthy Senators, to vindicate the sacred Honour and Judgment of *Moses* your predecessor, from the shallow commenting of Scholasticks and Canonists. Doubt not after him to reach out your steady hands to the mis-inform'd and wearied life of man; to restore this his lost heritage, into the household state; wherewith be sure that peace and love, the best subsistence of a Christian family, will return home from whence they are now banisht; places of prostitution will be less haunted, the neighbors bed less attempted, the yoke of prudent and manly discipline will be generally submitted to; sober and well order'd living will soon spring up in the Common-wealth. Ye have an Author great beyond exception, *Moses*; and one yet greater, he who hedg'd in from abolishing every smallest jot and tittle of precious equity contain'd in that Law, with a more accurate and lasting Maforeth, than either the Synagogue of *Ezra* or the *Galilean School* at *Tiberias* hath left us. Whatever else ye can exact, will scarce concern a third part of the Brittain name: but the benefit and good of this your magnanimous example, will easily spread far beyond the banks of *Tweed* and the *Norman* Iles. It would not be the first, or second time, since our ancient *Druides*, by whom this Iland was the Cathedral of Philosophy to *France*, left off their Pagan Rites; that *England* hath had this honour vouchsaf't from Heav'n, to give out Reformation to the world. Who was it but our English *Constantine* that baptiz'd the Roman Empire? Who was it but the *Northumbrian Willibrod*, and *Winifride* of *Devon* with their followers, were the first Apostles of *Germany*? who but *Alcuin* and *Wicklef* our Countreymen open'd the eyes of *Europe*, the one in arts, the other in Religion? Let not *England* forget her precedence of teaching Nations how to live.

Know Worthies, know and excercise the priviledge of your honour'd Countrey. A greater title I here bring ye, then is either in the power or in the policy of *Rome* to give her *Monarchs*; this glorious Act will stile ye the defenders of Charity. Nor is this yet the highest inscription that will adorn so religious and so holy a defence as this, behold here the pure and sacred Law of God, and his yet purer and more sacred Name offering themselves to you first, of all Christian Reformers to be acquitted from the long suffer'd ungodly attribute of patronizing Adultery. Deser not to wipe off instantly these imputative blurs and stains cast by rude fancies upon the throne and beauty it self of inviolable Holiness; lest some other people more devout and wise than we bereave us this offer'd immortal glory, or wonted prerogative, of being the first assertors in every great vindication. For me as far as my part leads me, I have already my greatest gain, assurance, and inward satisfaction to have done in this nothing unworthy of an honest life, and studies well employ'd. With what event among
the

the wise and right understanding handful of men, I am secure. But how among the drove of Custom and Prejudice this will be resist by such whose capacity since their youth run ahead into the easy creek of a System or a Medulla, sails there at will under the blown Physiognomy of their unlabour'd audiments; for them, what their taste will be, I have also surety sufficient, from the entire league that hath been ever between formal ignorance and grave obstinacy. Yet when I remember the little that our Saviour could prevail about this doctrine of Charity against the crabbed Textuists of his time, I make no wonder, but rest confident that whoso prefers either Matrimony or other Ordinance before the good of man and the plain exigence of Charity, let him profess Papist or Protestant or what he will, he is no better than a Pharise, and understands not the Gospel: whom as a misinterpreter of Christ I openly protest against; and provoke him to the trial of the truth before all the world: and let him bethink him withal how he will soder up the shifting flaws of his ungirt permissions, his venial and unvenial dispences, wherewith the Law of God pardoning and unpardoning hath bin shamefully branded for want of heed in glossing, to have eluded and baffl'd out all Faith and Chastity from the Marriage-bed of that holy Seed, with politick and judicial Adulteries. I seek not to seduce the simple and illiterate; my errand is to find out the choicest and the learnedest, who have this high gift of wisdom to answer solidly, or to be convinc'd. I crave it from the piety, the learning, and the prudence which is hous'd in this place. It might perhaps more fitly have been written in another tongue: and I had done so, but that the esteem I have of my Countries judgment, and the love I bear to my native language to serve it first with what I endeavour, made me speak it thus, ere I assay the verdict of outlandish Readers. And perhaps also here I might have ended nameless, but that the address of these lines chiefly to the Parliament of *England* might have seem'd ingrateful not to acknowledge by whose religious Care, unwearied Watchfulness, courageous and heroick Resolutions, I enjoy the peace and studious leisure to remain,

The Honourer and Attendant of their Noble worth and vertues.

The Doctrine and Discipline of DIVORCE, restor'd to the good of both Sexes.

B O O K I.

The P R E F A C E.

That Man is the occasion of his own Miseries, in most of those Evils which he imputes to Gods inflicting. The absurdity of our Canonists in their Decrees about Divorce. The Christian Imperial Laws framed with more Equity. The Opinions of Hugo Grotius and Paulus Fagius: And the purpose in general of this Discourse.

MAny men, whether it be their fate, or fond opinion, easily perswade themselves, if God would but be pleas'd a while to withdraw his just punishments from us, and to restrain what power either the Devil or any earthly enemy hath to work us woe, that then mans Nature would find immediate rest and releasement from all Evils. But verily they who think so, if they be such as have a mind large enough to take into their thoughts a general survey of humane things, would soon prove themselves in that Opinion far deceiv'd. For though it were granted us by divine Indulgence to be exempt from all that can be harmful to us from without, yet the perverseness of our Folly is so bent, that we should never lin hammering out of our own hearts, as it were out of a flint, the

the seeds and sparkles of new Misery to our selves, till all were in a blaze again. And no marvel if out of our own hearts, for they are evil; but even out of those things which God meant us, either for a principal Good, or a pure Contentment, we are still hatching and contriving upon our selves matter of continual sorrow and perplexity. What greater good to man than that revealed Rule, whereby God vouchsafes to shew us how he would be worshipt? And yet that not rightly understood, became the cause that once a famous man in *Israel* could not but oblige his Conscience to be the Sacrificer; or if not, the Jaylor of his innocent and only Daughter: And was the cause oft times that Armies of valiant men have given up their Throats to a heathenish enemy on the Sabbath-day; fondly thinking their defensive resistance to be as then a thing unlawful. What thing more instituted to the solace and delight of man than Marriage? and yet the mis-interpreting of some Scripture directed mainly against the abusers of the Law for Divorce given by *Moses*, hath chang'd the blessing of Matrimony not seldom into a familiar and co-inhabiting mischief; at least into a drooping and disconsolate household Captivity, without refuge or redemption. So ungovern'd and so wild a race doth Superstition run us, from one extrem of abused Liberty into the other of unmerciful Restraint. For although God in the first ordaining of Marriage, taught us to what end he did it, in the words expressly implying the apt and cheerful Conversation of Man with Woman, to comfort and refresh him of the evil and solitary life, not mentioning the purpose of Generation till afterwards, as being but a secondary end in dignity, tho not in necessity; yet now, if any two be but once banded in the Church, and have tasted in any sort the nuptial Bed, let them find themselves never so mistak'n in their dispositions through any Error, Concealment, or Misadventure, that through their different Tempers, Thoughts, and Constitutions, they can neither be to one another a remedy against Loneliness, nor live in any Union or Contentment all their dayes, yet they shall, so they be but found suitably weapon'd to the least possibility of sensual Enjoyment, be made, spight of *Antipathy*, to fadge together, and combine as they may to their unspeakable wearisomness, and despair of all sociable delight in the Ordinance which God establish't to that very end. What a calamity is this, and as the wise-man, if he were alive, would sigh out in his own Phrase, what a *fore evil is this under the Sun!* All which we can refer justly to no other Author than the Canon Law and her Adherents, not consulting with Charity, the Interpreter and Guide of our Faith, but resting in the meer element of the Text; doubtless by the policy of the Devil to make that gracious Ordinance become unsupportable, that what with men not stating to venture upon Wedlock, and what with men wearied out of it, all inordinate Licence might abound. It was for many Ages that Marriage lay in disgrace with most of the ancient Doctors, as a work of the flesh, almost a denilement, wholly deny'd to Priests, and the second time dissuaded to all, as he that reads *Tertullian* or *Jerom* may see at large. Afterwards it was brought so Sacramental, that no Adultery or Desertion could dissolve it; and this is the sense of our Canon Courts in *England* to this day, but no other reformed Church else: yet there remains in them also a burden on it as heavy as the other two were disgraceful or superstitious, and of as much iniquity, crossing a Law not onely written by *Moses*, but character'd in us by nature, of more antiquity and deeper ground than Marriage it self; which Law is to force nothing against the faultless proprieties of Nature: yet that this may be colourably done, our Saviours words touching Divorce, are as it were congeal'd into a stony rigor, inconsistent both with his Doctrine and his Office; and that which he preach't onely to the Conscience, is by Canonical tyranny snatch't into the compulsive Censure of a Judicial Court, where Laws are impos'd even against the venerable and secret power of Natures impression, to love, whatever cause be found to loath. Which is a hainous barbarisme both against the honour of Marriage, the dignity of Man and his Soul, the goodness of Christianity, and all the humane respects of civility. Notwithstanding that some the wisest and gravest among the Christian Emperors, who had about them, to consult with, those of the Fathers then living; who for their Learning and Holiness of Life, are still with us in great renown, have made their statutes and edicts concerning this Debate far more ealie and relenting in many necessary cases, wherein the Canon is inflexible. And *Hugo Grotius*, a man of these times, one of the best learned, seems not obscurely to adhere in his perswasion to the equity of those Imperial Decrees, in his notes upon the *Evangelists*; much allaying the outward roughness of the Text, which hath for the most part been too immoderately expounded; and excites the diligence of others to inquire further into this question, as containing many points that have not yet been explain'd. Which

ever likely to remain intricate and hopeless upon the suppositions commonly stuck to the authority of *Paulus Fagius*, one so learned and so eminent in *England* once, if it might persuade, would straight acquaint us with a solution of these differences, no less prudent than compendious. He in his Comment on the *Pentateuch*, doubted not to maintain that Divorces might be as lawfully permitted by the Magistrate to Christians, as they were to the Jews. But because he is but brief, and these things of great consequence not to be kept obscure, I shall conceive it nothing above my duty, either for the difficulty or the censure that may pass thereon, to communicate such thoughts as I also have had, and do offer them now in this general labour of Reformation, to the candid view of both Church and Magistrate, especially because I see it the hope of good men, that those irregular and unspiritual Courts have spun their utmost date in this Land, and some better course must now be constituted. This therefore shall be the task and period of this discourse to prove, first, that other reasons of Divorce, besides Adultery, were by the Law of *Moses*, and are yet to be allow'd by the Christian Magistrate as a piece of Justice, and that the words of Christ are not hereby contraried. Next, that to prohibit absolutely any Divorce whatsoever, except those which *Moses* excepted, is against the reason of Law, as in due place I shall shew out of *Fagius* with many additions. He therefore who by adventuring, shall be so happy as with success to light the way of such an expedient liberty and truth as this, shall restore the much-wrong'd and over-sorrowed state of Matrimony, not only to those merciful and life-giving remedies of *Moses*, but as much as may be, to that serene and blissful condition it was in at the beginning, and shall deserve of all apprehensive men (considering the troubles and distempers which for want of this insight have been so oft in Kingdoms, in States and Families) shall deserve to be reckon'd among the publick Benefactors of civil and humane life, above the Inventors of Wine and Oyl; for this is a far dearer, far nobler, and more desirable cherishing to mans life, unworthily exposed to Sadness and Mistake, which he shall vindicate. Not that licence, and levety, and unconsented breach of Faith should herein be countenanc'd, but that some conscionable and tender pitty might he had of those who have unwarily, in a thing they never practis'd before, made themselves the Bondmen of a luckless and helpless Matrimony. In which Argument, he whose courage can serve him to give the first onset must look for two several oppositions; the one from them who have sworn themselves to long Custom, and the letter of the Text, will not out of the road: the other from those whose gross and vulgar apprehensions conceit but low of matrimonial purposes, and in the work of Male and Female think they have all. Nevertheless, it shall be here sought by due ways to be made appear, that those Words of God in the Institution, promising a meet help against Loneliness, and those Words of Christ, *That his yoke is easie, and his burden light*, were not spoken in vain; for if the knot of Marriage may in no case be dissolv'd but for Adultery, all the burdens and services of the Law are not so intolerable. This only is desir'd of them who are minded to judge hardly of thus maintaining, that they would be still, and hear all out, nor think it equal to answer deliberate reason with sudden heat and noise; remembering this, that many Truths now of reverend esteem and credit, had their birth and beginning once from singular and private thoughts, while the most of men were otherwise possess'd, and had the fate at first to be generally exploded and exclaim'd on by many violent opposers: yet I may erre perhaps in soothing my self, that this present truth reviv'd, will deserve on all hands to be not sinisterly receiv'd, in that it undertakes the cure of an inveterate disease crept into the best part of humane Society; and to do this with no smarting corrosive, but with a smooth and pleasing lesson, which receiv'd, hath the virtue to soften and dispel rooted and knotty sorrows, and without enchantment if that be fear'd, or spell us'd, hath regard at once both to serious pitty and upright honesty; that tends to the redeeming and restoring of none but such as are the object of compassion, having in an ill hour hamper'd themselves to the utter dispatch of all their most beloved Comforts and Repose for this lifes term. But if we shall obstinately dislike this new overture of unexpected Ease and Recovery, what remains but to deplore the frowardness of our hopeless condition, which neither can endure the estate we are in, nor admit of remedy either sharp or sweet. Sharp we our selves distaste; and sweet, under whose hands we are, is scrupl'd and suspected as too luscious. In such a posture Christ found the *Jews*, who were neither won with the Austerity of *John the Baptist*, and thought it too much licence to follow freely the charming pipe of him who sounded and proclaim'd Liberty and Relief to all Distresses: yet Truth in some Age or other will find her witness, and shall be justifi'd at last by her own children.

C H A P. I.

The Position prov'd by the Law of Moses. That Law expounded and asserted to a moral and charitable use, first by Paulus Fagius, next with other Additions.

TO remove therefore, if it be possible, this great and sad Oppression which thro' the strictness of a literal interpreting hath invaded and disturb'd the dearest and most peaceable estate of household Society, to the over-burthening, if not the overwhelming of many Christians better worth than to be so deserted of the Churches considerate care, this Position shall be laid down, first proving, then answering what may be objected either from Scripture or light of Reason.

That indisposition, unsuitness, or contrariety of mind, arising from a cause in nature unchangeable, hindring, and ever likely to hinder the main benefits of conjugal Society which are Solace and Peace, is a greater reason of Divorce than natural Frigidity, especially if there be no Children, and that there be mutual consent.

This I gather from the Law in Deut. 24. 1. *When a man hath tak'n a wife and married her, and it come to pass that she find no favour in his eyes, because he hath found some uncleanness in her, let him write her a bill of Divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house, &c.* This Law, if the words of Christ may be admitted into our belief, shall never while the World stands, for him be abrogated. First therefore I here set down what learned *Fagius* hath observ'd on this Law; *The Law of God, saith he, permitted Divorce for the help of humane weakness. For every one that of necessity separates, cannot live single. That Christ deny'd Divorce to his own, hinders not; for what is that to the unregenerate, who hath not attain'd such Perfection? Let not the remedy be despis'd which was giv'n to weakness. And when Christ saith, who marries the Divorc't commits adultery, it is to be understood if he had any plot in the Divorce.* The rest I reserve until it be disputed, how the Magistrate is to do herein. From hence we may plainly discern a two-fold Consideration in this Law, first the End of the Law-giver, and the proper Act of the Law, to command or to allow something just and honest, or indifferent. Secondly, his sufferance from some accidental result of evil by this allowance, which the Law cannot remedy. For if this Law have no other End or Act but onely the allowance of a Sin, though never to so good intention, that Law is no Law, but Sin muff'd in the robe of Law, or Law disguis'd in the loose garment of Sin. Both which are two foul *Hypotheses* to save the *Phænomenon* of our Saviours answer to the Pharisees about this matter. And I trust anon by the help of an infallible guide to perfect such *Prutenick* Tables as shall mend the *Astronomy* of our wide Expoliters.

The cause of Divorce mention'd in the Law, is translated *some uncleanness*, but in the Hebrew it sounds *nakedness of ought, or any real nakedness*: which by all the learned Interpreters is refer'd to the Mind as well as to the Body. And what greater nakedness or unsuitness of mind than that which hinders ever the solace and peaceful society of the married couple, and what hinders that more than the unsuitness and defectiveness of an unconjugal Mind? The cause therefore of Divorce express'd in the Position, cannot but agree with that describ'd in the best and equallest sence of *Moses's* Law. Which being a matter of pure Charity, is plainly moral, and more now in force than ever, therefore surely lawful. For if under the Law such was God's gracious Indulgence, as not to suffer the Ordinance of his goodness and favour through any error to be fear'd and stigmatiz'd upon his Servants to their misery and thralldom; much less will he suffer it now under the Covenant of Grace, by abrogating his former grant of remedy and relief. But the first institution will be objected to have ordain'd Marriage unseparable. To that a little patience until this first part have amply discours'd the grave and pious Reasons of this divorfive Law; and then I doubt not but with one gentle stroking to wipe away ten thousand Tears out of the life of Man. Yet thus much I shall now insist on, that whatever the Institution were, it could not be so enormous, nor so rebellious against both Nature and Reason as to exalt it self above the End and Person for whom it was instituted.

C H A P II.

The first Reason of this Law grounded on the prime Reason of Matrimony. That no Cov'nant whatsoever obliges against the main End both of it self, and of the Parties cov'nanting.

FOR all Sense and Equity reclaims that any Law or Cov'nant how solemn or strait soever, either between God and Man, or Man and Man, though of Gods joyning, should bind against a prime and principal scope of its own institution, and of both or either Party cov'nanting : neither can it be of force to ingage a blameless Creature to his own perpetual Sorrow, mistak'n for his expected solace, without suffering Charity to step in and do a confessed good work of parting those, whom nothing hold together but this of Gods joyning, falsely suppos'd against the express end of his own Ordinance. And what this chief end was of creating Woman to be joyn'd with Man, his own instituting words declare, and are infallible to inform us what is Marriage, and what is no Marriage ; unless we can think them set there to no purpose : *It is not good*, saith he, *that man should be alone, I will make him a help meet for him.* From which words so plain, less cannot be concluded, nor is by any learned Interpreter, than that in Gods intention a meet and happy Conversation is the cheifest and the noblest end of Marriage : for we find here no Expression so necessarily implying carnal Knowledg, as this prevention of Loneliness to the mind and spirit of man. To this, *Fagius, Calvin, Pareus, Rivetus*, as willingly and largely assent as can be wish't. And indeed it is a greater blessing from God, more worthy so excellent a Creature as Man is, and a higher end to honour and sanctifie the league of Marriage, when as the solace and satisfaction of the Mind is regarded and provided for before the sensitive pleasing of the Body. And with all generous persons married thus it is, that where the Mind and Person pleases aptly, there some unaccomplishment of the Bodies delight may be better born with, than when the Mind hangs off in an unclosing disproportion, though the Body be as it ought ; for there all corporal delight will soon become unfavoury and contemptible. And the solitariness of Man, which God had namely and principally order'd to prevent by Marriage, hath no remedy, but lies under a worse condition than the loneliest single life ; for in single life the absence and remoteness of a Helper might inure him to expect his own comforts out of himself, or to seek with hope : but here the continual sight of his deluded thoughts without cure, must needs be to him, if especially his complexion incline him to Melancholy, a daily trouble and pain of loss, in some degree like that which Reprobates feel. Lest therefore so noble a creature as Man should be shut up incurably under a worse evil by an easie mistake in that Ordinance which God gave him to remedy a less evil, reaping to himself Sorrow while he went to rid away Solitariness, it cannot avoid to be concluded, that if the Woman be naturally so of disposition, as will not help to remove, but help to increase that same God-forbidd'n Loneliness, which will in time draw on with it a general discomfort and dejection of mind, not befitting either Christian profession, or Moral conversation, unprofitable and dangerous to the Common-wealth, when the household estate, out of which must flourish forth the vigor and spirit of all publick enterprizes, is so ill contented and procur'd at home, and cannot be supported : such a Marriage can be no Marriage, whereto the most honest End is wanting ; and the agrieved person shall do more manly, to be extraordinary and singular in claiming the due right whereof he is frustrated, than to piece up his lost contentment by visiting the Stews, or stepping to his neighbour's Bed ; which is the common shift in this misfortune : or else by suffering his useful life to waste away, and be lost under a secret Affliction of an unconscionable size to humane strength. Against all which Evils, the Mercy of this Mosaick Law was graciously exhibited.

C H A P. III.

The Ignorance and Iniquity of Canon Law, providing for the right of the Body in Marriage, but nothing for the wrongs and grievances of the Mind. An Objection, That the Mind should be better lookt to before Contract, answered.

HOW vain therefore is it, and how preposterous in the Canon Law, to have made such careful provision against the impediment of carnal performance, and to have had no care about the unconversing inability of Mind, so defective to the purest and most sacred end of Matrimony; and that the Vessel of voluptuous enjoyment must be made good on him that has taken it upon trust, without any caution; when as the Mind, from whence must flow the acts of Peace and Love, a far more precious mixture than the quintessence of an excrement, though it be found never so deficient and unable to perform the best duty of Marriage in a cheerful and agreeable Conversation, shall be thought good enough, however flat and melancholious it be, and must serve, though to the eternal disturbance and languishing of him that complains him? Yet Wisdom and Charity weighing Gods own Institution, would think that the pining of a sad Spirit wedded to Loneliness, should deserve to be freed, as well as the Impatience of a sensual Desire so providently reliev'd. 'Tis read to us in the Liturgy, that *we must not marry to satisfy the fleshly appetite, like brute beasts, that have no understanding*: but the Canon so runs, as if it dreamt of no other matter than such an appetite to be satish'd; for if it happen that Nature hath stopt or extinguish'd the veins of Sensuality, that Marriage was annull'd. But though all the Faculties of the understanding and conversing part after trial appear to be so ill and so averily met through Natures unalterable working, as that neither Peace, nor any sociable Contentment can follow, 'tis as nothing, the Contract shall stand as firm as ever, betide what will. What is this but secretly to instruct us, that however many grave Reasons are pretended to the married life, yet that nothing indeed is thought worth regard therein, but the prescrib'd satisfaction of an irrational Heat? which cannot be but ignominious to the state of Marriage, dishonourable to the undervalu'd Soul of Man, and even to Christian Doctrine it self. While it seems more mov'd at the disappointing of an impetuous Nerve, than at the ingenuous grievance of a Mind unreasonably yoked; and to place more of Marriage in the Channel of Concupiscence, than in the pure influence of Peace and Love, whereof the Souls lawful Contentment is the one onely fountain.

But some are ready to object, That the Disposition ought seriously to be considered before. But let them know again that for all the wariness can be us'd, it may yet befall a discreet man to be mistak'n in his Choice, and we have plenty of Examples. The soberest and best govern'd men are least practiz'd in these Affairs; and who knows not that the bathful muteness of a Virgin may oft-times hide all the unliveliness and natural sloth which is really unfit for Conversation; nor is there that freedom of access granted or presum'd, as may suffice to a perfect discerning till too late: and where any Disposition is suspected, what more usual than the perswasion of Friends, that Acquaintance as it increases, will amend all? And lastly, it is not strange though many who have spent their Youth chastely, are in some things not so quick-sighted, while they hast so eagerly to light the nuptial Torch; nor is it therefore that for a modest Error a man should forfeit so great a happiness, and no charitable means to release him: Since they who have liv'd most loosely by reason of their bold accustoming, prove most successful in their Matches, because their wild Affections unsetling at will, have been as so many Divorces to teach them experience. When as the sober Man honouring the appearance of Modesty, and hoping well of every social vertue under the vail, may easily chance to meet, if not with a Body impenetrable, yet often with a Mind to all other due Conversation inaccessible, and to all the more estimable and superiour purposes of Matrimony useless and almost liveless: and what a solace, what a fit help such a Consort would be through the whole Life of a Man, is less pain to conjecture than to have experience.

C H A P. IV.

The second Reason of this Law, because without it, Marriage as it happens oft is not a remedy of that which it promises, as any rational creature would expect. That Marriage, if we pattern from the beginning, as our Saviour bids, was not properly the remedy of Lust, but the fulfilling of conjugal Love and Helpfulness.

AND that we may further see what a violent cruel thing it is to force the continuing of those together, whom God and Nature in the gentlest end of Marriage never joyn'd, divers evils and extremities that follow upon such a compulsion, shall here be set in view. Of evils, the first and greatest is, that hereby a most absurd and rash imputation is fixt upon God and his holy Laws, of conniving and dispensing with open and common Adultery among his chosen people; a thing which the rankest Politician would think it shame and disworship that his Laws should countenance: how and in what manner that comes to pass, I shall reserve till the course of method brings on the unfolding of many Scriptures. Next the Law and Gospel are hereby made liable to more than one contradiction, which I refer also thither. Lastly, the supreme dictate of Charity is hereby many ways neglected and violated; which I shall forthwith address to prove. First, we know *S. Paul* saith, *It is better to marry than to burn.* Marriage therefore was giv'n as a remedy of that trouble; but what might this burning mean? Certainly not the meer motion of carnal lust, not the meer goad of a sensitive desire, God does not principally take care for such Cattle. What is it then but that desire which God put into *Adam* in Paradise before he knew the sin of Incontinence; that desire which God saw it was not good that Man should be left alone to burn in, the desire and longing to put off an unkindly solitariness by uniting another body, but not without a fit soul to his in the chearful society of Wedlock? Which if it were so needful before the fall, when Man was much more perfect in himself, how much more is it needful now against all the sorrows and casualties of this life to have an intimate and speaking help, a ready and reviving associate in marriage? whereof who misses, by chancing on a mute and spiritless mate, remains more alone than before, and in a burning less to be contain'd then that which is fleshly; and more to be consider'd, as being more deeply rooted even in the faultless innocence of nature. As for that other burning, which is but as it were the venome of a lusty and over-abounding concoction, strict life and labour, with the abatement of a full diet, may keep that low and obedient enough: but this pure and more inbred desire of joyning to it self in conjugal fellowship a fit conversing soul (which desire is properly called love) *is stronger than death*, as the spouse of Christ thought; *many waters cannot quench it, neither can the floods drown it.* This is that rational burning that Marriage is to remedy, not to be allay'd with fasting, nor with any penance to be subdu'd; which how can he assuage who by mis-hap hath met the most unmeet and unsutable mind? Who hath the power to struggle with an intelligible flame, not in Paradise to be resisted, become now more ardent by being fail'd of what in reason it lookt for; and even then most unquencht, when the importunity of a provender-burning is well enough appeas'd; and yet the soul hath obtained nothing of what it justly desires. Certainly such a one forbidden to divorce, is in effect forbidden to marry, and compell'd to greater difficulties than in a single life: for if there be not a more humane burning which Marriage must satisfie, or else may be dissolv'd, than that of copulation, Marriage cannot be honourable for the meet reducing and terminating lust between two: seeing many beasts in voluntary and chosen couples, live together as unadulterously, and are as truly married in that respect. But all ingenuous Men will see that the dignity and blessing of Marriage is plac'd rather in the mutual enjoyment of that which the wanting soul needfully seeks, than of that which the plenteous body would joyfully give away. Hence it is that *Plato* in his Festival discourse brings in *Socrates* relating what he said to have learnt from the Prophetess *Diotima*, how Love was the son of *Penury*, begot of *Plenty* in the Garden of *Jupiter*. Which divinely sorts with that which in effect *Moses* tells us, that Love was the son of *Loneliness*, begot in Paradise by that sociable and helpful aptitude which God implanted between Man and Woman

Woman toward each other. The same also is that burning mentioned by *S. Paul*, whereof Marriage ought to be the remedy; the Flesh hath other mutual and easie curbs which are in the power of any temperate Man. When therefore this original and sinless *Penury* or *Loneliness* of the soul cannot lay it self down by the side of such a meet and acceptable union as God ordain'd in Marriage, at least in some proportion, it cannot conceive and bring forth *Love*, but remains utterly unmarried under a formal Wedlock, and still burns in the proper meaning of *S. Paul*. Then enters *Hate*, not that Hate that sins, but that which onely is natural dissatisfaction, and the turning aside from a mistaken object: if that mistake have done injury, it fails not to dismiss with recompence; for to retain still and not be able to love, is to heap up more injury. Thence this wise and pious Law of Dismission now defended took beginning: He therefore who lacking of his due in the most native and humane end of Marriage, thinks it better to part than to live sadly and injuriously to that cheerful Cov'nant (for not to be belov'd, and yet retain'd, is the greatest injury to a gentle spirit) he I say, who therefore seeks to part, is one who highly honours the married life, and would not stain it: and the reasons which now move him to divorce, are equal to the best of those that could first warrant him to marry; for, as was plainly shewn, both the hate which now diverts him, and the loneliness which leads him still powerfully to seek a fit help, hath not the least grain of a sin in it, if he be worthy to understand himself.

C H A P. V.

The third Reason of this Law, because without it, he who has happn'd where he finds nothing but remediless offences and discontents, is in more and greater temptations than ever before.

THirdly, Yet it is next to be fear'd, if he must be still bound without reason by a deaf rigor, that when he perceives the just expectance of his mind defeated, he will begin even against Law to cast about where he may find his satisfaction more compleat, unless he be a thing heroically vertuous, and that are not the common lump of Men for whom chiefly the Laws ought to be made, though not to their sins, yet to their unflinching weakneses, it being above their strength to endure the lonely estate, which while they thum'd, they are fall'n into. And yet there follows upon this a worse temptation; for if he be such as hath spent his youth unblamably, and laid up his chiefest earthly comforts in the enjoyments of a contented Marriage, nor did neglect that furtherance which was to be obtain'd therein by constant prayers, when he shall find himself bound fast to an uncomplying discord of nature, or, as it oft happens, to an Image of Earth and Fleam, with whom he lookt to be the Copartner of a sweet and gladiome society, and sees withal that his bondage is now inevitable; though he be almost the strongest Christian, he will be ready to despair in vertue, and mutiny against Divine Providence; and this doubtless is the reason of those lapses and that melancholly despair which we see in many wedded persons, though they understand it not, or pretend other causes, because they know no remedy, and is of extream danger: therefore when humane frailty surcharg'd, is at such a loss, charity ought to venture much, and use bold Physick, lest an over-toft faith indanger to shipwrack.

C H A P. VI.

The fourth Reason of this Law, that God regards Love and Peace in the Family, more than a compulsive performance of Marriage, which is more broke by a grievous Continuance, than by a needful Divorce.

Fourthly, Marriage is a Cov'nant, the very being whereof consists not in a forc'd cohabitation, and counterfeit performance of duties, but in unfeigned love and peace: And of Matrimonial love, no doubt but that was chiefly meant, which by the ancient Sages was thus parabl'd; That Love, if he be not twin-born, yet hath a brother wondrous like him, call'd *Anteros*; whom while he seeks all about, his chance is to meet with many falls and feigning desires that wander singly up and down in her likeness: By them in their borrow'd garb, Love though not wholly blind, as Poets wrong him, yet having but one eye, as being born an Archer aiming, and that eye not the quickest in this dark Region here below, which is not Loves proper Sphere, partly out of the simplicity and credulity which is native to him, often deceiv'd, embraces and comforts him with these obvious and suborned Striplings, as if they were his Mothers own Sons; for so he thinks them, while they subtilly keep themselves most on his blind side. But after a while, as his manner is, when soaring up into the high Tower of his *Apogee*, above the shadow of the Earth, he darts out the direct rays of his then most piercing eye-light upon the impostures, and trim disguizes that were us'd with him, and discerns that this is not his genuine brother, as he imagin'd. He has no longer the power to hold fellowship with such a personal Mate; for trait his arrows loose their golden heads, and shed their purple feathers, his silk'n Breads untwine, and slip their knots, and that original and fiery virtue giv'n him by Fate all on a sudden goes out, and leaves him undeni'd and despoil'd of all his force, till finding *Anteros* at last, he kindles and repairs the almost faded ammunition of his Deity by the reflection of a coequal and *homogeneous* fire. Thus mine Author sung it to me; and by the leave of those who would be counted the only grave ones, this is no meer amatorious novel (though to be wise and skilful in these matters, Men heretofore of greatest name in virtue, have esteem'd it one of the highest Arks that humane Contemplation circling upwards, can make from the globy Sea whereon she stands:) but this is a deep and serious verity, shewing us that Love in Marriage cannot live nor subsist unless it be mutual; and where Love cannot be, there can be left of Wedlock nothing but the empty husk of an outside Matrimony, as undelightful and unpleasing to God, as any other kind of hypocrisy. So far is his Command from tying Men to the observance of Duties which there is no help for, but they must be discern'd. If *Solomon's* advice be not over-frolick, *Live joyfully*, saith he, *with the Wife whom thou lovest, all thy days, for that is thy portion*. How then, where we find it impossible to rejoyce or to love, can we obey this Precept? how miserably do we defraud our selves of that comfortable portion which God gives us, by striving vainly to glue an error together, which God and Nature will not joyn, adding but more vexation and violence to that blissful society by our importunate superstition, that will not hearken to *S. Paul*, 1 *Cor. 7.* who speaking of Marriage and Divorce, determines plain enough in general, that God therein *hath call'd us to peace*, and not to bondage. Yea, God himself commands in his Law more than once, and by his Prophet *Malachi*, as *Calvin* and the best Translations read, that *he who hates, let him divorce*, that is, he who cannot love. Hence is it that the *Rabbins*, and *Maimonides* famous among the rest in a Book of his set forth by *Buxtorfius*, tells us, that *Divorce was permitted by Moses to preserve peace in Marriage, and quiet in the Family*. Surely the Jews had their saving Peace about them as well as we, yet care was tak'n that this wholesome provision for household Peace should also be allow'd them; and must this be deny'd to Christians? O perverseness! that the Law should be made more provident of peace-making than the Gospel! that the Gospel should be put to beg a most necessary help of Mercy from the Law, but must not have it; and that to grind in the Mill of an undelighted and servile copulation, must be the only forc'd work of a Christian Marriage oft-times with such a yoke-fellow, from whom both Love and Peace, both Nature and Religion mourns to be separated. I cannot therefore be so diffident, as not securely

curely to conclude, that he who can receive nothing of the most important helps in Marriage, being thereby disinabl'd to return that duty which is his, with a clear and hearty countenance; and thus continues to grieve whom he would not, and is no less griev'd, that Man ought even for Love's sake and Peace to move Divorce upon good and liberal conditions to the divorc'd. And it is a less breach of Wedlock to part with wife and quiet consent betimes, than still to soil and profane that mystery of joy and union with a polluting sadness and perpetual distemper; for it is not the outward continuing of Marriage that keeps whole that Cov'nant, but whatsoever does most according to Peace and Love, whether in Marriage or in Divorce, he it is that breaks Marriage least; it being so often written, that *Love only is the fulfilling of every Commandment.*

C H A P. VII.

The fifth Reason, that nothing more hinders and disturbs the whole life of a Christian, than a Matrimony found to be incurably unfit, and doth the same in effect that an Idolatrous match.

Fifthly, As those Priests of old were not to be long in sorrow, or if they were, they could not rightly execute their function; so every true Christian in a higher order of Priesthood is a person dedicate to joy and peace, offering himself a lively sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, and there is no Christian duty that is not to be season'd and set off with cheerfulness; which in a thousand outward and intermitting crosses may yet be done well, as in this vale of tears: but in such a bosom-affliction as this, crushing the very foundation of his inmost nature, when he shall be forc'd to love against a possibility, and to use a dissimulation against his soul in the perpetual and ceaseless duties of a Husband, doubtless his whole duty of serving God must needs be blurr'd and tainted with a sad unpreparedness and dejection of spirit, wherein God has no delight. Who sees not therefore how much more Christianity it would be to break by divorce that which is more broken by undue and forcible keeping, rather than to *cover the Altar of the Lord with continual tears, so that he regardeth not the offering any more*; rather than that the whole Worship of a Christian man's life should languish and fade away beneath the weight of an immeasurable grief and discouragement? And because some think the Children of a second Matrimony succeeding a Divorce, would not be a holy Seed, it hinder'd not the Jews from being so; and why should we not think them more holy than the off-spring of a former ill-twisted Wedlock, begott'n only out of a bestial necessity, without any true love or contentment, or joy to their Parents? so that in some sense we may call them the *Children of wrath* and anguish, which will as little conduce to their sanctifying, as if they had been Bastards: for nothing more than disturbance of mind suspends us from approaching to God, such a disturbance especially, as both assaults our faith and trust in God's providence, and ends, if there be not a miracle of virtue on either side, not only in bitterness and wrath, the Canker of Devotion, but in a desperate and vicious carelessness, when he sees himself without fault of his, train'd by a deceitful bait into a snare of misery, betray'd by an alluring Ordinance, and then made the thrall of heaviness and discomfort by an undivorcing Law of God, as he erroneously thinks, but of Man's iniquity, as the truth is: for that God prefers the free and cheerful Worship of a Christian, before the grievous and exacted observance of an unhappy Marriage, besides that the general maxims of Religion assure us, will be more manifest by drawing a parallel Argument from the ground of divorcing an Idolatress, which was, lest he should alienate his heart from the true worship of God: and what difference is there whether she pervert him to superstition by her enticing Sorcery, or disinable him in the whole service of God through the disturbance of her unhelpful and unfit society, and so drive him at last, through murmuring and despair, to thoughts of Atheism? Neither doth it lessen the cause of separating, in that the one willingly allures him from the Faith, the other perhaps unwillingly drives him; for in the account of God it comes all to one, that the Wife looses him a servant; and therefore by all the united force of the *Decalogue* she ought to be disbanded, unless we must set Marriage above God and Charity, which is the Doctrine of Devils, no less than forbidding to marry.

C H A P VIII.

That an Idolatrous Heretick ought to be divorc'd after a convenient space giv'n to hope of Conversion. That place of 1 Corinth. 7. restor'd from a twofold erroneous Exposition; and that the common Expofitors flatly contradict the Moral Law.

AND here by the way, to illustrate the whole question of Divorce, e're this Treatise end, I shall not be loth to spend a few lines in hope to give a full resolve of that which is yet so much controverted, whether an Idolatrous Heretick ought to be divorc'd. To the resolving whereof we must first know, that the *Jews* were commanded to divorce an unbelieving *Gentile* for two causes: First, because all other Nations, especially the *Canaanites*, were to them unclean. Secondly, to avoid seducement. That other Nations were to the *Jews* impure, even to the separating of Marriage, will appear out of *Exod.* 34. 16. *Deut.* 7. 3, 6. compar'd with *Ezra* 9. 2. also Chap. 10. 10, 11. *Nehem.* 13. 30. This was the ground of that doubt rais'd among the *Corinthians* by some of the Circumcision; Whether an Unbeliever were not still to be counted an unclean thing, so as that they ought to divorce from such a person. This doubt of theirs *S. Paul* removes by an Evangelical reason, having respect to that Vision of *S. Peter*, wherein the distinction of clean and unclean being abolisht, all living Creatures were sanctified to a pure and Christian use, and mankind especially, now invited by a general call to the Covenant of Grace. Therefore saith *S. Paul*, *The unbelieving Wife is sanctified by the Husband*; that is, made pure and lawful to his use, so that he need not put her away for fear lest her unbelief should defile him; but that if he found her love still towards him, he might rather hope to win her. The second reason of that Divorce was to avoid seducement, as is prov'd by comparing those places of the Law, to that which *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* did by Divine Warrant in compelling the *Jews* to forgo their Wives. And this reason is moral and perpetual in the rule of Christian Faith without evasion; therefore saith the Apostle, *2 Cor. 6. Mis-yoke not together with Infidels*, which is interpreted of Marriage in the first place. And although the former legal pollution be now done off, yet there is a spiritual contagion in Idolatry as much to be shun'd; and though seducement were not to be fear'd, yet where there is no hope of converting, there always ought to be a certain religious averfation and abhorring, which can no way sort with Marriage: Therefore saith *S. Paul*, *What fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? what communion hath light with darkness? what concord hath Christ with Belial? what part hath he that believeth with an Infidel?* And in the next verse but one, he moralizes, and makes us liable to that command of *Isaiah*; *Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord; touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive ye.* And this Command thus Gospelliz'd to us, hath the same force with that whereon *Ezra* grounded the pious necessity of divorcing. Neither had he other Commillion for what he did, then such a general Command in *Deut.* as this, nay not so direct; for he is bid there not to marry, but not bid to divorce, and yet we see with what a zeal and confidence he was the Author of a general Divorce between the faithful and unfaithful seed. The Gospel is more plainly on his side, according to three of the Evangelists, then the words of the Law; for where the case of Divorce is handled with such a severity as was fittest to aggravate the fault of unbounded licence, yet still in the same Chapter, when it comes into question afterwards, whether any civil respect, or natural relation which is dearest, may be our plea to divide, or hinder, or but delay our duty to Religion, we hear it determin'd, that Father, and Mother, and Wife also, is not only to be hated, but forsak'n, if we mean to inherit the great Reward there promis'd. Nor will it suffice to be put off by saying we must forsake them only by not consenting or not complying with them, for that were to be done, and roundly too, though being of the same faith, they should but seek out of a fleshly tenderness to weak'n our Christian fortitude with worldly perswasions, or but to unsettle our constancy with timorous and softning suggestions; as we may read with what a vehemence *Job*, the patientest of Men, rejected the desperate counsels of his wife; and

Moses, the meekest, being thoroughly offended with the prophane speeches of *Zippora*, sent her back to her father. But if they shall perpetually at our elbow seduce us from the true Worship of God, or defile and daily scandalize our Conscience by their hopeless continuance in misbelief, then ev'n in the due progress of Reason, and that ever-equal proportion which Justice proceeds by, it cannot be imagin'd that this cited place commands less than a total and final separation from such an Adherent, at least that no force should be us'd to keep them together; while we remember that God commanded *Abraham* to send away his irreligious Wife and her Son for the offences which they gave in a pious family. And it may be guess'd that *David* for the like cause dispos'd of *Michal* in such a sort, as little differ'd from a dismissal. Therefore against reiterated scandals and seducements, which never cease, much more can no other remedy or retirement be found but absolute departure. For what kind of Matrimony can that remain to be, what one duty between such can be perform'd as it should be from the heart, when their thoughts and spirits fly asunder as far as Heaven from Hell, especially if the time that hope should send forth her expected blossoms be past in vain? It will easily be true, that a Father or Brother may be hated zealously, and lov'd civilly or naturally; for those duties may be performed at distance, and do admit of any long absence: but how the peace and perpetual cohabitation of Marriage can be kept, how that benevolent and intimate communion of body can be held with one that must be hated with a most operative hatred, must be forsak'n and yet continually dwelt with and accompanied; he who can distinguish, hath the gift of an affection very oddly divided and contriv'd; while others both just and wise, and *Solomon* among the rest, if they may not hate and forsake as *Moses* enjoyns, and the Gospel imports, will find it impossible not to love otherwise then will sort with the love of God, whose jealousy brooks no corrival. And whether is more likely, that Christ bidding to forsake Wife for Religion, meant it by Divorce as *Moses* meant it, whose Law grounded on moral Reason, was both his office and his essence to maintain; or that he should bring a new morality into Religion, not only new, but contrary to an unchangeable Command, and dangerously derogating from our love and worship of God? As if when *Moses* had bid Divorce absolutely, and Christ had said, hate and forsake, and his Apostle had said, no communication with Christ and *Belial*; yet that Christ after all this could be understood to say, Divorce not, no not for Religion, seduce, or seduce not. What mighty and invisible Remora is this in Matrimony able to demur, and to contemne all the divorfive engines in Heaven or Earth! Both which may now pass away, if this be true, for more than many jots or tittles a whole moral Law is abolished. But if we dare believe it is not, then in the method of Religion, and to save the honour and dignity of our Faith, we are to retreat and gather up our selves from the observance of an inferior and civil Ordinance, to the strict maintaining of a general and religious Command, which is written, *Thou shalt make no Cov'nant with them*, Deut. 7. 2, 3. and that Cov'nant which cannot be lawfully made, we have directions and examples lawfully to dissolve. Also 2 Chron. 19. 2. *Shouldest thou love them that hate the Lord?* No doubtless: for there is a certain scale of Duties, there is a certain Hierarchy of upper and lower Commands, which for want of studying in right order, all the world is in confusion.

Upon these principles I answer, that a right Believer ought to divorce an idolatrous Heretick, unless upon better hopes: however that it is in the Believers choice to divorce or not.

The former part will be manifest thus; first, an apostate Idolater, whether Husband or Wife seducing, was to die by the decree of God, Deut. 13. 6, 9. that Marriage therefore God himself disjoyns: for others born Idolaters, the moral reason of their dangerous keeping, and the incommunicable antagony that is between Christ and *Belial*, will be sufficient to enforce the Commandment of those two inspir'd Reformers, *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, to put an Idolater away as well under the Gospel.

The latter part, that although there be no seducement fear'd, yet if there be no hope giv'n, the Divorce is lawful, will appear by this, that idolatrous Marriage is still hateful to God, therefore still it may be divorc'd by the pattern of that Warrant that *Ezra* had, and by the same everlasting Reason: Neither can any man give an account wherefore, if those whom God joyns no man can separate, it should not follow, that whom he joyns not, but hates to joyn, those men ought to separate. But saith the Lawyer, That which ought not have been done, once done, avails. I answer, this is but a Crotchet of the Law, but that brought against it is plain Scripture. As for what

what Christ spake concerning divorce, 'tis confest by all knowing men, he meant only between them of the same faith. But what shall we say then to *S. Paul*, who seems to bid us not divorce an Infidel willing to stay? We may safely say thus, that wrong Collections have been hitherto made out of those words by modern Divines. His drift, as was heard before, is plain; not to command our stay in Marriage with an Infidel, that had been a flat renouncing of the religious and moral Law; but to inform the *Corinthians* that the Body of an unbeliever was not defiling, if his desire to live in Christian Wedlock shew'd any likelihood that his heart was opening to the faith; and therefore advises to forbear departure so long, till nothing have been neglected to set forward a conversion: this I say he advises, and that with certain cautions, not commands, if we can take up so much credit for him as to get him believ'd upon his own word: for what is this else but his counsel in a thing indifferent, *to the rest speak I, not the Lord*? for though it be true that the Lord never spake it, yet from *S. Paul's* mouth we should have took it as a command, had not himself forewarn'd us, and disclaim'd, which notwithstanding if we shall still avouch to be a command, he palpably denying it, this is not to expound *S. Paul*, but to outface him. Neither doth it follow, but that the Apostle may interpose his judgment in a case of Christian liberty, without the guilt of adding to God's word. How do we know Marriage or single life to be of choice, but by such like words as these, *I speak this by permission, not of commandment; I have no command of the Lord, yet I give my judgment*? Why shall not the like words have leave to signify a freedom in this our present question, though *Beza* deny? Neither is the Scripture hereby let's inspir'd, because *S. Paul* confesses to have writt'n therein what he had not of command; for we grant that the Spirit of God led him thus to express himself to Christian prudence, in a matter which God thought best to leave uncommanded. *Beza* therefore must be warily read, when he taxes *S. Austin* of *Blasphemy*, for holding that *S. Paul* spake here as of a thing indifferent. But if it must be a command, I shall yet the more evince it to be a command that we should herein be left free, and that out of the Greek word us'd in the 12. v. which instructs us plainly, there must be a joynt assent and good liking on both sides; he that will not deprave the Text, must thus render it; *If a brother have an unbelieving Wife, and she joyn in consent to dwell with him* (which cannot utter less to us than a mutual agreement) let him not put her away for the meer surmize of Judaical uncleanness: and the reason follows, for the body of an Infidel is not polluted, neither to benevolence, nor to procreation. Moreover, this note of mutual complacency forbids all offer of seducement, which to a person of zeal cannot be attempted without great offence: if therefore seducement be fear'd, this place hinders not Divorce. Another caution was put in this supposed command, of not bringing the believer into *bondage* hereby, which doubtless might prove extreme, if Christian liberty and conscience were left to the humor of a Pagan staying at pleasure to play with, and to vex and wound with a thousand scandals and burdens, above strength to bear: If therefore the conceived hope of gaining a soul come to nothing, then Charity commands that the believer be not wearied out with endless waiting under many grievances sore to his spirit, but that respect be had rather to the present suffering of a true Christian, than the uncertain winning of an obdur'd Heretick. The counsel we have from *S. Paul* to hope, cannot countermand the moral and Evangelick charge we have from God to fear seducement, to separate from the misbeliever, the unclean, the obdurate. The Apostle wilheth us to hope, but does not send us a wool-gathering after vain hope; he saith, *How knowest thou, O Man, whether thou shalt save thy Wife*? that is, till he try all due means, and set some reasonable time to himself, after which he may give over washing an Ethiopie, if he will hear the advice of the Gospel; *Cast not Pearls before Swine*, saith Christ himself. *Let him be to thee as a Heathen. Shake the dust off thy feet*. If this be not enough, *hate and forsake*, what relation soever. And this also that follows must appertain to the Precept, *Let every man wherein he is call'd, therein abide with God*, v. 24. that is, so walking in his inferiour calling of Marriage, as not by dangerous subjection to that Ordinance, to hinder and disturb the higher calling of his Christianity. Last, and never too oft remembred, whether this be a Command, or an Advice, we must look that it be so understood, as not to contradict the least point of moral Religion that God hath formerly commanded, otherwise what do we but set the moral Law and the Gospel at civil War together? and who then shall be able to serve those two Masters?

C H A P. IX.

That Adultery is not the greatest breach of Matrimony; that there may be other Violations as great.

NOW whether Idolatry or Adultery be the greatest violation of Marriage, if any demand, let him thus consider, that among Christian Writers touching Matrimony, there be three chief Ends thereof agreed on; godly society, next civil, and thirdly, that of the Marriage-bed. Of these the first in name to be the highest and most excellent, no baptiz'd Man can deny, nor that Idolatry smites directly against this prime End; nor that such as the violated End is, such is the Violation: but he who affirms Adultery to be the highest breach, affirms the Bed to be highest of Marriage, which is in truth a gross and borish Opinion, how common soever; as far from the countenance of Scripture, as from the light of all clean Philosophy, or civil Nature. And out of question the chearful help that may be in Marriage toward sanctity of life, is the purest, and so the noblest end of that contract: but if the particular of each person be consider'd, then of those three ends which God appointed, that to him is greatest which is most necessary; and Marriage is then most brok'n to him, when he utterly wants the fruition of that which he most sought therein, whether it were religious, civil, or corporal society. Of which wants to do him right by Divorce only for the last and meanest, is a perverse injury, and the pretended reason of it as frigid as Frigidity itself, which the Code and Canon are only sensible of. Thus much of this controversy. I now return to the former argument. And having shewn that disproportion, contrariety, or numness of mind may justly be divorc'd, by proving already, that the prohibition thereof opposes the exprets end of God's Institutions, suffers not Marriage to satisfy that intellectual and innocent desire which God himself kindl'd in Man to be the Bond of Wedlock, but only to remedy a sublunary and bestial burning, which frugal Diet, without Marriage, would easily chast'n. Next, that it drives many to transgress the Conjugal Bed, while the soul wanders after that satisfaction which it had hope to find at home, but hath mist; or else it sits repining, even to Atheism, finding it self hardly dealt with, but misdeeming the cause to be in God's Law, which is in man's unrighteous ignorance. I have shewn also how it unties the inward knot of Marriage, which is Peace and Love (if that can be untied which was never knit) while it aims to keep fast the outward formality; how it lets perish the Christian Man, to compel impossibly the married Man.

C H A P. X.

The sixth Reason of this Law; that to prohibit Divorce sought for natural cases, is against Nature.

THE sixth place declares this Prohibition to be as respectless of humane Nature, as it is of Religion, and therefore is not of God. He teaches, that an unlawful Marriage may be lawfully divorc'd: And that those who having thoroughly discern'd each others disposition, which oft-times cannot be till after Matrimony, shall then find a powerful reluctance and recoil of Nature on either side, blasting all the content of their mutual society, that such persons are not lawfully married (to use the Apostle's words) *Say I these things as a Man, or saith not the Law also the same? for it is writt'n, Deut. 22. Thou shalt not sow the Vineyard with divers seeds, lest thou defile both. Thou shalt not plow with an Oxe and an Ass together, and the like.* I follow the pattern of S. Paul's reasoning; *Doth God care for Asses and Oxen, how ill they yoke together, or is it not said altogether for our sakes? for our sakes no doubt this is writt'n.* Yea the Apostle himself in the forecited 2 Cor. 6. 14. alludes from that place of Deut. to forbid misyoking Marriage, as by the Greek word is evident; though he instance but
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in one Example of misfratching with an Infidel, yet next to that, what can be a fouler incongruity, a greater violence to the reverend secret of Nature, than to force a mixture of Minds that cannot unite, and to sow the furrow of Man's Nativity with seed of two incoherent and uncombining dispositions: which act being kindly and voluntary, as it ought, the Apostle in the Language he wrote call'd *Eunoia*, and the Latines *Benevolence*, intimating the original thereof to be in the understanding, and the will; if not, surely there is nothing which might more properly be call'd a malevolence rather, and is the most injurious and unnatural Tribute that can be extorted from a person indu'd with reason, to be made pay out the best substance of his body, and of his soul too, as some think, when either for just and powerful causes he cannot like, or from unequal causes finds not recompence. And that there is a hidden efficacy of love and hatred in Man as well as in other kinds, not moral, but natural; which though not always in the choice, yet in the success of Mariage will ever be most predominant, besides daily experience, the Author of *Ecclesiasticus*, whose wisdom hath set him next the Bible, acknowledges, 13. 16. *A man, saith he, will cleave to his like.* But what might be the cause, whether each ones allotted *Genius* or proper Star, or whether the supernatural influence of Schemes and angular Aspects, or this elemental *Crafsis* here below, whether all these joyntly or singly meeting friendly, or unfriendly in either party, I dare not, with the men I am like to clash, appear so much a Philosopher as to conjecture. The antient Proverb in *Homer* less obtruse entitles this work of leading each like person to his like, peculiarly to God himself; which is plain enough also by his naming of a meet or like help in the first Espousal instituted; and that every Woman is meet for every Man, none so absurd as to affirm. Seeing then there is indeed a two-fold Seminary or Stock in nature, from whence are deriv'd the issues of love and hatred, distinctly flowing through the whole mass of created things, and that God's doing ever is to bring the due likenesses and harmonies of his works together, except when out of two contraries met to their own destruction, he moulds a third existence; and that it is error, or some evil Angel which either blindly or maliciously hath drawn together in two persons ill imbarckt in Wedlock the sleeping discords and enmities of Nature lull'd on purpose with some false bait, that they may wake to agony and strife, later than prevention could have wisht, if from the bent of just and honest intentions beginning what was begun, and so continuing, all that is equal, all that is fair and possible hath been tri'd, and no accommodation likely to succeed; what folly is it still to stand combating and battering against invincible causes and effects, with evil upon evil, till either the best of our days be linger'd out, or ended with some speeding sorrow. The wise *Ecclesiasticus* advises rather, 37. 27. *My son prove thy soul in thy life, see what is evil for it, and give not that unto it.* Reason he had to say so; for if the noisomeness or disfigurement of body can soon destroy the sympathy of mind to Wedlock duties, much more will the annoyance and trouble of mind infuse it self into all the faculties and acts of the body, to render them invalid, unkindly, and even unholy against the Fundamental Law-book of Nature, which *Moses* never thwarts, but reverences: therefore he commands us to force nothing against sympathy or natural order, no not upon the most abject Creatures; to shew that such an indignity cannot be offer'd to Man without an impious crime. And certainly those divine meditating words of finding out a meet and like help to Man, have in them a consideration of more than the indefinite likeness of Womanhood; nor are they to be made waste-paper on, for the dulness of Canon-Divinity, no, nor those other Allegorick Precepts of Beneficence fetcht out of the Closet of Nature, to teach us goodness and compassion in not compelling together unmatched Societies; or if they meet through mischance; by all consequence to disjoyn them, as God and Nature signifies, and lectures to us not only by those recited Decrees, but ev'n by the first and last of all his visible works; when by his divorcing Command the World first rose out of Chaos, nor can be renewed again out of confusion, but by the separating of unmeet Consorts.

C H A P. XI.

The seventh Reason, That sometimes continuance in Marriage may be evidently the shortning or indangering of life to either party; both Law and Divinity concluding, that Life is to be preferr'd before Marriage, the intended solace of Life.

Seventhly, The Canon-Law and Divines consent, that if either party be found contriving against anothers life, they may be sever'd by Divorce: for a sin against the life of Marriage, is greater than a sin against the Bed; the one destroys, the other but defiles. The same may be said touching those persons who being of a pensive nature and course of life, have sum'd up all their solace in that free and lightsome conversation which God and Man intends in Marriage; whereof when they see themselves depriv'd by meeting an unsociable Consort, they oft-times resent one anothers mistake so deeply, that long it is not e're grief end one of them. When therefore this danger is foreseen, that the life is in peril by living together, what matter is it whether helpless grief, or wilful practice be the cause? This is certain, that the preservation of life is more worth than the compulsory keeping of Marriage; and it is no less than cruelty, to force a Man to remain in that state as the solace of his life, which he and his friends know will be either the undoing or the disheartning of his life. And what is life without the vigour and spiritual exercise of life? how can it be useful either to private or publick employment? shall it therefore be quite dejected, though never so valuable, and left to moulder away in heaviness for the superstitious and impossible performance of an ill-driv'n bargain? Nothing more inviolable than vows made to God; yet we read in *Numbers*, that if a Wife had made such a vow, the meer will and authority of her Husband might break it: how much more may he break the error of his own bonds with an unfit and mistak'n Wife, to the saving of his welfare, his life, yea his faith and virtue, from the hazard of over-strong temptations? for if Man be Lord of the Sabbath, to the curing of a Fever, can he be less than Lord of Marriage in such important causes as these?

C H A P. XII.

The eighth Reason, It is probable, or rather certain, that every one who happ'ns to marry, hath not the calling; and therefore upon unfitness found and consider'd, force ought not to be us'd.

Eightly, It is most sure that some even of those who are not plainly defective in body, yet are destitute of all other marriageable gifts, and consequently have not the calling to marry, unless nothing be requisite thereto but a meer instrumental body; which to affirm, is to that unanimous Covenant a reproach: yet it is as sure that many such, not of their own desire, but by the perswasion of friends, or not knowing themselves, do often enter into Wedlock; where finding the difference at length between the duties of a married life, and the gifts of a single life, what unfitness of mind, what wearisomness, what scruples and doubts to an incredible offence and displeasure are like to follow between, may be soon imagined; whom thus to shut up, and immure, and shut up together, the one with a mischosen Mate, the other in a mistaken calling, is not a course that Christian wisdom and tenderness ought to use. As for the custome that some Parents and Guardians have of forcing Marriages, it will be better to say nothing of such a savage inhumanity, but only thus, that the Law which gives not all freedom of Divorce to any Creature indued with reason, so assassinated, is next in cruelty.

C H A P. XIII.

The ninth Reason; Because Marriage is not a meer carnal Coition; but a humane Society: where that cannot reasonably be had, there can be no true Matrimony. Marriage compar'd with all other Cov'nants and Vows warrantably broken for the good of Man. Marriage the Papiſts Sacrament, and unfit Marriage the Proteſtants Idol.

NIntly, I ſuppoſe it will be allow'd us that Marriage is a humane Society, and that all humane ſociety muſt proceed from the mind rather than the body, elſe it would be but a kind of animal or beaſtly meeting; if the mind therefore cannot have that due company by Marriage that it may reaſonably and humanly deſire, that Marriage can be no humane ſociety, but a certain formality; or guilding over of little better then a brutiſh congreſs, and ſo in very wiſdom and pureneſs to be diſſolv'd.

But Marriage is more than humane, *the Covenant of God*, Prov. 2. 17. therefore Man cannot diſſolve it. I anſwer, if it be more than humane, ſo much the more it argues the chief ſociety thereof to be in the ſoul rather then in the body, and the greateſt breach thereof to be unſuitneſs of mind rather then defect of body: for the body can have leaſt affinity in a Cov'nant more than humane, ſo that the reaſon of diſſolving holds good the rather. Again, I anſwer, that the Sabbath is a higher Inſtitution, a Command of the firſt Table, for the breach whereof God hath far more and oftner teſtiſy'd his anger, than for Divorces, which from *Moses* to *Malachy* he never took diſpleaſure at, nor then neither, if we mark the Text; and yet as oft as the good of Man is concern'd, he not only permits, but commands to break the Sabbath. What Cov'nant more contracted with God, and leſs in mans power, than the Vow which hath once paſt his lips? yet if it be found raſh, if offensive, if unfruitful either to God's glory or the good of Man, our Doctrines forces not error and unwillingneſs irkſomly to keep it, but counſels Wiſdom and better thoughts boldly to break it; therefore to enjoyn the indiffoluble keeping of a Marriage ſound unfit againſt the good of Man both ſoul and body, as hath been evidenc'd, is to make an Idol of Marriage, to advance it above the Worſhip of God and the good of Man, to make it a tranſcendent Command, above both the ſecond and firſt Table, which is a moſt prodigious Doctrin.

Next, whereas they cite out of the *Proverbs*, that it is the *Covenant of God*, and therefore more than humane, that Conſequence is manifeſtly falſe: for ſo the Cov'nant which *Zedekiah* made with the Infidel King of *Babel*, is call'd the *Covenant of God*, Ezek. 17. 19. which would be ſtrange to hear counted more than a humane Cov'nant. So every Cov'nant between Man and Man, bound by Oath, may be call'd the Cov'nant of God, becauſe God therein is atteſted. So of Marriage he is the author and the witneſs; yet hence will not follow any divine aſtriction more than what is ſubordinate to the glory of God, and the main good of either party: for as the glory of God, and their eſteemed ſuitneſs one for the other, was the motive which led them both at firſt to think without other revelation that God had joyned them together; ſo when it ſhall be found by their apparent unſuitneſs, that their continuing to be Man and Wiſe is againſt the glory of God and their mutual happineſs, it may aſſure them that God never joyn'd them, who hath reveal'd his gracious Will not to ſet the Ordinance above the Man for whom it was ordain'd; not to canonize Marriage either as a Tyrannefs or a Goddeſs over the enfranchis'd life and ſoul of Man: For wherein can God delight, wherein be worſhip'd, wherein be glorifi'd by the forcible continuing of an improper and ill-yoking couple? He that loved not to ſee the diſparity of ſeveral cattel at the Plow, cannot be pleaſed with any vaſt unmeetneſs in Marriage. Where can be the peace and love which muſt invite God to ſuch a houſe? may it not be feared that the not divorcing of ſuch a helpleſs diſagreement, will be the divorcing of God finally from ſuch a place? But it is a trial of our patience they ſay: I grant it; but which of *Job's* afflictions were ſent him with that Law, that he might not uſe means to remove any of them if he could? And what if it ſubvert our patience and our faith too? Who ſhall anſwer for the perishing of all thoſe ſouls perishing by ſtubborn expoſitions of particular and inferior precepts againſt the general and ſupreme

supreme rule of Charity? They dare not affirm that Marriage is either a Sacrament or a Mystery, though all those sacred things give place to Man; and yet they invest it with such an awful sanctity, and give it such adamant chains to bind with, as if it were to be worshipt like some Indian Deity, when it can confer no blessing upon us, but works more and more to our misery. To such teachers the saying of *S. Peter* at the Council of *Jerusalem* will do well to be applied: *Why tempt ye God to put a yoke upon the necks of Christian men, which neither the Jews, God's antient people, nor we are able to bear,* and nothing but unwary expounding hath brought upon us?

C H A P. XIV.

Considerations concerning Familism, Antinomianism; and why it may be thought that such Opinions may proceed from the undue restraint of some just liberty, than which no greater cause to condemn Discipline.

TO these Considerations this also may be added as no improbable conjecture, seeing that sort of Men who follow *Anabaptism, Familism, Antinomianism*, and other fanatick dreams (if we understand them not aright) be such most commonly as are by nature addicted to Religion, of life also not debauched, and that their Opinions having full swinge, do end in satisfaction of the flesh, it may be come with reason into the thoughts of a wise Man, whether all this proceed not partly, if not chiefly, from the restraint of some lawful liberty which ought to be giv'n Men, and is deny'd them. As by Physick we learn in menstruous bodies, where Nature's current hath been stop'd, that the suffocation and upward forcing of some lower part, affects the head and inward sense with dotage and idle fancies. And on the other hand, whether the rest of vulgar men not so religiously professing, do not give themselves much the more to Whoredom and Adulteries, loving the corrupt and venial Discipline of Clergy-Courts, but hating to hear of perfect Reformation; when as they perceive that then Fornication shall be auterely censur'd, Adultery punish'd, and Marriage the appointed refuge of nature, though it hap to be never so incongruous and displeasing, must yet of force be worn out, when it can be to no other purpose but of strife and hatred, a thing odious to God. This may be worth the study of skillful Men in Theology, and the reason of things. And lastly, to examine whether some undue and ill-grounded strictness upon the blameless Nature of Man, be not the cause in those places where already Reformation is, that the Discipline of the Church, so often and so unavoidably brok'n, is brought into contempt and derision. And if it be thus, let those who are still bent to hold this obstinate *literality*, so prepare themselves, as to share in the account for all these transgressions, when it shall be demanded at the last day, by one who will scan and sift things with more than a literal wisdom of equity: for if these reasons be duly ponder'd, and that the Gospel is more jealous of laying on excessive burdens than ever the Law was, lest the soul of a Christian which is inestimable, should be over-tempted and cast away; considering also that many properties of Nature, which the power of Regeneration it self never alters, may cause dislike of conversing, even between the most sanctified; which continually grating in harsh tune together, may breed some jar and discord, and that end in rancor and strife, a thing so opposite both to Marriage, and to Christianity, it would perhaps be less scandal to divorce a natural disparity, than to link violently together an unchristian dissention, committing two insnared souls inevitably to kindle one another, not with the fire of love, but with a hatred *irreconcilable*; who were they dissevered, would be straight friends in any other relation. But if an alphabetical servility must be still urged, it may so fall out, that the true Church may unwittingly use as much cruelty in forbidding to divorce, as the Church of Antichrist doth wilfully in forbidding to marry.

BOOK II.

C H A P. I.

The Ordinance of Sabbath and Marriage compar'd. Hyperbole no unfrequent figure in the Gospel. Excess cur'd by contrary excess. Christ neither did, nor could abrogate the Law of Divorce, but only reprieve the abuse thereof.

Hitherto the Polition undertaken hath been declar'd, and proved by a Law of God, that Law proved to be moral, and unabolishable, for many reasons equal, honest, charitable, just, annex thereto. It follows now, that those places of Scripture which have a seeming to revoke the prudence of *Moses*, or rather that merciful Decree of God, be forthwith explain'd and reconcil'd. For what are all these reasonings worth, will some reply, when as the words of Christ are plainly against all Divorce, except *in case of Fornication*? To whom he whose mind were to answer no more but this, *except also in case of Charity*, might safely appeal to the more plain words of Christ in defence of so excepting. *Thou shalt do no manner of work*, saith the Commandment of the Sabbath. Yes, saith Christ, works of Charity. And shall we be more severe in paraphrasing the considerate and tender Gospel, than he was in expounding the rigid and peremptory Law? What was ever in all appearance less made for Man, and more for God alone, than the Sabbath? yet when the good of Man comes into the Scales, we hear that voice of infinite goodness and benignity, that *Sabbath was made for Man, not Man for Sabbath*. What thing ever was more made for Man alone and less for God than Marriage? And shall we load it with a cruel and senseless bondage utterly against both the good of Man, and the glory of God? Let whoso will now listen, I want neither Pall nor Mitre, I stay neither for Ordination or Induction; but in the firm faith of a knowing Christian, which is the best and truest endowment of the Keys, I pronounce, the Man who shall bind so cruelly a good and gracious Ordinance of God, hath not in that the Spirit of Christ. Yet that every text of Scripture seeming opposite may be attended with a due exposition, this other part ensues, and makes account to find no slender arguments for this assertion out of those very Scriptures; which are commonly urg'd against it.

First therefore let us remember, as a thing not to be deny'd, that all places of Scripture wherein just reason of doubts arises from the letter, are to be expounded by considering upon what occasion every thing is set down, and by comparing other Texts. The occasion which induc'd our Saviour to speak of Divorce, was either to convince the extravagance of the Pharises in that point, or to give a sharp and vehement answer to a tempting question. And in such cases that we are not to repose all upon the literal terms of so many words, many instances will teach us: Wherein we may plainly discover how Christ meant not to be tak'n word for word, but like a wise Physician, administering one excess against another, to reduce us to a permis; where they were too remiss, he saw it needful to seem most severe: in one place he censures an unchast look to be adultery already committed; another time he passes over actual adultery with less reproof than for an unchast look; not so heavily condemning secret weakness, as open malice: So here he may be justly thought to have giv'n this rigid sentence against Divorce, not to cut off all remedy from a good man who finds himself consuming away in a disconsolate and uninjoyn'd Matrimony, but to lay a bridle upon the bold abuses of those over-weening *Rabbies*; which he could not more effectually do, then by a counterway of restraint curbing their wild exorbitance almost into the other extrem; as when we bow things the contrary way, to make them come to their natural straitness. And that this was the only intention of Christ is most evident, if we attend but to his own words and protestation made in the same Sermon, not many verses before he treats of Divorcing, that he came not to abrogate from the Law *one jot or tittle*, and denounce against them that shall so teach.

But *S. Luke* the verse immediately before-going that of Divorce, inserts the same caveat, as if the latter could not be understood without the former; and as a witness to produce against this our wilful mistake of abrogating, which must needs confirm us that whatever else in the political Law of more special relation to the Jews might cease to us; yet that of those Precepts concerning Divorce, not one of them was repeal'd by the Doctrine of Christ, unless we have vow'd not to believe his own cautious and immediate profession: for if these our Saviour's words inveigh against all Divorce, and condemn it as Adultery, except it be for Adultery, and be not rather understood against the abuse of those Divorces permitted in the Law, then is that Law of *Moses*, Deut. 24. 1. not only repeal'd and wholly annull'd against the promise of Christ, and his known profession not to meddle in matters Judicial; but that which is more strange, the very substance and purpose of that Law is contradicted and convinc'd both of injustice and impurity, as having authoriz'd and maintain'd legal Adultery by statute. *Moses* also cannot scape to be guilty of unequal and unwise decrees, punishing one act of secret Adultery by death, and permitting a whole life of open Adultery by Law. And albeit Lawyers write that some political Edicts, though not approv'd, are yet allow'd to the scum of the people, and the necessity of the times; these excuses have but a weak pulse: For first, we read, not that the scoundrel people, but the choicest, the wisest, the holiest of that Nation have frequently us'd these Laws, or such as these in the best and holiest times. Secondly, be it yielded, that in matters not very bad or impure, a human Lawgiver may slacken something of that which is exactly good, to the disposition of the people and the times: but if the perfect, the pure, the righteous Law of God, for so are all his statutes and his judgments, be found to have allow'd smoothly, without any certain reprehension, that which Christ afterward declares to be Adultery, how can we free this Law from the horrible inditement of being both impure, unjust, and fallacious?

C H A P. II.

How Divorce was permitted for hardness of heart, cannot be understood by the common Exposition. That the Law cannot permit, much less enact a permission of sin.

Neither will it serve to say this was permitted for the hardness of their hearts, in that sense as is usually explain'd; for the Law were then but a corrupt and erroneous School-master, teaching us to dash against a vital Maxim of Religion, by doing foul evil in hope of some uncertain good.

This only Text is not to be matcht again throughout the whole Scripture, whereby God in his perfect Law should seem to have granted to the hard hearts of his holy people, under his own hand, a civil immunity and free charter to live and die in a long successive Adultery, under a covenant of works, till the *Messiah*, and then that indulgent permission to be strictly deny'd by a covenant of grace; besides the incoherence of such a doctrine, cannot, must not be thus interpreted, to the raising of a Paradox never known till then, onely hanging by the twin'd thread of one doubtful Scripture, against so many other rules and leading principles of religion, of justice, and purity of life. For what could be granted more either to the fear, or to the lust of any Tyrant or Expliciat, than this authority of *Moses* thus expounded; which opens him a way at will to damm up justice, and not onely to admit of any *Romish* or *Austrian* dispences, but to enact a statute of that which he dares not seem to approve, ev'n to the legitimate vices, to make sin it self, the ever alien and vassal sin, a free Citizen of the Commonwealth, pretending onely these or these plausible reasons? And well he might, all the while that *Moses* shall be alledged to have done as much without shewing any reason at all. Yet this could not enter into the heart of *David*, Psal. 94. 20. how any such authority as endeavours to fashion wickedness by a Law, should derive it self from God. And *Isaiab* layes *wo* upon them that decree unrighteous decrees, ch. 10. 1. Now which of these two is the better Law-giver, and which deserves most a wo, he that gives out an edict singly unjust, or he that confirms to generations a fixt and unmolested impunity of that which is not only held to be unjust, but also unclean, and both in a high degree, not only as they themselves affirm, an injurious expulsion

of one Wife, but also an unclean freedom by more than a patent to wed another adulterously? How can we therefore with safety thus dangerously confine the free simplicity of our Saviours meaning to that which meetly amounts from so many Letters, when as it can consist neither with his former and cautionary Word, nor with other more pure and holy Principles, nor finally with the scope of Charity, commanding by his express Commission in a higher grain. But all rather of necessity must be understood as only against the abuse of that wise and ingenuous liberty which *Moses* gave, and to terrifie a roaving Conscience from sinning under that pretext.

C H A P. III.

That to allow Sin by Law, is against the nature of Law, the end of the Law-giver, and the good of the People. Impossible therefore in the Law of God. That it makes God the Author of Sin more than any thing objected by the Jesuits or Arminians against Predestination.

BUT let us yet further examine upon what Consideration a Law of Licence could be thus giv'n to a holy People for the hardness of Heart. I suppose all will answer, that for some good end or other. But here the contrary shall be prov'd. First, that many ill effects, but no good end of such a Sufferance can be shewn; next, that a thing unlawful can for no good end what-ever be either done or allow'd by a positive Law. If there were any good end aim'd at, that end was then good either to the Law or to the Lawgiver licencing; or as to the person licenc'd. That it could not be the end of the Law, whether Moral or Judicial, to license a Sin, I prove easily out of *Rom. 5. 20.* *The Law enter'd, that the offence might abound,* that is, that Sin might be made abundantly manifest to be hainous and displeasing to God, that so his offer'd Grace might be the more esteem'd. Now if the Law instead of aggravating and terrifying Sin, shall give out Licence, it soils it self, and turns recreant from its own end: it forestalls the pure Grace of Christ which is through Righteousness, with impure indulgences which are through Sin. And instead of discovering Sin, for by the Law is the knowledge thereof, saith *S. Paul*, and that by certain and true light for Men to walk in safely, it holds out false and dazling fires to stumble Men; or like those miserable flies to run into with delight and be burnt: for how many Souls might easily think that to be lawful which the Law and Magistrate allow'd them? Again, we read *1 Tim. 1. 5.* *The end of the Commandment is charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfained.* But never could that be Charity to allow a People what they could not use with a pure Heart, but with Conscience and Faith both deceiv'd, or else despis'd. The more particular end of the Judicial Law is set forth to us clearly *Rom. 13.* That God hath giv'n to that Law a *Sword not in vain, but to be a terror to evil works, a revenge to execute wrath upon him that doth evil.* If this terrible Commission should but forbear to punish wickedness; were it other to be accounted than partial and unjust? but if it begin to write indulgence to vulgar Uncleanness, can it do more to corrupt and shame the end of its own being? Lastly, if the Law allow Sin; it enters into a kind of covenant with Sin; and if it do; there is not a greater Sinner in the World than the Law it self. The Law, to use an Allegory something different from that in *Philo Judæus* concerning *Amaleck*, though haply more significant, the Law is the *Israelite*, and hath this absolute charge given it, *Deut. 25.* *To blot out the memory of Sin the Amalekite from under heav'n, not to forget it.* Again, the Law is the *Israelite*, and hath this express repeated Command to make no Cov'nant with Sin the *Canaanite*, but to expel him, lest he prove a snare. And to say truth, it were too rigid and reasonless to proclaim such an enmity between Man and Man, were it not the the type of a greater enmity between Law and Sin. I speak ev'n now, as if Sin were condemn'd in a perpetual villenage never to be free by Law, never to be manumitted: but sure Sin can have no tenure by Law at all; but is rather an eternal Outlaw, and in hostility with Law past all atonement: both diagonal Contraries, as much allowing one another, as Day and Night together both in one Hemisphere. Or if it be possible, that Sin with his darkness may come to composition,

it cannot be without a foul eclipse and twilight to the Law, whose brightness ought to surpass the Noon. Thus we see how this unclean permittance defeats the sacred and glorious end both of the Moral and Judicial Law.

As little good can the Lawgiver propose to equity by such a lavish remissness as this; if to remedy hardness of heart *Paras* and other Divines confess, it more increases by this Liberty, than is less'n'd: and how is it probable that their hearts were more hard in this, that it should be yielded to, than in any other Crime? Their hearts were set upon Usury, and are to this day, no Nation more; yet that which was the endamaging only of their Estates was narrowly forbid; this which is thought the extream injury and dishonour of their Wives and Daughters, with the defilement also of themselves, is bounteously allow'd. Their hearts were as hard under their best Kings to offer in high places, tho to the true God; yet that but a small thing, is strictly forewarn'd; this accounted a high offence against one of the greatest moral Duties, is calmly permitted and establish'd. How can it be evaded but that the heavy censure of Christ should fall worse upon this Lawgiver of theirs, than upon all the Scribes and Pharisees? For they did but omit Judgment and Mercy to trifle in Mint and Cummin, yet all according to Law; but this their Law-giver, altogether as punctual in such niceties, goes marching on to Adulteries, through the violence of Divorce by Law against Law. If it were such a cursed act of *Pilat* a subordinate Judge to *Cesar*, over-swayed by those hard hearts with much ado to suffer one transgression of Law but once, what is it then with less ado to publish a Law of transgression for many Ages? Did God for this come down and cover the Mount of *Sinai* with his Glory, uttering in Thunder those his sacred Ordinances out of the bottomless Treasures of his Wisdom and infinite Pureness, to patch up an ulcerous and rott'n Common-wealth with strict and stern Injunctions, to wash the skin and garments for every unclean touch, and such easie permission giv'n to pollute the Soul with Adulteries by publick authority, without disgrace or question? No, it had been better that man had never known Law or Matrimony, then that such foul iniquity should be fast'n'd upon the Holy One of *Israel*, the Judge of all the earth, and such a piece of folly as *Belzebub* would not commit, to divide against himself, and pervert his own ends; or if he to compass more certain mischief, might yield perhaps to gain some good deed, yet that God should enact a Licence of certain evil for uncertain good against his own glory and pureness, is abominable to conceive. And as it is destructive to the end of Law, and blasphemous to the honour of the Law-giver licensing, so is it as pernicious to the person licenc'd. If a private Friend admonish not, the Scripture saith, *he hates his brother, and lets him perish*; but if he soothe him and allow him in his faults, the Proverbs teach us *he spreads a net for his neighbours feet, and worketh ruin*. If the Magistrate or Prince forget to administer due justice, and restrain not Sin; *Eli* himself could say, *it made the Lords people to transgress*. But if he countenance them against Law by his own example, what havock it makes both in Religion and Vertue among the People, may be guess'd by the anger it brought upon *Hophni* and *Phineas*, not to be appeas'd with sacrifice nor offering for ever. If the Law be silent to declare Sin, the People must needs generally go astray, for the Apostle himself saith, *he had not known lust but by the law*: and surely such a Nation seems not to be under the illuminating guidance of Gods Law, but under the horrible doom rather of such as despise the Gospel, *he that is filthy let him be filthy still*. But where the Law it self gives a warrant for Sin, I know not what condition of misery to imagine miserable enough for such a people, unless that portion of the wicked, or rather of the damned, on whom God threatens in 21 *Plalm*, *to rain snares*: but that questionless cannot be by any Law, which the Apostles saith is *a ministry ordain'd of God for our Good*, and not so many wayes and in so high a degree to our Destruction, as we have now bin graduating. And this is all the good can come to the Person licenc'd in his hardness of heart.

I am next to mention that, which because it is a ground in Divinity, *Rom. 3.* will save the labour of demonstrating, unless her giv'n Axioms be more doubted than in other Arts (although it be no less firm in the precepts of Philosophy) that a thing unlawful can for no good whatsoever be done, much less allow'd by a positive Law. And this is the matter why Interpreters upon that passage in *Hisea* will not consent it to be a true story, that the Prophet took a Harlot to wife, because God being a pure Spirit, could not command a thing repugnant to his own nature, no not for so good an end as to exhibit more to the life a wholesome and perhaps a converting parable to many an Israelite. Yet that he commanded the allowance of adulterous and injurious Divorces for hardness of heart, a reason obscure and in a wrong sense, they can very favourably persuade

swade themselves ; so tenacious is the leaven of an old conceit. But they shift it, he permitted only. Yet silence in the Law is consent, and consent is accessory ; why then is not the Law being silent, or not active against a crime, accessory to its own conviction, it self judging ? For though we should grant, that it approves not, yet it wills ; and the Lawyers Maxim is, that *the will compell'd is yet the will*. And though *Aristotle* in his *Ethicks* call this a *mixt Action*, yet he concludes it to be voluntary and inexcusable, if it be evil. How justly then might human Law and Philosophy rise up against the righteousness of *Moses*, if this be true which our vulgar Divinity fathers upon him, yea upon God himself, not silently and only negatively to permit, but in his Law to divulge a written and general privilege to commit and persist in unlawful Divorces with a high hand, with security and no ill fame : for this is more than permitting and contriving, this is maintaining : this is warranting, this is protecting, yea this is doing evil, and such an evil as that reprobate Law-giver did, whose lasting infamy is ingrav'n upon him like a surname, *he who made Israel to sin*. This is the lowest pitch contrary to God that publick fraud and injustice can descend.

If it be affirm'd, that God, as being Lord, may do what he will : yet we must know that God hath not two Wills, but one Will, much less two contrary. If he once will'd Adultery should be sinful, and to be punisht by Death, all his Omnipotence will not allow him to will the allowance that his holiest People might as it were by his own *Antimonie*, or counter-statute, live unrepov'd in the same fact as he himself esteem'd it, according to our common Explainers. The hidden ways of his Providence we adore and search not, but the Law is his revealed Will, his compleat, his evident and certain Will ; herein he appears to us as it were in humane shape, enters into Cov'nant with us, swears to keep it, binds himself like a just Law-giver to his own Prescriptions, gives himself to be understood by men, judges and is judg'd, measures and is commensurate to the right reason ; cannot require less of us in one cantle of his Law than in another, his legal Justice cannot be so fickle and so variable, sometimes like a devouring fire, and by and by connivent in the embers, or, if I may so say, oscitant and supine. The vigor of his Law could no more remit, than the hallowed fire upon his Altar could be let go out. The Lamps that burnt before him might need snuffing, but the light of his Law never. Of this also more beneath, in discussing a Solution of *Rivetus*.

The Jesuits, and that Sect among us which is nam'd of *Arminius*, are wont to charge us of making God the Author of Sin, in two degrees especially, not to speak of his Permission : 1. Because we hold that he hath decreed some to Damnation, and consequently to Sin, say they ; next, because those means which are of saving knowledge to others, he makes to them an occasion of greater Sin. Yet considering the perfection wherein Man was created, and might have stood, no Decree necessitating his Free-will, but subsequent, though not in time, yet in order to Causes, which were in his own power, they might methinks be perswaded to absolve both God and us. Whenas the Doctrine of *Plato* and *Chrysippus*, with their Followers the *Academics* and the *Stoics*, who knew not what a consummat and most adorned *Pandora* was bestow'd upon *Adam* to be the Nurse and Guide of his arbitrary happiness and perseverance, I mean his native innocence and perfection, which might have kept him from being our true *Epimetheus* ; and though they taught of Vertue and Vice to be both the gift of *divine Destiny*, they could yet give reasons not invalid, to justify the Councils of God and Fate from the insultery of mortal tongues : That Mans own will self-corrupted, is the adequat and sufficient cause of his Disobedience *besides Fate* ; as *Homer* also wanted not to express, both in his *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. And *Manilius* the Poet, although in his fourth Book he tells of some *created both to Sin and Punishment* ; yet without murmuring, and with an industrious cheerfulness acquits the *Deity*. They were not ignorant in their Heathen lore, that it is most God-like to punish those who of his Creatures became his enemies with the greatest punishment ; and they could attain also to think that the greatest, when God himself throws a man farthest from him ; which then he held they did, when he blinded, hardn'd, and stirr'd up his Offenders to finish and pile up their desperate work since they had undertak'n it. To banish for ever unto a local Hell, whether in the Air or in the Center, or in that uttermost and bottomless gulph of *Chaos*, deeper from holy Bliss than the World's Diameter multipli'd ; they thought not a punishing so proper and proportionate for God to inflict, as to punish Sin with Sin. Thus were the common sort of Gentiles wont to think, without any wry thoughts cast upon divine Governance. And therefore *Cicero*, not in his *Tusculan* or *Compunian* retirements among
the

the learned Wits of that Age, but ev'n in the *Senat* to a mixt Auditory (though he were sparing otherwise to broach his Philosophy among Statists and Lawyers) yet as to this point both in his Oration against *Piso*, and in that which is about the Answers of the Sooth-sayers against *Clodius*, he declares it publicly as no paradox to common Ears, That God cannot punish man more, nor make him more miserable; than still by making him more sinful. Thus we see how in this Controversy the Justice of God stood upright ev'n among Heathen Disputers. But if any one be truly, and not pretendedly zealous for Gods honour, here I call him forth before Men and Angels, to use his best and most advised skill, lest God more unavoidably than ever yet, and in the guiltiest manner, be made the Author of Sin: if he shall not only deliver over and incite his enemies by rebuke to sin as a punishment; but shall by patent under his own broad-seal allow his friend whom he would sanctifie and save, whom he would unite to himself and not disjoin, whom he would correct by wholesome chastising, and not punish as he doth the damned by lewd sinning, if he shall allow these in his Law the perfect rule of his own purest Will; and our most edify'd Conscience, the perpetrating of an odious and manifold Sin without the least contesting. 'Tis wonder'd how there can be in God a secret and reveal'd Will; and yet what wonder, if there be in man two answerable Causes. But here there must be two revealed Wills grappling in a fraternal war with one another without any reasonable cause apprehended. This cannot be less than to ingraft Sin into the substance of the Law, which Law is to provoke Sin by crossing and forbidding, not by complying with it. Nay this is, which I tremble in uttering, to incarnate Sin into the unpunishing and well-pleas'd Will of God. To avoid these dreadful consequences that tread upon the heels of those allowances to Sin, will be a task of far more difficulty than to appease those minds which perhaps out of a vigilant and wary Conscience except against Predetermination. Thus finally we may conclude, that a Law wholly giving licence cannot upon any good consideration be given to a holy people for hardness of heart in the vulgar sense.

C H A P. IV.

That if Divorce be no Command, no more is Marriage. That Divorce could be no Dispensation if it were lawful. The Solution of Rivetus, That God dispenc'd by some unknown way, ought not to satisfy a Christian mind.

Others think to evade the matter by not granting any Law of Divorce, but only a Dispensation, which is contrary to the words of Christ, who himself calls it a *Law*, Mark. 10. 5. or if we speak of a command in the strictest Definition, then Marriage it self is no more a Command then Divorce, but only a free Permission to him who cannot contain. But as to dispensation I affirm, the same as before of the Law, that it can never be given to the allowance of Sin, God cannot give it neither in respect of himself, nor in respect of man: not in respect of himself, being a most pure Essence, the just avenger of sin; neither can he make that cease to be a Sin, which is in it self unjust and impure, as all Divorces they say were which were not for Adultery. Not in respect of Man, for then it must be either to his good or to his evil. Not to his good; for how can that be imagined any good to a Sinner whom nothing but rebuke and due correction can save, to hear the determinate Oracle of Divine Law louder then any reproof dispensing and providing for the impunity and convenience of Sin; to make that doubtful, or rather lawful, which the end of the Law was to make most evidently hateful? Nor to the evil of man can a Dispence be given; for if the Law were ordain'd unto life, Rom. 7. 10. how can the same God publish Dispences against that Law, which must needs be unto death? Absurd and monstrous would that Dispence be, if any Judge or Law should give it a man to cut his own throat, or to damn himself. Dispence therefore presupposes full Pardon, or else it is not a Dispence but a most baneful and bloody snare. And why should God enter Covenant with a People to be holy, as the Command is holy, and just, and good, Rom. 7. 12. and yet suffer an impure and treacherous Dispence to mislead and betray them under the vizard of Law to a legitimate practise of uncleanness? God is no Covenant-breaker; he cannot do this.

Rivetus.

Rivetus, a diligent and learned Writer, having well weighed what hath been written by those Founders of Dispence, and finding the small Agreement among them, would fain work himself aloof these Rocks and Quickfands, and thinks it best to conclude that God certainly did dispence, but by some way to us unknown, and so to leave it. But to this I oppose, that a Christian by no means ought rest himself in such an ignorance; whereby so many Absurdities will strait reflect both against the Purity, Justice, and Wisdom of God, the end also both of Law and Gospel, and the comparison of them both together. God indeed in some ways of his Providence is high and secret, past finding out: but in the delivery and execution of his Law, especially in the managing of a duty so daily and so familiar as this is whereof we reason, hath plainly enough revealed himself, and requires the observance thereof not otherwise, then to the Law of nature and of equity imprinted in us seems correspondent. And he hath taught us to love and to extol his Laws, not only as they are his, but as they are just and good to every wise and sober understanding. Therefore *Abraham*, even to the face of God himself, seemed to doubt of divine Justice, if it should swerve from that irradiation wherewith it had enlightened the mind of man, and bound it self to observe its own rule. *Wilt thou destroy the righteous with the wicked? that be far from thee; shall not the Judge of the earth do right?* thereby declaring that God hath created a righteousness in right it self, against which he cannot do. So *David*, *Pf. 119.* *The testimonies which thou hast commanded are righteous and very faithful; thy word is very pure, therefore thy servant loveth it.* Not only then for the Authors sake, but for its own purity. *He is faithful, saith S. Paul, he cannot deny himself;* that is, cannot deny his own Promises, cannot but be true to his own Rules. He often pleads with men the uprightness of his ways by their own Principles. How should we imitate him else, *to be perfect as he is perfect?* If at pleasure he can dispence with golden Portick Ages of such pleasing licence, as in the fabled Reign of old *Saturn*, and this perhaps before the Law might have some covert, but under such an undispensing Covenant as *Moses* made with them, and not to tell us why and wherefore, indulgence cannot give quiet to the breast of any intelligent man. We must be resolved how the Law can be pure and perspicuous, and yet throw a polluted skirt over these *Eleusinian* Mysteries, that no man can utter what they mean: worse in this then the worst Obscenities of Heathen Superstition; for their filthiness was hid, but the mystick reason thereof known to their Sages. But this Jewish imputed filthiness was daily and open, but the reason of it is not known to our Divines. We know of no design the Gospel can have to impose new Righteousness upon works, but to remit the old by faith without works, if we mean justifying works: We know no mystery our Saviour could have to lay new Bonds upon Marriage in the Covenant of Grace which himself had loosned to the severity of Law. So that *Rivetus* may pardon us if we cannot be contented with his non-solution, to remain in such a peck of uncertainties and doubts, so dangerous and gassy to the fundamentals of our faith.

C H A P. V.

What a Dispensation is.

Therefore to get some better satisfaction, we must proceed to inquire as diligently as we can what a Dispensation is, which I find to be either properly so call'd, or improperly. Improperly so call'd, is rather a particular and exceptive Law, absolving and disobliging from a more general Command for some just and reasonable cause. As *Numb. 9.* they who were unclean, or in a journey, had leave to keep the Passeeover in the second Month, but otherwise ever in the first. As for that in *Leviticus* of marrying the brothers wife, it was a penal statute rather than a dispence; and commands nothing injurious or in it self unclean, only prefers a special reason of Charity before an institutive Decency, and perhaps is meant for life-time onely, as is exprest beneath in the prohibition of taking two sisters. What other Edict of *Moses*, carrying but the semblance of a Law in any other kind, may bear the name of a Dispence, I have not readily to instance. But a Dispensation most properly is some particular accident rarely hapning, and therefore not specified in the Law, but left to the decision of Charity, even under the bondage of Jewish Rites, much more under the liberty of the Gospel.

Thus

Thus did *David enter into the house of God, and did eat the Shewbread, he and his followers, which was ceremonially unlawful.* Of such dispensances as these it was that *Verdune the French Divine* so gravely disputed in the Council of *Trent* against *Friar Adrian*, who held that the Pope might dispense with any thing. *It is a fond persuasion, saith Verdune, that dispensing is a favour; nay it is as good distributive justice as what is most, and the Priest sins if he gives it not, for it is nothing else but a right interpretation of Law.* Thus far that I can learn touching this matter wholly decreed. But that God, who is the giver of every good and perfect gift, *Jam. 1.* should give out a rule and directory to sin by, should enact a Dispensation as long liv'd as a Law, whereby to live in privileg'd Adultery for hardness of heart; and this obdurate disease cannot be conceived how it was the more amended by this unclean remedy, is the most deadly and Scorpion-like gift that the enemy of mankind could have given to any miserable sinner, and is rather such a Dispence as that was which the Serpent gave to our first parents. God gave Quails in his wrath, and Kings in his wrath, yet neither of these things evil in themselves; but that he whose eyes cannot behold impurity, should in the book of his holy Covenant, his most unpassionate Law, give licence and statute for uncontrolled Adultery, although it go for the receiv'd Opinion, I shall never dissuade my soul from such a Creed, such an Indulgence as the shop of Antichrist never forg'd a baser.

CHAP. VI.

That the Jew had no more right to this supposed Dispence than the Christian hath, and rather not so much.

BUT if we must needs dispence, let us for awhile so far dispence with Truth, as to grant that sin may be dispenc'd; yet there will be copious reason found to prove that the Jew had no more right to such a suppos'd Indulgence than the Christian, whether we look at the clear knowledge wherein he liv'd, or the strict performance of works whereto he was bound. Besides Visions and Prophecies, they had the Law of God, which in the *Psalms* and *Proverbs* is chiefly prais'd for sureness and certainty, both easie and perfect to the enlightning of the simple. How could it be so obscure then, or they so sottishly blind in this plain, moral, and household duty? They had the same Precepts about Marriage; Christ added nothing to their clearness, for that had argued them imperfect; he opens not the Law, but removes the Pharisaick mists rais'd between the Law and the peoples eyes: the only sentence which he adds, *What God hath joyn'd let no man put asunder,* is as obscure as any clause fetch'd out of *Genesis*, and hath encreas'd a yet undecided Controversie of clandestine Marriages. If we examine over all his Sayings, we shall find him not so much interpreting the Law with his words, as referring his own words to be interpreted by the Law, and oftner obscures his mind in short, and vehement, and compact sentences, to blind and puzzle them the more who would not understand the Law. The Jews therefore were as little to be dispenc'd with for lack of moral knowledge as we.

Next, none I think will deny, but that they were as much bound to perform the Law as any Christian. That severe and rigorous knife not sparing the tender foreskin of any male infant, to carve into his flesh the mark of that strict and pure Covenant whereinto he entered, might give us to understand enough against the fancy of dispensing. *S. Paul* testifies, that every circumcis'd Man is a debtor to the whole Law, *Gal. 5.* or else circumcision is in vain, *Ro. 2. 25.* How vain then, and how preposterous must it needs be to exact a circumcision of the flesh from an infant unto an outward sign of purity, and to dispence an uncircumcision in the soul of a grown man to an inward and real impurity? How vain again was that Law to impose tedious expiations for every slight sin of ignorance and error, and to privilege without penance or disturbance an odious crime whether of ignorance or obstinacy? How unjust also inflicting death and extirpation for the mark of circumstantial pureness omitted, and proclaiming all honest and liberal indemnity to the act of a substantial impureness committed, making void the Covenant that was made against it? Thus if we consider the tenor of the Law, to be circumcis'd and to perform all, not pardoning so much as the escapes of error and ignorance, and compare this with the condition of the Gos-

pel, *Believe and be baptized*, I suppose it cannot be long ere we grant that the Jew was bound as strictly to the performance of every duty as was possible, and therefore could not be dispens'd with more than the Christian, perhaps not so much.

C H A P. VII.

That the Gospel is apter to dispence than the Law. Paræus answered.

IF then the Law will afford no reason why the Jew should be more gently dealt with than the Christian, then surely the Gospel can afford as little why the Christian should be less gently dealt with than the Jew. The Gospel indeed exhorts to highest perfection, but bears with weakest infirmity more than the Law. Hence those indulgences, *All cannot receive this saying, Every man hath his proper gift*, with exprels charges not to *lay on yokes which our forefathers could not bear*. The nature of Man still is as weak, and yet as hard, and that weakness and hardness as unfit and as unteachable to be harshly used as ever. But, saith *Paræus*, there is a greater portion of spirit poured upon the Gospel, which requires from us perfecter obedience. I answer, This does not prove that the Law therefore might give allowance to sin more than the Gospel; and if it were no sin, we know it the work of the Spirit to *mortifie our corrupt desires and evil concupiscence*; but not to root up our natural affections and disaffections, moving to and fro even in wisest men upon just and necessary reason, which were the true ground of that *Mosaick Dispence*, and is the utmost extent of our pleading. What is more or less perfect we dispute not, but what is sin or no sin. And in that I still affirm the Law required as perfect obedience as the Gospel. Besides, that the prime end of the Gospel is not so much to exact our obedience as to reveal Grace, and the satisfaction of our disobedience. What is now exacted from us, it is the accusing Law that does it, even yet under the Gospel, but cannot be more extreme to us now than to the *Jews* of old; for the Law ever was of Works, and the Gospel ever was of Grace.

Either then the Law by harmless and needful Dispences, which the Gospel is now made to deny, must have anticipated and exceeded the Grace of the Gospel, or else must be found to have given politick and superficial Graces without real pardon, saying in general, Do this and live, and yet deceiving and damning under-hand with unbound and hollow permissions, which is utterly abhorring from the end of all Law, as hath been shewed. But if those Indulgences were safe and sinless, out of tenderness and compassion, as indeed they were, and yet shall be abrogated by the Gospel, then the Law, whose end is by rigor to magnifie Grace, shall it self give Grace, and pluck a fair plume from the Gospel, instead of hastning us thither, alluring us from it. And whereas the terror of the Law was as a servant to amplify and illustrate the mildness of Grace: now the unmildness of Evangelick Grace shall turn servant to declare the Grace and Mildness of the rigorous Law. The Law was harsh to extol the Grace of the Gospel, and now the Gospel by a new affected strictness of her own shall extenuate the Grace which her self offers. For by exacting a duty which the Law dispens'd, if we perform it, then is Grace diminish'd, by how much performance advances, unless the Apostle argue wrong: if we perform it not, and perish for not performing, then are the conditions of Grace harder than those of Rigor. If through Faith and Repentance we perish not, yet Grace still remains the less, by requiring that which Rigor did not require, or at least not so strictly. Thus much therefore to *Paræus*, that if the Gospel require perfecter Obedience than the Law as a Duty, it exalts the Law and debases it self, which is dishonourable to the work of our Redemption. Seeing therefore that all the causes of any allowance that the *Jews* might have, remain as well to the *Christians*; this is a certain rule, that so long as the causes remain, the allowance ought. And having thus at length inquired the truth concerning Law and Dispence, their ends, their uses, their limits, and in what manner both *Jew* and *Christian* stand liable to the one, or capable of the other, we may safely conclude, that to affirm the giving of any Law or Lawlike Dispence to sin for hardness of heart, is a doctrine of that extravagance from the sage principles of Piety, that whoso considers thoroughly, cannot but admire how this hath been digested all this while.

C H A P. VIII.

The true sense how Moses suffered Divorce for hardness of heart.

What may we do then to salve this seeming inconsistency? I must not dissemble that I am confident it can be done no other way than this:

Moses, Deut. 24. 1. establish'd a grave and prudent Law, full of moral equity, full of due consideration towards Nature, that cannot be resisted, a Law consenting with the Laws of wisest Men and civillest Nations; That when a Man hath married a Wife, if it come to pass he cannot love her by reason of some displeasing natural quality or unfitness in her, let him write her a Bill of Divorce. The intent of which Law undoubtedly was this, that if any good and peaceable Man should discover some helpless disagreement or dislike either of mind or body, whereby he could not cheerfully perform the duty of a Husband without the perpetual dissembling of offence and disturbance to his spirit; rather than to live uncomfortably and unhappily both to himself and to his Wife, rather than to continue undertaking a duty which he could not possibly discharge, he might dismiss her whom he could not tolerably and so not conscientiously retain. And this Law the Spirit of God by the mouth of *Solomon, Prov. 30: 21, 23.* testifies to be a good and a necessary Law, by granting it that *Ahated Woman* (for so the *Hebrew* word signifies, rather than *odious*, though it come all to one) that *Ahated Woman, when she is married, is a thing that the Earth cannot bear.* What follows then but that the charitable Law must remedy what Nature cannot undergo? Now that many licentious and hard-hearted Men took hold of this Law to cloke their bad purposes, is nothing strange to believe. And these were they, not for whom *Moses* made the Law, God forbid, but whose hardness of heart taking ill advantage by this Law, he held it better to suffer as by accident, where it could not be detected, rather than good men should lose their just and lawful privilege of remedy: Christ therefore having to answer these tempting Pharisees, according as his custom was, not meaning to inform their proud ignorance what *Moses* did in the true intent of the Law, which they had ill cited, suppressing the true cause for which *Moses* gave it, and extending it to every slight matter, tells them their own, what *Moses* was forc'd to suffer by their abuse of his Law. Which is yet more plain if we mark that our Saviour in *Matth. 5.* cites not the Law of *Moses*, but the Pharisaical tradition falsely grounded upon that Law. And in those other places, *Chap. 19.* and *Mark 10.* the Pharisees cite the Law, but conceal the wise and humane reason there express'd; which our Saviour corrects not in them, whose pride deserv'd not his instruction, only returns them what is proper to them; *Moses for the hardness of your heart suffer'd you,* that is such as you, *to put away your wives;* and *to you he wrote this precept* for that cause, which (*to you*) must be read with an impression, and understood limitedly of such as cover'd ill purposes under that Law: and it was seasonable that they should hear their own unbounded licence rebuk'd, but not seasonable for them to hear a good man's requisite liberty explain'd. But us he hath taught better, if we have ears to hear. He himself acknowledg'd it to be a Law, *Mark 10.* and being a Law of God, it must have an undoubted end of charity, which may be us'd with a pure heart, a good conscience, and faith unfeigned, as was heard: it cannot allow sin, but is purposely to resist sin, as by the same chap. to *Timothy* appears. There we learn also that the Law is good, if a man use it lawfully. Out of doubt then there must be a certain good in this Law which *Moses* willingly allow'd, and there might be an unlawful use made thereof by hypocrites; and that was it which *Moses* unwillingly suffer'd, foreseeing it in general, but not able to discern it in particulars. Christ therefore mentions not here what *Moses* and the Law intended, for good Men might know that by many other rules: and the scornful Pharisees were not fit to be told, until they could imploy that knowledge they had less abusively. Only he acquaints them with what *Moses* by them was put to suffer.

C H A P. IX.

The words of the Institution how to be understood; and of our Saviour's Answer to his Disciples.

AND to entertain a little their overweening arrogance as best befitted, and to amaze them yet further, because they thought it no hard matter to fulfil the Law, he draws them up to that inseparable institution which God ordain'd in the beginning before the fall, when Man and Woman were both perfect, and could have no cause to separate: just as in the same Chap. he stands not to contend with the arrogant young Man who boasted his observance of the whole Law, whether indeed he had kept it or not, but skruces him up higher to a task of that perfection, which no man is bound to imitate. And in like manner that patern of the first institution he set before the opinionative Pharisees, to dazle them, and not to bind us. For this is a solid rule, that every command given with reason, binds our obedience no otherwise then that reason holds. Of this sort was that command in *Eden*; *Therefore shall a Man cleave to his Wife, and they shall be one flesh*: which we see is no absolute command, but with an inference, *Therefore*: the reason then must be first consider'd, that our obedience be not disobedience. The first is, for it is not single, because the Wife is to the Husband *flesh of his flesh*, as in the verse going before. But this reason cannot be sufficient of it self: for why then should he for his Wife leave his Father and Mother, with whom he is far *more flesh of flesh, and bone of bone*, as being made of their substance? And besides, it can be but a sorry and ignoble society of life, whose inseparable injunction depends meerly upon flesh and bones. Therefore we must look higher, since Christ himself recalls us to the beginning, and we shall find that the primitive reason of never divorcing, was that sacred and not vain promise of God to remedy man's Loneliness by *making him a meet help for him*, though not now in perfection, as at first; yet still in proportion as things now are. And this is repeated vers. 20. when all other creatures were fitly associated and brought to *Adam*, as if the divine power had bin in some care and deep thought, because *there was not yet found a help meet for Man*. And can we so slightly depress the all-wise purpose of a deliberating God, as if his consultation had produc'd no other good for Man but to joyn him with an accidental companion of propagation, which his sudden word had already made for every beast? nay a far less good to Man it will be found, if she must at all adventures be fastned upon him individually. And therefore even plain sense and equity, and, which is above them both, the all interpreting voice of Charity her self cries loud that this primitive reason, this consulted promise of God *to make meet help*, is the only cause that gives authority to this command of not divorcing, to be a command. And it might be further added, that if the true definition of a Wife were ask'd in good earnest, this clause being *a meet help* would shew it self so necessary, and so essential in that demonstrative argument, that it might be logically concluded: therefore she who naturally and perpetually is no meet help, can be no Wife; which clearly takes away the difficulty of dismissing such a one. If this be not thought enough, I answer yet further, that Marriage, unless it mean a fit and tolerable Marriage, is not inseparable neither by nature nor institution. Not by nature, for then those *Mosaick* Divorces had been against nature, if separable and inseparable be contraries, as who doubts they be? and what is against nature is against Law, if soundest Philosophy abuse us not: by this reckoning *Moses* should be most *unmosaick*, that is most illegal, not to say most unnatural. Nor is it inseparable by the first institution: for then no second institution in the same Law for so many causes could dissolve it; it being most unworthy a humane (as *Plato's* judgment is in the fourth book of his *Laws*) much more a divine Lawgiver, to write two several Decrees upon the same thing. But what would *Plato* have deemed if the one of these were good, the other evil to be done? Lastly, suppose it be inseparable by institution, yet in competition with higher things, as Religion and Charity in mainest manners, and when the chief end is frustrate for which it was ordained, as hath been shewn, if still it must remain inseparable, it holds a strange and lawless propriety from all other works of God under Heaven. From these many considerations we may safely gather, that so much of the first institution as our Saviour mentions, for he mentions not all, was but to quell and put to *nonplus*

the tempting Pharisees, and to lay open their ignorance and shallow understanding of the Scriptures. For, saith he, *Have ye not read that he which made them at the beginning, made them male and female, and said, for this cause shall a man cleave to his Wife?* which these blind usurpers of *Moses* Chair could not gainsay: as if this single respect of male and female were sufficient against a thousand inconveniences and mischiefs, to clog a rational creature to his endless sorrow unrelinquishably, under the guiltful superscription of his intended solace and comfort. What if they had thus answer'd? Master, if thou mean to make Wedlock as inseparable as it was from the beginning, let it be made also a fit society, as God meant it, which we shall soon understand it ought to be, if thou recite the whole reason of the Law. Doubtless our Saviour had applauded their just answer. For then they had expounded his command of Paradise, even as *Moses* himself expounds it by his Laws of Divorce, that is, with due and wise regard had to the Premises and Reasons of the first command; according to which, without unclean and temporizing permissions, he instructs us in this imperfect state what we may lawfully do about Divorce.

But if it be thought that the Disciples, offended at the rigor of Christ's answer, could yet obtain no mitigation of the former sentence pronounc'd to the Pharisees, it may be fully answered, that our Saviour continues the same reply to his Disciples, as men leavened with the same customary licence which the Pharisees maintained, and displeased at the removing of a traditional abuse, whereto they had so long not unwillingly been used: it was no time then to contend with their slow and prejudicial belief, in a thing wherein an ordinary measure of light in Scripture, with some attention, might afterwards inform them well enough. And yet ere Christ had finished this argument, they might have pick'd out of his own concluding words an answer more to their minds, and in effect the same with that which hath been all this while intreating audience: *All men*, said he, *cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given; he that is able to receive it, let him receive it.* What saying is this which is left to a man's choice to receive, or not receive? what but the married life? Was our Saviour so mild and so favourable to the weakness of a single Man, and is he turn'd on the sudden so rigorous and inexorable to the distresses and extremities of an ill-wedded Man? Did he so graciously give leave to change the better single life for the worse married life? Did he open so to us this hazardous and accidental door of Marriage to shut upon us like the gate of death, without retracting or returning, without permitting to change the worst, most insupportable, most unchristian mischance of Marriage, for all the mischiefs and torrows that can ensue, being an Ordinance which was especially given as a Cordial and exhilarating Cup of solace, the better to bear our other crosses and afflictions? Questionless this were a hard-heartedness of undivorcing, worse than that in the Jews, which they say extorted the allowance from *Moses*, and is utterly dissonant from all the Doctrine of our Saviour. After these considerations therefore, to take a Law out of Paradise given in time of original perfection, and to take it barely without those just and equal inferences and reasons which mainly establish it, nor so much as admitting those needful and safe allowances wherewith *Moses* himself interprets it to the fallen condition of Man, argues nothing in us but rashness and contempt of those means that God left us in his pure and chaste Law, without which it will not be possible for us to perform the strict imposition of this command: or if we strive beyond our strength, we shall strive to obey it otherwise than God commands it. And lamented Experience daily teaches the bitter and vain fruits of this our presumption, forcing Men in a thing wherein we are not able to judg either of their strength or of their sufferance. Whom neither one vice or other by natural addition, but only Marriage ruins, which doubtless is not the fault of that Ordinance, for God gave it as a blessing, not always of man's mischusing; it being an error above wisdom to prevent, as examples of wisest men so mistaken manifest: it is the fault therefore of a perverse Opinion that will have it continued in despite of Nature and Reason, when indeed it was never so truly joyn'd. All those Expositors upon the fifth of *Matthew* confess the Law of *Moses* to be the Law of the Lord, wherein no addition or diminution hath place; yet coming to the point of Divorce, as if they fear'd not to be call'd least in the Kingdom of Heaven, any slight evasion will content them to reconcile those contradictions which they make between Christ and *Moses*, between Christ and Christ.

C H A P X.

The vain shift of those who make the Law of Divorce to be only the Premises of a succeeding Law.

SOME will have it no Law, but the granted premises of another Law following, contrary to the words of Christ, *Mark* 10. 5. and all other Translations of greatest Authority, who render it in form of a Law; agreeable to *Mal.* 2. 16. as it is most ancient and modernly expounded. Besides, the bill of Divorce, and the particular occasion therein mention'd, declares it to be orderly and legal. And what avails this to make the matter more righteous, if such an adulterous condition shall be mention'd to build a Law upon, without either Punishment or so much as forbidding? they pretend it is implicitly reprov'd in these words, *Dent.* 24. 4. *after she is defiled*; but who sees not that this defilement is only in respect of returning to her former Husband after an intermixt Marriage? else why was not the defiling condition first forbidden, which would have saved the labour of this after Law? nor is it seemly or piously attributed to the Justice of God and his known hatred of Sin, that such a heinous fault as this through all the Law should be only whipp'd with an implicate and oblique touch, (which yet is falsely suppos'd) and that his peculiar People should be let wallow in adulterous Marriages almost two thousand years, for want of a direct Law to prohibit them: 'tis rather to be confidently assumed that this was granted to apparent necessities, as being of unquestionable right and reason in the Law of Nature, in that it still passes without inhibition, even when greatest cause is given to us to expect it should be directly forbidden.

C H A P. XI.

The other shift of saying Divorce was permitted by Law, but not approv'd. More of the Institution.

BUT it was not approv'd. So much the worse that it was allow'd; as if Sin had overmaster'd the Word of God, to conform her steady and strait rule to Sins crookedness, which is impossible. Besides, what needed a positive grant of that which was not approv'd? it restrain'd no liberty to him that could but use a little fraud, it had been better silenc'd unless it were approved in some case or other. But still it was not approv'd. Miserable Excusers! He who doth evil that good may come thereby, approves not what he doth; and yet the grand Rule forbids him, and counts *his damnation* just if he do it. The Sorceress *Medea* did not approve her own evil doings, yet look'd not to be excus'd for that: and it is the constant Opinion of *Plato's Protagoras*, and other of his Dialogues agreeing with that Proverbial Sentence among the *Greeks*, that *No man is wicked willingly*. Which also the *Peripateticks* do rather distinguish than deny. What great thank then if any man, reputed wise and constant, will neither do, nor permit others under his charge to do that which he approves not, especially in matter of Sin? But for a Judge, but for a Magistrate and Shepherd of his People, to surrender up his approbation against Law and his own Judgment, to the obstinacy of his heart, what more un-Judge-like, more un-Magistrate-like, and in War more un-Commander-like? Twice in a short time it was the undoing of the *Roman* State, first when *Pompey*, next when *Marcus Brutus*, had not magnanimity enough but to make so poor a resignation of what they approv'd, to what the boisterous Tribunes and Souldiers bawl'd for. Twice it was the saving of two the greatest Common-wealths in the World, of *Athens* by *Themistocles* at the Sea fight of *Salamis*; of *Rome* by *Fabius Maximus* in the *Punick* War, for that these two matchless Generals had the fortitude at home against the rashness and the clamours of their own Captains and Confederates, to withstand the doing, or permitting of what they could not approve in their duty of their great command. Thus far of civil prudence. But when we speak of Sin, let us look again upon the old reverend *Eli*; who in his heavy Punishment found no difference between the doing and permitting of what he did

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not approve. If hardness of heart in the people may be an excuse, why then is *Pilat* branded through all memory? He approv'd not what he did, he openly protested, he wash'd his hands, and laboured not a little ere he would yield to the hard hearts of a whole People, both Princes and Plebeians, importuning and tumbling even to the fear of a revolt. Yet is there any will undertake his cause? If therefore *Pilat* for suffering but one act of cruelty against Law, though with much unwillingness testify'd, at the violent demand of a whole Nation, shall stand so black upon record to all posterity? Alas for *Moses*! what shall we say for him while we are taught to believe he suffer'd not one act onely both of cruelty and uncleanness in one Divorce, but made it a plain and lasting Law against Law, whereby ten thousand acts, accounted both cruel and unclean, might be daily committed, and this without the least suit or petition of the People that we can read of.

And can we conceive without vile thoughts, that the Majesty and Holiness of God could endure so many Ages to gratifie a stubborn people in the practice of a foul polluting Sin? and could he expect they should abstain, he not signifying his mind in a plain command, at such time especially when he was framing their Laws and them to all possible perfection? But they were to look back to the first institution; nay rather why was not that individual institution brought out of Paradise, as was that of the Sabbath, and repeated in the Body of the Law, that men might have understood it to be a command? for that any sentence that bears the resemblance of a precept, set there so out of place in another World, at such a distance from the whole Law, and not once mention'd there, should be an obliging command to us, is very disputable, and perhaps it might be deny'd to be a command without further dispute: however, it commands not absolutely, as hath bin clear'd, but only with reference to that precedent promise of God, which is the very ground of his institution; if that appear not in some tolerable sort, how can we affirm such a matrimony to be the same which God instituted? In such an accident it will best behoove our soberness to follow rather what moral *Sinai* prescribes equal to our strength, then fondly to think within our strength all that lost Paradise relates.

C H A P. XII.

The third shift of them who esteem it a meer Judicial Law. Prov'd again to be a Law of moral equity.

ANother while it shall suffice them, that it was not a moral but a judicial Law, and so was abrogated: nay rather not abrogated because judicial; which Law the Ministry of Christ came not to deal with. And who put it in mans power to exempt, where Christ speaks in general of not abrogating *the least jot or tittle*, and in special not that of Divorce, because it follows among those Laws which he premis'd expressly not to abrogate, but to vindicate from abusive Traditions? which is most evidently to be seen in the 16th of *Luke*, where this caution of not abrogating is inserted immediately, and not otherwise then purposely, when no other point of Law is touch'd but that of Divorce. And if we mark the 31st verse of *Mat. 5.* he there cites not the Law of *Moses*, but the licentious Gloss which traduc'd the Law; that therefore which he cited, that he abrogated, and not only abrogated but disallowed and flatly condemned, which could not be the Law of *Moses*, for that had been foully to the rebuke of his great Servant. To abrogate a Law made with Gods allowance, had been to tell us only that such a Law was now to cease: but to refute it with an ignominious note of civilizing Adultery, casts the reproof, which was meant only to the Pharisees, even upon him that made the Law. But yet if that be judicial which belongs to a Civil Court, this Law is less judicial than nine of the ten Commandments: for Antiquaries affirm, that Divorces proceeded among the Jews without knowledge of the Magistrate, onely with Hands and Seals under the testimony of some Rabbi's to be then present. *Perkins* in a *Treatise of Conscience* grants, that what in the Judicial Law is of common equity, binds also the Christian: and how to judge of this prescribes two ways; If wise Nations have enacted the like Decree: Or if it maintain the good of Family, Church, or Common-wealth. This therefore is a pure moral *æconomical* Law, too hastily imputed of tolerating Sin; being rather so clear

clear in nature and reason, that it was left to a mans own arbitrement to be determined between God and his own conscience; not only among the Jews, but in every wise Nation: the restraint whereof, who is not too thick-sighted, may see how hurtful and distractive it is to the House, the Church, and Common-wealth. And that power which Christ never took from the Master of a Family, but rectified onely to a right and wary use at home; that power the undiscerning Canonist hath improperly usurpt into his Court-leet, and bescribb'd with a thousand trifling impertinencies, which yet have fill'd the life of man with serious trouble and calamity. Yet grant it were of old a judicial Law, it need not be the less moral for that, being conversant as it is about Vertue or Vice. And our Saviour disputes not here the Judicature, for that was not his Office, but the Morality of Divorce, whether it be Adultery or no; if therefore he touch the Law of *Moses* at all, he touches the moral part thereof, which is absurd to imagine, that the Covenant of Grace should reform the exact and perfect Law of Works, eternal and immutable; or if he touch not the Law at all, then is not the Allowance thereof disallow'd to us.

C H A P. XIII.

The ridiculous Opinion that Divorce was permitted from the Custom in Ægypt. That Moses gave not this Law unwillingly. Perkins confesses this Law was not abrogated.

Others are so ridiculous as to allege that this License of divorcing was given them because they were so accustom'd in *Ægypt*. As if an ill Custom were to be kept to all posterity; for the Dispensation is both universal and of time unlimited, and so indeed no Dispensation at all: for the over-dated Dispensation of a thing unlawful, serves for nothing but to increase hardness of heart, and makes men but wax more incorrigible, which were a great reproach to be said of any Law or Allowance that God should give us. In these Opinions it would be more Religion to advise well, lest we make our selves juster then God, by censuring rashly that for Sin which his unspotted Law without rebukes allows, and his People without being conscious of displeasing him have us'd. And if we can think so of *Moses*, as that the Jewish obstinacy could compel him to write such impure Permissions against the Word of God and his own Judgment, doubtless it was his part to have protested publicly what straits he was driven to, and to have declar'd his Conscience when he gave any Law against his mind: for the Law is the Touchstone of Sin and of Conscience, and must not be intermix'd with corrupt Indulgences; for then it loses the greatest praise it has of being certain and infallible, not leading into error, as the Jews were led by this Connivence of *Moses*, if it were a Connivence. But still they fly back to the primitive Institution, and would have us re-enter Paradise against the Sword that guards it. Whom I again thus reply to, that the place in *Genesis* contains the description of a fit and perfect Marriage, with an interdict of ever divorcing such a Union; but where Nature is discover'd to have never join'd indeed, but vehemently seeks to part, it cannot be there conceived that God forbids it, nay he commands it both in the Law and in the Prophet *Malachy*, which is to be our rule. And *Perkins* upon this Chapter of *Matthew* deals plainly, that our Saviour here confutes not *Moses* Law, but the false Glosses that deprav'd the Law; which being true, *Perkins* must needs grant, that something then is left to that Law which Christ found no fault with; and what can that be but the conscionable use of such liberty, as the plain words import? So that by his own Inference, Christ did not absolutely intend to restrain all Divorces to the only cause of Adultery. This therefore is the true scope of our Saviour's will, that he who looks upon the Law concerning Divorce, should also look back upon the Institution, that he may endeavour what is perfectest: and he that looks upon the Institution shall not refuse as sinful and unlawful those Allowances which God affords him in his following Law, lest he make himself purer than his Maker, and presuming above strength, slip into temptations irrecoverably. For this is wonderful, that in all those Decrees concerning Marriage God should never once mention the prime Institution to dissuade them from divorcing, and that he should forbid smaller Sins as opposite to the hardness of their hearts, and let this adulterous matter of Divorce pass ever unproved.

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This is also to be marvelled, that seeing Christ did not condemn whatever it was that *Moses* suffered, and that thereupon the Christian Magistrate permits Usury and open Stews, and here with us Adultery to be so slightly punished, which was punished by death to these hard-hearted *Jews*, why we should strain thus at the matter of Divorce, which may stand so much with Charity to permit, and make no scruple to allow Usury esteem'd to be so much against Charity. But this it is to embroyl our selves against the righteous and all-wise Judgments and Statutes of God; which are not variable and contrarious, as we would make them, one while permitting, and another while forbidding, but are most constant and most harmonious each to other. For how can the uncorrupt and majestick Law of God, bearing in her hand the wages of life and death, harbour such a repugnance within her self, as to require an unexempted and impartial Obedience to all her Decrees, either from us or from our Mediator, and yet debase her self to faulter so many Ages with circumcis'd Adulteries by unclean and slubbering Permissions?

C H A P. XIV.

That Beza's Opinion of regulating Sin by Apostolick Law cannot be found.

YET *Beza's* Opinion is, that a politick Law (but what politick Law I know not, unless one of *Matchiavel's*) may regulate Sin; may hear indeed, I grant with imperfection for a time, as those Canons of the Apostles did in Ceremonial things: but as for Sin, the essence of it cannot consist with rule; and if the Law fail to regulate Sin, and not to take it utterly away, it necessarily confirms and establishes Sin. To make a regularity of Sin by Law, either the Law must streighten Sin into no Sin, or Sin must crook the Law into no Law. The Judicial Law can serve to no other end than to be the Protector and Champion of Religion and honest Civility, as is set down plainly *Rom. 13.* and is but the arm of Moral Law, which can no more be separate from Justice then Justice from Vertue. Their office also in a different manner steers the same course; the one teaches what is good by precept, the other unteaches what is bad by punishment. But if we give way to politick Dispensations of lewd Uncleanness, the first good consequence of such a relax will be the justifying of Papal Stews, join'd with a toleration of epidemick Whoredom. Justice must revolt from the end of her Authority, and become the Patron of that whereof she was created the Punisher. The example of Usury, which is commonly alleged, makes against the Allegation which it brings, as I touch'd before. Besides that Usury, so much as is permitted by the Magistrate, and demanded with common equity, is neither against the word of God, nor the rule of Charity, as hath been often discuss'd by men of eminent Learning and Judgment. There must be therefore some other example found out to shew us wherein civil Policy may with warrant from God settle Wickedness by Law, and make that lawful which is lawless. Although I doubt not but upon deeper consideration, that which is true in Physick will be found as true in Policy, that as of bad Pulses those that beat most in order are much worse than those that keep the most inordinate circuit, so of popular Vices those that may be committed legally, will be more pernicious than those that are left to their own course at peril, not under a stinted privilege to sin orderly and regularly, which is an implicate contradiction, but under due and fearless execution of punishment.

The political Law, since it cannot regulate Vice, is to restrain it by using all means to root it out. But if it suffer the weed to grow up to any pleasurable or contented height upon what pretext soever, it fastens the root, it prunes and dresses Vice, as if it were a good Plant. Let no man doubt therefore to affirm, that it is not so hurtful or dishonourable to a Commonwealth, nor so much to the hardening of hearts, when those worse faults pretended to be feared are committed, by who so dares under strict and executed Penalty, as when those less faults tolerated for fear of greater harden their faces, not their hearts only, under the protection of publick Authority. For what less Indignity were this, then as if Justice her self, the Queen of Vertues (descending from her Sceptred Royalty) instead of conquering should compound and treat with Sin, her eternal Adversary and Rebel, upon ignoble terms? or as if the

Judicial

Judicial Law were like that untrusty Steward in the Gospel, and instead of calling in the debts of his moral Matter, should give out subtle and sly Acquittances to keep himself from begging? Or let us person him like some wretched Itinerary Judge, who to gratifie his Delinquents before him, would let them basely break his head, lest they should pull him from the Bench, and throw him over the Bar. Unless we had rather think both Moral and Judicial, full of malice and deadly purpose, conspir'd to let the Debtor *Israelite*, the Seed of *Abraham*, run on upon a bankrupt score, flattered with insufficient and ensnaring Discharges, that so he might be haled to a more cruel forfeit for all the indulgent arrears which those Judicial Acquittments had engaged him in. No no, this cannot be, that the Law, whose integrity and faithfulness is next to God, should be either the shameless broker of our impunities, or the intended instrument of our destruction. The method of holy correction, such as became the Commonwealth of *Israel*, is not to bribe sin with sin, to capitulate and hire out one crime with another; but, with more noble and graceful severity then *Popilius* the Roman Legat used with *Antiochus*, to limit and level out the direct way from vice to virtue, with straightest and exactest lines on either side, not winding or indenting so much as to the right hand of fair pretences. Violence indeed and Insurrection may force the Law to suffer what it cannot mend; but to write a Decree in allowance of sin, as soon can the hand of Justice rot off. Let this be ever concluded as a truth that will outlive the faith of those that seek to bear it down.

C H A P. XV.

That Divorce was not given for Wives only, as Beza and Paræus write. More of the Institution.

Lastly, If Divorce were granted, as *Beza* and others say, not for Men, but to release afflicted Wives; certainly it is not onely a Dispensation, but a most merciful Law; and why it should not yet be in force, being wholly needful, I know not what can be in cause but senseless cruelty. But yet to say, Divorce was granted for relief of Wives rather than of Husbands, is but weakly conjectur'd, and is manifestly the extreme shift of a huddled Exposition. Whenas it could not be found how hardness of heart should be lessen'd by liberty of Divorce, a fancy was devis'd to hide the flaw, by commenting that Divorce was permitted onely for the help of Wives. Palpably uxorious! who can be ignorant that Woman was created for Man, and not Man for Woman, and that a Husband may be injur'd as insufferably in Marriage as a Wife? What an injury is it after Wedlock not to be belov'd, what to be slighted, what to be contented with in point of house-rule who shall be the head; not for any parity of wisdom, for that were something reasonable, but out of a female pride? *I suffer not saith S. Paul, the Woman to usurp authority over the Man.* If the Apostle could not suffer it, into what mould is he mortified that can? *Solomon saith, That a bad Wife is to her Husband as rottenness to his bones, a continual dropping. Better dwell in the corner of the house top, or in the wilderness, than with such a one. Whoso hideth her, hideth the wind, and one of the four mischiefs that the earth cannot bear.* If the Spirit of God wrote such aggravations as these, and (as may be guess by these similitudes) counsels the Man rather to divorce than to live with such a colleague; and yet on the other side expresses nothing of the Wives suffering with a bad Husband: Is it not most likely that God in his Law had more pity towards Man thus wedlock'd, than towards the Woman that was created for another? The same Spirit relates to us the course which the *Medes* and *Persians* took by occasion of *Vashti*, whose meer denial to come at her Husbands sending, lost her the being Queen any longer, and set up a wholesom Law, *that every man should bear rule in his own house.* And the Divine Relater shews us not the least sign of disliking what was done; how should he, if *Moses* long before was nothing less mindful of the honour and pre-eminence due to Man? So that to say Divorce was granted for Woman rather than Man, was but fondly invented. Esteeming therefore to have asserted thus an injur'd Law of *Moses* from the unwarranted and guilty name of a Dispensation, to be again a most equal and requisite Law, we have the Word of Christ himself, that he came not to alter the least title of it; and signi-

fies no small displeasure against him that shall teach to do so. On which relying, I shall not much waver to affirm, that those words which are made to intimate as if they forbade all Divorce but for Adultery, (though *Moses* have constituted otherwise) those words taken circumscriptly, without regard to any precedent Law of *Moses*, or attestation of Christ himself, or without care to preserve those his fundamental and superiour Laws of Nature and Charity, to which all other Ordinances give up their Seal, are as much against plain Equity and the Mercy of Religion, as those words of *Take, eat, this is my body*, elementally understood, are against Nature and Sense.

And surely the restoring of this degraded Law hath well recompenc'd the diligence was us'd by enlightning us further to find out wherefore Christ took off the Pharisees from alledging the Law, and refer'd them to the first Institution; not condemning, altering, or abolishing this Precept of Divorce, which is plainly moral, for that were against his Truth, his Promise, and his prophetick Office; but knowing how fallaciously they had cited and conceal'd the particular and natural reason of the Law, that they might justify any froward reason of their own, he lets go that Sophistry unconvinc'd, for that had been to teach them else, which his purpose was not. And since they had taken a liberty which the Law gave not, he amuses and repels their tempting pride with a perfection of Paradise, which the Law requir'd not; not thereby to oblige our performance to that whereto the Law never enjoyn'd the fallen estate of Man: for if the first Institution must make Wedlock, whatever happen, inseparable to us, it must make it also as perfect as meetly helpful, and as comfortable as God promis'd it should be, at least in some degree; otherwise it is not equal or proportionable to the strength of Man, that he should be reduc'd into such indissoluble bonds to his assured misery, if all the other conditions of that Covenant he manifestly alter'd.

CHAP. XVI.

How to be understood that they must be one flesh; and how that those whom God hath joyn'd, Man should not sunder.

NEXT he saith, *they must be one flesh*; which, when all conjecturing is done, will be found to import no more but to make legitimate and good the carnal act, which else might seem to have something of pollution in it; and infers thus much over, that the fit union of their souls be such as may even incorporate them to love and amity: but that can never be where no Correspondent is of the mind; nay, instead of being one flesh, they will be rather two carcases chain'd unnaturally together; or, as it may happen, a living soul bound to a dead corps, a punishment too like that inflicted by the Tyrant *Mezentius*, so little worthy to be received as that remedy of loneliness which God meant us. Since we know it is not the joyning of another body will remove loneliness, but the uniting of another compliable mind; and that it is no blessing but a torment, nay a base and brutish condition to be one flesh, unless where a nature can in some nature fix a unity of disposition. The meaning therefore of these words, *For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave to his wife*, was first to shew us the dear affection which naturally grows in every not unnatural Marriage, even to the leaving of Parents, or other familiarity whatsoever. Next, it justifies a man in so doing, that nothing is done undutifully to Father or Mother. But he that should be here sternly commanded to cleave to his error, a disposition which to his he finds will never cement, a quotidian of sorrow and discontent in his house; let us be excus'd to pause a little, and bethink us every way round ere we lay such a flat Solecism upon the gracious, and certainly not inexorable, not ruthless and flinty Ordinance of Marriage. For if the meaning of these words must be thus block'd up within their own letters from all equity and fair deduction, they will serve then well indeed their turn, who affirm Divorce to have been granted onely for Wives; whenas we see no word of this Text binds Women, but Men only, what it binds. No marvel then if *Salomith* (Sister to *Herod*) sent a Writ of Ease to *Castobarus* her Husband, which (as *Josephus* there attests) was lawful only to Men. No marvel though *Placidia*, the Sister of *Honorius*, threatned the like to Earl *Constantius* for a trivial cause, as *Photius* relates from *Olympiodorus*. No marvel any thing, if Letters must be turn'd into Palisadoes, to stake out all requisite sence from entring to their due enlargement.

Lastly,

Lastly, Christ himself tells who should not be put asunder, namely, those whom God hath joyn'd. A plain solution of this great controversie, if men would but use their eyes; for when is it that God may be said to joyn? when the parties and their friends consent? No surely, for that may concur to lewdest ends. Or is it when Churches Rites are finish'd? Neither; for the efficacy of those depends upon the pre-supposed fitness of either party. Perhaps after carnal knowledge: Least of all; for that may joyn persons whom neither Law nor Nature dares joyn: 'tis left, that only then when the minds are fitly disposed and enabled to maintain a chearful conversation, to the solace and love of each other, according as God intended and promised in the very first foundation of Matrimony, *I will make him a help meet for him*; for surely what God intended and promised, that only can be thought to be his joyning, and not the contrary: So likewise the Apostle witnesseth *1 Cor. 7. 15.* that in Marriage God hath called us to peace. And doubtless in what respect he hath call'd us to Marriage, in that also he hath joyn'd us. The rest, whom either disproportion or deadness of spirit, or something distasteful and averse in the immutable bent of Nature renders conjugal, Error may have joyn'd, but God never joyn'd against the meaning of his own Ordinance. And if he joyn'd them not, then is there no power above their own consent to hinder them from unjoyning, when they cannot reap the fittest ends of being together in any tolerable sort. Neither can it be said properly that such twain were ever divorc'd, but only parted from each other, as two persons unconjunctive and unmarried together. But if, whom God hath made a fit help, frowardness or private injuries hath made unfit; that being the secret of Marriage, God can better judge than Man, neither is Man indeed fit or able to decide this matter: however it be, undoubtedly a peaceful Divorce is a less evil, and less in scandal than a hateful, hard-hearted, and destructive continuance of Marriage in the judgment of *Moses* and of Christ, that justifies him in chusing the less evil; which if it were an honest and civil prudence in the Law, what is there in the Gospel forbidding such a kind of legal wisdom, though we should admit the common Expolitors?

C H A P. XVII.

*The Sentence of Christ concerning Divorce how to be expounded.
What Grotius hath observed. Other Additions.*

HAVING thus unfolded those ambiguous Reasons, wherewith Christ (as his wont was) gave to the Pharisees that came to sound him such an answer as they desired, it will not be uneasy to explain the Sentence it self now that follows; *Who-soever shall put away his Wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery.* First therefore I will set down what is observ'd by *Grotius* upon this point, a Man of general learning. Next I produce what mine own thoughts gave me before I had seen his Annotations. *Origen*, saith he, notes that Christ nam'd Adultery rather as one example of other like cases, then as one only exception; and that it is frequent not only in humane but in divine Laws, to express one kind of fact, whereby other causes of like nature may have the like plea, as *Exod. 21. 18, 19, 20, 26. Deut. 19. 5.* And from the Maxims of Civil Law he shews, that even in sharpest penal Laws the same reason hath the same right; and in gentler Laws, that from like causes to like the Law interprets rightly. But it may be objected, saith he, that nothing destroys the end of Wedlock so much as Adultery. To which he answers, that Marriage was not ordain'd only for copulation, but for mutual help and comfort of life: and if we mark diligently the nature of our Saviours commands, we shall find that both their beginning and their end consists in charity; whose will is that we should be so good to others, as that we be not cruel to our selves. And hence it appears why *Mark* and *Luke*, and *S. Paul* to the *Corinthians*, mentioning this precept of Christ, add no exception, because exceptions that arise from natural equity are included silently under general terms: it would be consider'd therefore whether the same equity may not have place in other cases less frequent. Thus far he. From hence is what I add: first, that this saying of Christ, as it is usually expounded, can be no Law at all, that a Man for no cause should separate but for adultery, except it be a

supernatural Law, not binding us as we are ; had it been the Law of nature, either the *Jews*, or some other wise and civil nation would have press'd it : or let it be so, yet that Law, *Deut. 24. 1.* whereby a Man hath leave to part, when as for just and natural cause discover'd he cannot love, is a Law ancients and deeper ingraven in blameless nature than the other : therefore the inspired Lawgiver *Moses* took care that this should be specified and allowed ; the other he let vanish in silence, not once repeated in the volum of his Law, even as the reason of it vanish'd with Paradise. Secondly, this can be no new command, for the Gospel enjoins no new morality, save only the infinite enlargement of charity, which in this respect is called the *new commandment* by *S. John*, as being the accomplishment of every command. Thirdly, it is no command of perfection further than it partakes of Charity, which is *the bond of perfection*. Those commands therefore which compell us to self-cruelty above our strength, so hardly will help forward to perfection, that they hinder and set backward in all the common rudiments of Christianity, as was prov'd. It being thus clear, that the words of Christ can be no kind of command as they are vulgarly taken, we shall now see in what sense they may be a command, and that an excellent one, the same with that of *Moses*, and no other. *Moses* had granted, that only for a natural annoyance, defect, or dislike, whether in body or mind, (for so the *Hebrew* words plainly note) which a Man could not force himself to live with, he might give a bill of Divorce, thereby forbidding any other cause wherein amendment or reconciliation might have place. This Law the Pharisees depraving, extended to any slight contentious cause whatsoever. Christ therefore seeing where they halted, urges the negative part of that Law, which is necessarily understood (for the determinate permission of *Moses* binds them from further licence) and checking their supercilious drift, declares that no accidental, temporary, or reconcilable offence (except fornication) can justify a Divorce. He touches not here those natural and perpetual hindrances of society, whether in body or mind, which are not to be remov'd ; for such as they are aptest to cause an unchangeable offence, so are they not capable of reconciliation, because not of amendment : they do not break indeed, but they annihilate the bands of Marriage more than Adultery. For that fault committed argues not always a hatred either natural or incidental against whom it is committed ; neither does it infer a disability of future helpfulness, or loyalty, or loving agreement, being once past and pardon'd, where it can be pardon'd : but that which naturally distastes, and *finds no favour in the eyes* of Marriage, can never be conceal'd, never appeas'd, never intermitted, but proves a perpetual nullity of love and contentment, a solitude and dead vacation of all acceptable conversing. *Moses* therefore permits Divorce, but in cases only that have no hands to joyn, and more need separating than Adultery. Christ forbids it, but in matters only that may accord, and those less than Fornication. Thus is *Moses* Law here plainly confirm'd, and those causes which he permitted not a jot gain'd. And that this is the true meaning of this place I prove by no other Author than *S. Paul* himself, *1 Cor. 7. 10, 11.* upon which Text Interpreters agree that the Apostle only repeats the precept of Christ : where while he speaks of *the Wives reconciliation to her Husband*, he puts it out of controversy, that our Saviour meant chiefly matters of strife and reconciliation ; of which sort he would not that any difference should be the occasion of Divorce, except Fornication. And that we may learn better how to value a grave and prudent Law of *Moses*, and how unadvisely we smatter with our lips, when we talk of Christ's abolishing any Judicial Law of his great Father, except in some circumstances which are Judaical rather than Judicial, and need no abolishing, but cease of themselves : I say again, that this recited Law of *Moses* contains a cause of Divorce greater beyond compare than that for Adultery ; and who so cannot so conceive it, errs and wrongs exceedingly a Law of deep wisdom for want of well fadoming. For let him mark, no man urges the just divorcing of Adultery as it is a sin, but as it is an injury to Marriage ; and though it be but once committed, and that without malice, whether through importunity or opportunity, the Gospel does not therefore dissuade him who would therefore divorce ; but that natural hatred, whenever it arises, is a greater evil in Marriage than the accident of Adultery, a greater defrauding, a greater injustice, and yet not blameable, he who understands not after all this representing, I doubt his Will like a hard Spleen draws faster than his Understanding can well languish. Nor did that man ever know or feel what it is to love truly, nor ever yet comprehend in his thoughts what the true intent of Marriage is. And this also will be somewhat above his reach, but yet no less a truth for lack of his perspective, that as no man apprehends what vice is so well as he who is truly vertuous, no man knows Hell like him who

who converses most in Heaven; so there is none that can estimate the evil and the affliction of a natural hatred in Matrimony, unless he have a soul gentle enough and spacious enough to contemplate what is true love.

And the reason why men so disesteem this wise judging Law of God, and count hate, or *the not finding of favour*, as it is there term'd, a humorous, a dishonest, and slight cause of Divorce, is because themselves apprehend so little of what true concord means: for if they did, they would be juster in their balancing between natural hatred and casual adultery; this being but a transient injury, and soon amended, I mean as to the party against whom the trespass is: but that other being an unspeakable and unremitting sorrow and offence, whereof no amends can be made, no cure, no ceasing but by Divorce, which like a divine touch in one moment heals all, and (like the Word of God) in one instant hushes outrageous tempests into a sudden stillness and peaceful calm. Yet all this so great a good of God's own enlarging to us, is by the hard rains of them that sit us, wholly diverted and imbezelled from us. Maligners of mankind! But who hath taught you to mangle thus, and make more gashes in the miseries of a blameless creature, with the leaden daggers of your literal Decrees, to whose ease you cannot add the tithe of one small atom, but by letting alone your unhelpful Surgery. As for such as think wandering concupiscence to be here newly and more precisely forbidden then it was before, if the Apostle can convince them, we know that we are to *know lust by the Law*, and not by any new discovery of the Law. The Law of *Moses* knew what it permitted, and the Gospel knew what it forbid; he that under a peevish conceit of debarring concupiscence shall go about to make a Novice of *Moses*, (not to say a worse thing for reverence sake) and such a one of God himself as is a horror to think, to bind our Saviour in the default of a downright promise breaking, and to blind the disunions of complaining nature in chains together, and curb them with a Canon bit, 'tis he that commits all the whoredom and adultery which himself adjudges, besides the former guilt so manifold that lies upon him. And if none of these Considerations, with all their weight and gravity, can avail to the dispossessing him of his precious Literalism, let some one or other intreat him but to read on in the same 19th of *Matth.* till he come to that place that says, *Some make themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heavens sake.* And if then he please to make use of *Origens* Knife, he may do well to be his own Carver.

C H A P. XVIII.

Whether the word of our Saviour be rightly expounded only of actual Fornication to be the cause of Divorce. The Opinion of Grotius, with other Reasons.

BUT because we know that Christ never gave a Judicial Law, and that the word *Fornication* is variously significant in Scripture, it will be much right done to our Saviours words, to consider diligently whether it be meant here that nothing but actual Fornication prov'd by witnesses can warrant a Divorce, for so our Canon Law judges. Nevertheless, as I find that *Grotius* on this place hath observ'd the Christian Emperours, *Theodosius* the second and *Justinian*, men of high Wisdom and reputed Piety, decreed it to be a divorcive Fornication, if the Wife attempted either against the knowledge, or obstinately against the will of her Husband, such things as gave open suspicions of adulterizing, as the wilful haunting of Feasts, and Invitations with men not of her near Kindred, the lying forth of her House without probable cause, the frequenting of Theatres against her Husbands mind, her endeavour to prevent or destroy Conception. Hence that of *Jerom*, *Where Fornication is suspected the Wife may lawfully be divorc'd*: not that every motion of a jealous mind should be regarded, but that it should not be exacted to prove all things by a visibility of Law witnessing, or else to hoodwink the mind: for the Law is not able to judge of these things but by the rule of Equity, and by permitting a wife man to walk the middle way of prudent circumspection, neither wretchedly jealous, nor stupidly and tamely patient. To this purpose hath *Grotius* in his Notes. He shews also that Fornication is taken in Scripture for such a continual headstrong Behaviour, as tends to plain contempt of the Husband, and proves out of *Judges* 19. 2. where the Levites Wife

is said to have plaid the whore against him; which *Josephus* and the *Septuagint*, with the *Chaldean*, interpret only of Stubbornness and Rebellion against her Husband: and to this I add, that *Kimchi*, and the two other Rabbies who gloss the Text, are in the same Opinion. *Ben Gersom* reasons, that had it been Whoredom, a Jew and a Levite would have disdain'd to fetch her again. And this I shall contribute, that had it been Whoredom, she would have chosen any other place to run to then to her Fathers house, it being so infamous for an *Hebrew* Woman to play the Harlot, and so opprobrious to the Parents. Fornication then in this place of the *Judges* is understood for stubborn Disobedience against the Husband, and not for Adultery. A Sin of that sudden activity, as to be already committed, when no more is done, but only lookt unchastely: which yet I would be loth to judge worthy a Divorce, though in our Saviours Language it be called Adultery. Nevertheless when palpable and frequent signs are given, the Law of God, *Num. 5.* so far gave way to the Jealousie of a man, as that the Woman, set before the Sanctuary with her head uncovered, was adjur'd by the Priest to swear whether she were false or no, and constrain'd to drink that bitter water with an undoubted curse of rottenness and tympany to follow, unless she were innocent. And the jealous man had not been guiltless before God, as seems by the last Verse, if having such a suspicion in his head, he should neglect his trial; which if to this day it be not to be us'd, or be thought as uncertain of effect as our antiquated Law of *Ordalium*, yet all equity will judge that many adulterous demeanours, which are of lewd suspicion and example, may be held sufficient to incur a Divorce, though the act it self hath not been prov'd. And seeing the Generosity of our Nation is so, as to account no reproach more abominable then to be nick-nam'd the Husband of an Adulteress, that our Law should not be as ample as the Law of God, to vindicate a man from that ignoble sufferance, is our barbarous unskillfulness, not considering that the Law should be exasperated according to our estimation of the injury. And if it must be suffer'd till the act be visibly prov'd, *Solomon* himself, whose judgment will be granted to surpass the acuteness of any Canonist, confesses, *Prov. 30. 19, 20.* that for the act of Adultery it is as difficult to be found as the track of an eagle in the air, or the way of a ship in the sea; so that a man may be put to unmanly indignities ere it be found out. This therefore may be enough to inform us, that divorcive Adultery is not limited by our Saviour to the utmost act, and that to be attested always by eye-witness, but may be extended also to divers obvious actions, which either plainly lead to Adultery, or give such presumption whereby sensible men may suspect the deed to be already done. And this the rather may be thought, in that our Saviour chose to use the word *Fornication*, which word is found to signifie other matrimonial Transgressions of main breach to that Covenant besides actual Adultery. For that sin needed not the riddance of Divorce, but of Death by the Law, which was active even till then by the example of the Woman taken in Adultery; or if the Law had been dormant, our Saviour was more likely to have told them of their neglect, then to have let a capital crime silently scape into a Divorce: or if it be said, his business was not to tell them what was criminal in the civil Courts, but what was sinful at the Bar of Conscience, how dare they then, having no other ground than these our Saviours words, draw that into trial of Law, which both *Moses* and our Saviour have left to the jurisdiction of Conscience? But we take from our Saviour, say they, only that it was Adultery, and our Law of it self applies the Punishment. But by their leave that so argue, the great Lawgiver of all the world, who knew best what was Adultery both to the Jew and to the Gentile, appointed no such applying, and never likes when mortal men will be vainly presuming to outstrip his Justice.

C H A P. XIX.

Christ's manner of teaching. S. Paul adds to this matter of Divorce without command, to shew the matter to be of equity, not of rigour. That the bondage of a Christian may be as much, and in Peace as little, in some other Marriages besides Idolatrous. If those Arguments therefore be good in that one case, why not in those other? Therefore the Apostle himself adds ἐν τοῖς τοῖστοις.

THUS at length we see both by this and by other places, that there is scarce any one Saying in the Gospel but must be read with limitations and distinctions to be rightly understood; for Christ gives no full Comments or continued Discourses, but (as *Demetrius* the Rhetorician phrases it) speaks oft in Monosyllables, like a Master scattering the heavenly grain of his Doctrine like Pearls here and there, which requires a skilful and laborious Gatherer, who must compare the words he finds with other precepts, with the end of every Ordinance, and with the general Analogy of Evangelick Doctrine: otherwise many particular Sayings would be but one repugnant Riddle, and the Church would offend in granting Divorce for Frigidity, which is not here accepted with Adultery, but by them added. And this was it undoubtedly which gave reason to *S. Paul* of his own Authority, as he professes, and without command from the Lord, to enlarge the seeming construction of those places in the Gospel, by adding a case wherein a person deserted, which is something less than divorc'd, may lawfully marry again. And having declar'd his Opinion in one case, he leaves a further liberty for Christian prudence to determine in cases of like importance, using words so plain as are not to be shifted on; *that a brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases*; adding also, *that God hath called us to peace* in Marriage.

Now if it be plain that a Christian may be brought into unworthy *bondage*, and his religious *peace* not onely interrupted now and then, but perpetually and finally hinder'd in Wedlock, by mis-yoking with a diversity of Nature as well as of Religion, the reasons of *S. Paul* cannot be made special to that one case of Infidelity, but are of equal moment to a Divorce, where-ever Christian Liberty and Peace are without fault equally obstructed: That the Ordinance which God gave to our comfort, may not be pinn'd upon us to our undeserved thralldom, to be coop'd up as it were in mockery of Wedlock, to a perpetual betrothed Loneliness and Discontent, if nothing worse ensue. There being nought else of Marriage left between such but a displeasing and forc'd remedy against the sting of a brute desire: which fleshly accustoming without the Souls union and commixture of intellectual delight, as it is rather a soiling then a fulfilling of Marriage Rites, so is it enough to abase the mettle of a generous spirit, and sinks him to a low and vulgar pitch of endeavour in all his actions, or (which is worse) leaves him in a despairing plight of abject and hardned thoughts: which condition rather then a good man should fall into, a man useful in the service of God and Mankind, Christ himself hath taught us to dispence with the most sacred Ordinance of his Worship, even for a bodily healing to dispence with that holy and speculative rest of Sabbath, much more then with the erroneous observance of an ill knotted Marriage, for the sustaining of an overcharged faith and perseverance.

C H A P. XX.

The meaning of S. Paul, that Charity believeth all things.

What is to be said to the Licence which is vainly fear'd will grow hereby. What to those who never have done prescribing patience in that case. The Papist most severe against Divorce, yet most easie to all Licence. Of all the miseries in Marriage God is to be clear'd, and the faults to be laid on mans unjust Laws.

AND though bad causes would take licence by this pretext, if that cannot be remedied, upon their Conscience be it who shall so do. This was that hardness of heart, and abuse of a good Law, which *Moses* was content to suffer, rather than good men should not have it at all to use needtully. And he who to run after one lost sheep left ninety nine of his own flock at random in the wilderness, would little perplex his thoughts for the obduring of nine hundred and ninety such as will daily take worse liberties, whether they have permission or not. To conclude, as without charity God hath given no commandment to men, so without it neither can men rightly believe any commandment given. For every act of true Faith, as well that whereby we believe the Law, as that whereby we endeavour the Law, is wrought in us by Charity, according to that in the Divine Hymn of S. Paul, 1 Cor. 13. *Charity believeth all things*; not as if the were so credulous, which is the Exposition hitherto current, for that were a trivial Praise, but to teach us that Charity is the high Governess of our Belief, and that we cannot safely assent to any precept written in the Bible, but as Charity commends it to us. Which agrees with that of the same Apostle to the *Ephes.* 4. 14, 15. where he tells us that the way to get a sure undoubted knowledge of things, is to hold that for Truth which accords most with Charity. Whose unerring guidance and conduct having follow'd as a Loadstar, with all diligence and fidelity in this question, I trust (through the help of that illuminating Spirit which hath favour'd me) to have done no every days work, in asserting after many Ages the words of Christ, with other Scriptures of great concernment, from burdensome and remorseless obscurity, tangled with manifold repugnancies to their native lustre and consent between each other; hereby also dissolving tedious and *Gordian* difficulties, which have hitherto molested the Church of God, and are now decided not with the Sword of *Alexander* but with the immaculate hands of Charity, to the unspeakable good of Christendom. And let the extreme Literalist sit down now, and revolve whether this in all necessity be not the due result of our Saviours words; or if he persist to be otherwise opinion'd, let him well advise, lest thinking to gripe fast the Gospel, he be found instead with the Canon Law in his fist: whose boisterous Edicts tyrannizing the blessed Ordinance of Marriage into the quality of a most unnatural and unchristianly yoke, have given the flesh this advantage to hate it, and turn aside, oft-times unwillingly, to all dissolute uncleanness, even till punishment it self is weary and overcome by the incredible frequency of trading Lust and uncontrolled Adulteries. Yet men whose Creed is Custom, I doubt not but will be still endeavouring to hide the sloth of their own timorous Capacities with this pretext, that for all this 'tis better to endure with patience and silence this affliction which God hath sent. And I agree 'tis true, if this be exhorted and not enjoined; but withal it will be wisely done to be as sure as may be, that what mans iniquity hath laid on be not imputed to Gods sending, lest under the colour of an affected patience we detain our selves at the gulphs mouth of many hideous Temptations, not to be withstood without proper gifts, which (as *Perkins* well notes) God gives not ordinarily, no not to most earnest Prayers. Therefore we pray, *Lead us not into Temptation*; a vain Prayer, if having led our selves thither, we love to stay in that perilous condition. God sends remedies as well as evils, under which he who lies and groans, that may lawfully acquit himself, is accessory to his own ruine; nor will it excuse him though he suffer through a sluggish fearfulness to search thoroughly what is lawful, for fear of disquieting a secure falsity of an old Opinion. Who doubts not but that it may be piously said, to him who would dismiss his frigidity, Bear your trial, take it as if God would have you live this life of continence? if he exhort this, I hear him as an Angel

Angel, though he speak without warrant ; but if he would compel me, I know him for Satan. To him who divorces an Adulteress, Piety might say, Pardon her ; you may shew much mercy, you may win a Soul : yet the Law both of God and Man leaves it freely to him ; for God loves not to plow out the heart of our endeavours with over-hard and sad tasks. God delights not to make a drudge of Vertue, whose Actions must be all elective and unconstrained. Forc'd Vertue is as a Bolt over-shot, it goes neither forward nor backward, and does no good as it stands. Seeing therefore that neither Scripture nor Reason hath laid this unjust austerity upon Divorce, we may resolve that nothing else hath wrought it but that letter-bound Servility of the Canon Doctors, supposing Marriage to be a Sacrament, and out of the art they have to lay unnecessary burdens upon all men, to make a fair shew in the fleshly observance of Matrimony, though Peace and Love with all other conjugal respects fare never so ill. And indeed the Papists, who are the strictest forbidders of Divorce, are the easiest Libertines to admit of grossest Uncleaness ; as if they had a design, by making Wedlock a supportless yoke, to violate it most, under colour of preserving it most inviolable ; and withal delighting (as their mystery is) to make men the day-labourers of their own afflictions, as if there were such a scarcity of miseries from abroad, that we should be made to melt our choicest home Blessings, and coin them into Crosses, for want whereby to hold commerce with patience. If any therefore who shall hap to read this Discourse, hath been through misadventure ill engaged in this contracted evil here complain'd of, and finds the fits and workings of a high impatience frequently upon him, of all those wild words which men in misery think to ease themselves by uttering, let him not open his lips against the Providence of Heaven, or tax the ways of God and his divine Truth, for they are equal, easie, and not burdensome ; nor do they ever cross the just and reasonable desires of men, nor involve this our portion of mortal life into a necessity of sadness and malecontent, by Laws commanding over the unredicable Antipathies of Nature sooner or later found, but allow us to remedy and shake off those evils into which human error hath led us through the midst of our best intentions, and to support our incident extremities by that authentick precept of sovereign Charity, whose grand commission is to do and to dispose over all the Ordinances of God to Man, that love and truth may advance each other to everlasting. While we, literally superstitious through customary faintness of heart, not venturing to pierce with our free thoughts into the full latitude of Nature and Religion, abandon our selves to serve under the tyranny of usurp'd Opinions, suffering those Ordinances which were allotted to our solace and reviving, to trample over us, and hale us into a multitude of sorrows, which God never meant us. And where he sets us in a fair allowance of way, with honest liberty and prudence to our guard, we never leave subtilizing and casuisting till we have straitned and pared that liberal path into a Razors edge to walk on, between a precipice of unnecessary mischief on either side ; and starting at every false Alarm, we do not know which way to set a foot forward with manly confidence and Christian resolution, through the confused ringing in our ears of panick scruples and amazements.

C H A P. XXI.

That the matter of Divorce is not to be tried by Law, but by Conscience, as many other Sins are. The Magistrate can only see that the condition of Divorce be just and equal. The Opinion of Fagius, and the Reasons of this Assertion.

ANother act of Papal encroachment it was, to pluck the power and arbitrement of Divorce from the Master of the Family, into whose hands God and the Law of all Nations had put it, and Christ so left it, preaching only to the Conscience, and not authorizing a Judicial Court to tofs about and divulge the unaccountable and secret reason of disaffections between Man and Wife, as a thing most improperly answerable to any such kind of trial. But the Popes of Rome, perceiving the great Revenue and high Authority it would give them even over Princes, to have the judging and deciding of such a main consequence in the life of Man as was Divorce, wrought so upon

the Superstition of these Ages, as to divest them of that right which God from the beginning had entrusted to the Husband : by which means they subjected that ancient and naturally domestick Prerogative to an external and unbefitting Judicature. For although differences in Divorce about Dowries, Joyntures, and the like, besides the punishing of Adultery, ought not to pass without referring if, need be, to the Magistrate, yet that the absolute and final hindring of Divorce cannot belong to any civil or earthly power, against the will and consent of both parties, or of the Husband alone, some reasons will be here urg'd as shall not need to decline the touch. But first I shall recite what hath been already yielded by others in favour of this Opinion. *Grotius* and many more agree, that notwithstanding what *Christ* spake therein to the Conscience, the Magistrate is not thereby enjoin'd ought against the preservation of civil peace, of equity, and of convenience. Among these *Fagius* is most remarkable, and gives the same liberty of pronouncing Divorce to the Christian Magistrate as the *Mosaick* had. *For whatever* (saith he) *Christ spake to the regenerate, the Judge hath to deal with the vulgar : if therefore any through hardness of heart will not be a tolerable Wife to her Husband, it will be lawful as well now as of old to pass the bill of Divorce, not by private, but by publick authority. Nor doth Man separate them then, but God by his Law of Divorce given by Moses. What can hinder the Magistrate from so doing, to whose government all outward things are subject, to separate and remove from perpetual vexation, and no small danger, these bodies whose minds are already separate ; it being his office to procure peaceable and convenient living in the Commonwealth ; and being as certain also, that they so necessarily separated cannot all receive a single life ?* And this I observe, that our Divines do generally condemn separation of bed and board, without the liberty of second choice : if that therefore in some cases be most purely necessary, as who so blockish to deny ? then is this also as needful. Thus far by others is already well stept, to inform us that Divorce is not a matter of Law but of Charity : if there remain a furlong yet to end the question, these following reasons may serve to gain it with any apprehension not too unlearned or too wayward. First because oft times the causes of seeking Divorce reside so deeply in the radical and innocent affections of Nature, as is not within the diocese of Law to tamper with. Other relations may aptly enough be held together by a civil and vertuous love : but the duties of Man and Wife are such as are chiefly conversant in that love, which is most ancient and meerly natural, whose two prime statutes are to joyn it self to that which is good, and acceptable, and friendly ; and to turn aside and depart from what is disagreeable, displeasing, and unlike : of the two this later is the strongest, and most equal to be regarded ; for although a Man may often be unjust in seeking that which he loves, yet he can never be unjust or blameable in retiring from his endless trouble and distaste, whenas his tarrying can redound to no true content on either side. Hate is of all things the mightiest divider, nay it is division it self. To couple hatred therefore, though wedlock try all her golden links, and borrow to her aid all the iron manacles and fetters of Law, it does but seek to twist a rope of sand, which was a task they say that pos'd the Devil : and that sluggish fiend in hell, *Ocnus*, whom the Poems tell us of, brought his idle cordage to as good effect, which never serv'd to bind with, but to feed the Ass that stood at his elbow. And that the restrictive Law against Divorce attains as little to bind any thing truly in a disjoynted Marriage, or to keep it bound, but serves only to feed the ignorance and definitive impertinence of a doltish Canon, were no absurd allusion. To hinder therefore those deep and serious regresses of Nature in a reasonable soul, parting from that mistaken help which he justly seeks in a person created for him, recollecting himself from an unmeet help which was never meant, and to detain him by compulsion in such an unpredestin'd misery as this, is in a diameter against both Nature and Institution : but to interpose a Jurisdiction Power over the inward and irremediable disposition of Man, to command love and sympathy, to forbid dislike against the guiltless instinct of Nature, is not within the Province of any Law to reach, and were indeed an uncommodious rudeness, not a just power : for that Law may bandy with Nature, and traverse her sage motions, was an error in *Calicles* the Rhetorician, whom *Socrates* from high principles confutes in *Plato's Gorgias*. If therefore Divorce may be so natural, and that Law and Nature are not to go contrary ; then to forbid Divorce compulsively, is not only against Nature, but against Law.

Next, it must be remembred that all Law is for some good that may be frequently attain'd, without the admixture of a worse inconvenience ; and therefore many gross faults, as ingratitude and the like, which are too far within the soul to be cur'd by constraint

constraint of Law, are left only to be wrought on by conscience and persuation. Which made *Aristotle* in the 10th of his *Ethicks* to *Nicomachus*, aim at a kind of division of Law into private or persuasive; and publick or compulsive. Hence it is that the Law forbidding Divorce, never attains to any good end of such Prohibition, but rather multiplies evil. For if Nature's restless way in love or hate be once compell'd, it grows careless of it self, vitious, useless to friends, unserviceable and spiritless to the Commonwealth. Which *Moses* rightly foresaw, and all wise Lawgivers that ever knew Man, what kind of creature he was. The Parliament also and Clergy of *England* were not ignorant of this, when they contented that *Harry* the 8th might put away his Queen *Anne of Cleve*, whom he could not like after he had been wedded half a year; unless it were that contrary to the Proverb, they made a necessity of that which might have been a vertue in them to do: for even the freedom and eminence of Man's creation gives him to be a Law in this matter to himself, being the head of the other sex which was made for him; whom therefore though he ought not to injure; yet neither should he be forc'd to retain in society to his own overthrow, nor to hear any Judge therein above himself. It being also an unseemly affront to the sequester'd and vail'd modesty of that Sex, to have her displeasingness and other concealments bandied up and down, and aggravated in open Court by those hir'd masters of Tongue-fence. Such uncomely exigencies it befell no less a Majesty than *Henry* the VIII. to be reduc'd to, who finding just reason in his conscience to forgo his brothers Wife, after many indignities of being deluded, and made a boy of by those two Cardinal Judges, was constrain'd at last, for want of other proof that she had been carnally known by Prince *Arthur*, even to uncover the nakedness of that vertuous Lady, and to recite openly the obscene evidence of his Brother's Chamberlain. Yet it pleas'd God to make him see all the Tyranny of *Rome*, by discovering this which they exercis'd over Divorce, and to make him the beginner of a Reformation to this whole Kingdom, by first asserting into his *familiar* Power the right of just Divorce. 'Tis true, an Adulteress cannot be sham'd enough by any publick proceeding; but the Woman whose honour is not impeach'd, is less injur'd by a silent dismissal; being otherwise not liberally dealt with, then to endure a clamouring debate of utterless things, in a business of that civil secrecy and difficult discerning, as not to be over-much question'd by nearest friends. Which drew that answer from the greatest and worthiest *Roman* of his time, *Paulus Emilius*, being demanded why he would put away his Wife for no visible reason? *This Shoo* (said he, and held it out on his foot) *is a neat shoo, a new shoo, and yet none of you know where it wrings me*: much less by the unfamiliar cognizance of a se'd Gamster can such a private difference be examin'd, neither ought it.

Again, if Law aim at the firm establishment and preservation of matrimonial faith, we know that cannot thrive under violent means, but is the more violated. Is it not when two unfortunately met are by the Canon forc'd to draw in that yoke an unmerciful days work of sorrow till death unharnes 'em, that then the Law keeps Marriage most unviolated and unbroken? but when the Law takes order that Marriage be accountant and responsible to perform that society, whether it be religious, civil, or corporal, which may be conscionably requir'd and claim'd therein, or else to be dissolv'd if it cannot be undergone. This is to make Marriage most indissoluble, by making it a just and equal dealer, a performer of those due helps which instituted the Covenant, being otherwise a most unjust contract, and no more to be maintain'd under tuition of Law then the vilest fraud, or cheat, or theft that may be committed. But because this is such a secret kind of fraud or theft, as cannot be discern'd by Law, but only by the Plaintiff himself; therefore to divorce was never counted a political or civil offence neither to Jew nor Gentile; nor by any Judicial intendment of Christ, further then could be discern'd to transgress the allowance of *Moses*, which was of necessity so large, that it doth all one as if it sent back the matter undeterminable at Law, and intractable by rough dealing, to have instructions and admonitions bestow'd about it by them whose spiritual office is to adjure and to denounce, and so left to the Conscience. The Law can only appoint the just and equal conditions of Divorce, and is to look how it is an injury to the divorc'd, which in truth it can be none, as a meer separation; for if she consent, wherein has the Law to right her? or consent not, then is it either just, and so deserved; or if unjust, such in all likelihood was the Divorcer: and to part from an unjust Man is a happiness, and no injury to be lamented. But suppose it to be an injury, the Law is not able to amend it, unless she think it other then a miserable redress to return back from whence she was expell'd, or but intreated to be

gone, or else to live apart still married without Marriage, a married Widow. Last, if it be to chasten the Divorcer, what Law punishes a deed which is not moral but natural, a deed which cannot certainly be found to be an injury? or how can it be punish'd by prohibiting the Divorce, but that the Innocent must equally partake both in the shame and in the smart? So that which way soever we look, the Law can to no rational purpose forbid Divorce, it can only take care that the conditions of Divorce be not injurious. Thus then we see the trial of Law how impertinent it is to this question of Divorce, how helpless next, and then how hurtful.

C H A P. XXII.

The last Reason why Divorce is not to be restrained in Law, it being against the Law of Nature and of Nations. The larger proof whereof referred to Mr. Selden's Book De Jure Naturali & Gentium. An Objection of Paræus answered. How it ought to be ordered by the Church. That this will not breed any worse inconvenience, nor so bad as is now suffered.

Therefore the last Reason why it should not be, is the example we have, not only from the noblest and wisest Commonwealths, guided by the clearest light of humane knowledge, but also from the Divine Testimonies of God himself, lawgiving in person to a sanctified people. That all this is true, whoso desires to know at large with least pains, and expects not over-long rehearsals of that which is by others already so judiciously gather'd, let him hasten to be acquainted with that noble Volum written by our Learned *Selden*, *Of the Law of Nature and Nations*, a Work more useful and more worthy to be perus'd by whosoever studies to be a great Man in wisdom, equity, and justice, than all those *Decretals and sumless Sums*, which the *Pontifical Clerks* have doted on, ever since that unfortunate Mother famously sinn'd thrice, and died impenitent of her bringing into the World those two misbegotten Infants, and for ever Infants, *Lombard* and *Gratian*, him the Compiler of Canon iniquity, t'other the *Tubalcain* of Scholastick Sophistry, whose overspreading Barbarism hath not only infus'd their own bastardy upon the fruitfulest part of humane Learning, not only dissipated and dejected the clear light of Nature in us, and of Nations, but hath tainted also the fountains of Divine Doctrine, and render'd the pure and solid Law of God unbeneficial to us by their calumnious Dunceries. Yet this Law which their unskillfulness hath made liable to all ignominy, the purity and wisdom of this Law shall be the buckler of our dispute. Liberty of Divorce we claim not, we think not but from this Law; the dignity, the faith, the authority thereof is now grown among Christians, O astonishment! a labour of no mean difficulty and envy to defend. That it should not be counted a flattering dispence, a flattering permission of sin, the bill of Adultery, a snare, is the expence of all this Apology. And all that we solicit is, that it may be suffered to stand in the place where God set it, amidst the Firmament of his holy Laws, to shine, as it was wont, upon the weaknesses and errors of Men, perishing else in the sincerity of their honest purposes: for certain there is no memory of Whoredoms and Adulteries left among us now, when this warranted freedom of Gods own giving is made dangerous and discarded for a scrole of licence. It must be your suffrages and votes, O Englishmen, that this exploded Decree of God and *Moses* may scape and come off fair, without the censure of a shameful abrogating: which, if yonder Sun ride sure, and means not to break word with us to morrow, was never yet abrogated by our Saviour. Give sentence, if you please, that the frivolous Canon may reverse the infallible judgment of *Moses* and his great Director. Or if it be the Reformed Writers whose Doctrine persuades this rather, their Reasons I dare affirm are all silenc'd, unless it be only this. *Paræus* on the *Corinthians* would prove that hardness of heart in Divorce is no more now to be permitted, but to be amerced with Fine and Imprisonment. I am not willing to discover the forgettings of Reverend men, yet here I must: What article or clause of the whole new Covenant can *Paræus* bring to exasperate the Judicial Law, upon any infirmity under the Gospel? (I say infirmity,

infirmity, for if it were the high hand of sin, the Law as little would have endur'd it as the Gospel) it would not stretch to the dividing of an Inheritance; it refus'd to condemn Adultery, not that these things should not be done at Law, but to shew that the Gospel hath not the least influence upon Judicial Courts, much less to make them sharper and more heavy, least of all to arraign before a Temporal Judge that which the Law without Summons acquitted. But (saith he) the Law was the time of youth, under violent affections; the Gospel in us is mature age, and ought to subdue affections. True, and so ought the Law too, if they be found inordinate, and not merely natural and blameless. Next I distinguish, that the time of the Law is compar'd to Youth and Pupillage in respect of the Ceremonial part, which led the Jews as children through corporal and garish rudiments, until the fulness of time should reveal to them the higher lessons of Faith and Redemption. This is not meant of the moral part, therein it soberly concern'd them not to be Babies, but to be Men in good earnest: the sad and awful Majesty of that Law was not to be jested with: to bring a bearded Nonage with lascivious Dispensations before that Throne, had been a lewd affront, as it is now a gross mistake. But what Discipline is this, *Parau*, to nourish violent affections in Youth, by cockering and wanton Indulgences, and to chastise them in mature age with a boyish rod of correction? How much more coherent is it to Scripture, that the Law as a strict Schoolmaster should have punish'd every trespass without indulgence so baneful to Youth, and that the Gospel should now correct that by admonition and reproof only, in free and mature Age, which was punish'd with stripes in the childhood and bondage of the Law. What therefore it allow'd then so fairly, much less is to be whipp'd now, especially in Penal Courts: and if it ought now to trouble the Conscience, why did that angry accuser and condemner Law reprove it? So then, neither from *Moses* nor from Christ hath the Magistrate any authority to proceed against it. But what, shall then the disposal of that power return again to the Master of a Family? Wherefore not, since God there put it, and the presumptuous Canon thence bereft it? This only must be provided, that the ancient manner be observ'd in the presence of the Minister and other grave selected Elders, who after they shall have admonish'd and press'd upon him the words of our Saviour, and he shall have protested in the Faith of the eternal Gospel, and the hope he has of happy Resurrection, that otherwise than thus he cannot do, and thinks himself and this his case not contain'd in that Prohibition of Divorce which Christ pronounc'd, the matter not being of malice, but of nature, and so not capable of reconciling; to constrain him further were to unchristen him, to unman him, to throw the Mountain of *Sinai* upon him, with the weight of the whole Law to boot, flat against the liberty and essence of the Gospel, and yet nothing available either to the sanctity of Marriage, the good of Husband, Wife, or Children, nothing profitable either to Church or Commonwealth, but hurtful and pernicious to all these respects. But this will bring in confusion: yet these cautious mistrusters might consider, that what they thus object lights not upon this Book, but upon that which I engage against them, the Book of God and *Moses*, with all the wisdom and providence which had forecaſt the worst of confusion that could succeed, and yet thought fit of such a permission. But let them be of good cheer, it wrought so little disorder among the *Jews*, that from *Moses* till after the Captivity, not one of the Prophets thought it worth the rebuking; for that of *Malachy* well look'd into will appear to be not against divorcing, but rather against keeping strange Concubines, to the vexation of their *Hebrew* Wives. If therefore we Christians may be thought as good and tractable as the *Jews* were, and certainly the Prohibitors of Divorce presume us to be better, then less confusion is to be fear'd for this among us than was among them. If we be worse, or but as bad, which lamentable examples confirm we are, then have we more, or at least as much, need of this permitted Law, as they to whom God therefore gave it (as they say) under a harsher Covenant. Let not therefore the frailty of man go on thus inventing needless troubles to it self, to groan under the false imagination of a strictness never impos'd from above; enjoining that for duty which is an impossible and vain supererogating. *Be not righteous overmuch*, is the counsel of *Ecclesiastes*; *why shouldst thou destroy thy self?* Let us not be thus over-curious to strain at atoms, and yet to stop every vent and cranny of permissive liberty, lest Nature wanting those needful pores and breathing places which God hath not debarr'd our weakness, either suddenly break out into some wide rupture of open Vice and frantick Heresie, or else inwardly fester with repining and blasphemous thoughts, under an unreasonable and fruitless rigor of unwarranted Law. Against which evils nothing can more beſeem the Religion of
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the Church, or the Wisdom of the State, then to consider timely and provide. And in so doing let them not doubt but they shall vindicate the misreputed Honour of God and his great Lawgiver, by suffering him to give his own Laws according to the condition of mans nature best known to him, without the unsufferable imputation of dispensing legally with many ages of ratified Adultery. They shall recover the misattended words of Christ to the sincerity of their true sense from manifold Contradictions, and shall open them with the key of Charity. Many helpless Christians they shall raise from the depth of sadness and distress, utterly unhitted as they are to serve God or Man: many they shall reclaim from obscure and giddy Sects, many regain from dissolute and brutish Licence, many from desperate hardness, if ever that were justly pleaded. They shall set free many Daughters of *Israel*, not wanting much of her sad plight whom *Satan had bound eighteen years*. Man they shall restore to his just Dignity and Prerogative in Nature, preferring the Souls free peace before the promiscuous draining of a carnal rage. Marriage from a perillous hazard and snare, they shall reduce to be a more certain haven and retirement of happy Society; when they shall judge according to God and *Moses*, and how not then according to Christ? when they shall judge it more wisdom and goodness to break that Covenant seemingly, and keep it really, then compulsion of Law to keep it seemingly, and by compulsion of blameless Nature to break it really, at least if it were ever truly join'd. The vigor of Discipline they may then turn with better success upon the prostitute looseness of the times, when men finding in themselves the infirmities of former Ages, shall not be constrain'd above the gift of God in them, to unprofitable and impossible Observances, never required from the civilest, the wisest, the holiest Nations, whose other Excellencies in moral vertue they never yet could equal. Last of all, to those whose mind is still to maintain textual restriction, whereof the bare sound cannot consist sometimes with Humanity, much less with Charity, I would ever answer by putting them in remembrance of a command above all commands, which they seem to have forgot, and who spake it; in comparison whereof, this which they so exalt is but a petty and subordinate Precept. *Let them go therefore with whom I am loth to couple them, yet they will needs run into the same blindness with the Pharisees; let them go therefore and consider well what this lesson means, I will have mercy and not sacrifice; for on that saying all the Law and Prophets depend*, much more the Gospel, whose end and excellence is mercy and peace: or if they cannot learn that, how will they hear this? which yet I shall not doubt to leave with them as a Conclusion, That God the Son hath put all other things under his own feet, but his Commandments he hath left all under the feet of Charity.

Tetrachordon:

E X P O S I T I O N S

U P O N

The four chief Places in Scripture which treat
of Marriage, or Nullities in Marriage.

On { GEN. I. 27, 28. compar'd and explain'd by *Gen.* ii. 18, 23, 24.
DEUT. XXIV. 1, 2.
MATTH. V. 31, 32. with *Matth.* xix. from v. 3 to 11.
I COR. VII. from v. 10 to 16.

Wherein the Doctrine and Discipline of DIVORCE, as was lately publish'd, is confirm'd by Explanation of Scripture, by Testimony of ancient Fathers, of civil Laws in the Primitive Church, of famous Reformed Divines; and lastly, by an intended Act of the Parliament and Church of *England* in the last year of EDWARD the Sixth.

— Σκαίοισι καινά προσφέρων σοφὰ
Δόξεις ἀχρεΐστοι, κ' εὖ σοφὸς πεφυκέναι
τῶν δ' αὖ δεικνύτων εἰδέναι τι ποικίλον,
κρείσσων νομιθεῖς ἐν πόλει, λυπρὸς φωνῇ. *Euripid. Medea.*

To the PARLIAMENT.

THAT which I knew to be the part of a good Magistrate, aiming at true liberty through the right information of religious and civil life, and that which I saw, and was partaker of, your Vows and solemn Cov'nants, Parliament of *England*, your actions also manifestly tending to exalt the Truth, and to depress the tyranny of Error, and ill Custom, with more constancy and prowess then ever yet any, since that Parliament which put the first Scepter of this Kingdom into his hand whom God and extraordinary Vertue made their Monarch, were the causes that mov'd me, one else not placing much in the eminence of a Dedication, to present your high notice with a Discourse, conscious to it self of nothing more then of diligence, and firm affection to the publick good. And that ye took it so as wise and impartial men, obtaining so great power and dignitie, are wont to accept, in matters both doubtful and important, what they think offer'd them well meant, and from a rational ability, I had no less then to perswade me. And on that perswasion am returned, as to a famous and free port, my self also bound by more then a *maritime Law*, to expose as freely what fraughtage I conceive to bring of no trifles. For although it be generally known, how and by whom ye have been instigated to a hard censure of that former book entitl'd, The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, an opinion held by some of the best among reformed Writers without scandal or confutement, tho now thought new and dangerous by some of our severe *Gnosticks*, whose little reading, and less meditating holds ever with hardest obstinacy that which it took up with easiest credulity; I do not find yet that ought, for the furious incitements which have been us'd, hath issu'd by your appointment, that might give the
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least interruption or disrepute either to the Author, or to the Book. Which he who will be better advis'd then to call your neglect, or connivence at a thing imagin'd so perilous, can attribute it to nothing more justly, then to the deep and quiet stream of your direct and calm deliberations, that gave not way either to the fervent rashness, or the immaterial gravity of those who ceas'd not to exasperate without cause. For which uprightness and incorrupt refusal of what ye were incens'd to, Lords and Commons, (though it were don to justice, not to me, and was a peculiar demonstration how far your ways are different from the rash vulgar) besides those allegiances of Oath and Duty, which are my public debt to your public Labours, I have yet a store of gratitude laid up, which cannot be exhausted ; and such thanks perhaps they may live to be, as shall more then whisper to the next ages. Yet that the Author may be known to ground himself upon his own innocence, and the merit of his cause, not upon the favour of a diversion, or a delay to any just censure, but wishes rather he might see those his detractors at any fair meeting, as learned debates are privileg'd with a due freedom under equal Moderators, I shall here briefly single one of them (because he hath oblig'd me to it) who I perswade me having scarce read the book, nor knowing him who writ it, or at least faining the latter, hath not forborn to scandalize him, unconferr'd with, unadmonisht, undealt with by any Pastory or brotherly convincement, in the most open and invective manner, and at the most bitter opportunity that drift or set design could have invented. And this, when as the Canon Law, though commonly most favouring the boldness of their Priests, punishes the naming or traducing of any person in the Pulpit, was by him made no scruple. If I shall therefore take licence by the right of nature, and that liberty wherein I was born, to defend my self publicly against a printed Calumny, and do willingly appeal to those Judges to whom I am accus'd, it can be no immoderate, or unallowable course of seeking so just and needful reparations. Which I had don long since, had not these employments, which are now visible, deferr'd me. It was preach't before ye, Lords and Commons, in *August* last upon a special day of Humiliation, that *there was a wicked Book abroad*, and ye were taxt of sin that it was yet *uncensur'd*, *the Book deserving to be burnt* ; and *Impudence* also was charg'd upon the Author, who durst *set his name to it, and dedicate it to your selves*. First, Lords and Commons, I pray to that God, before whom ye then were prostrate, so to forgive ye those omissions and trespasses, which ye desire most should find forgiveness, as I shall soon shew to the World how easily ye absolve your selves of that which this man calls your Sin, and is indeed your Wisdom, and your Nobleness, whereof to this day ye have don well not to repent. He terms it *a wicked Book*, and why but *for allowing other Causes of Divorce, then Christ and his Apostles mention* ? and with the same censure condemns of wickedness not only *Martin Bucer*, that elect Instrument of Reformation, highly honour'd and had in reverence by *Edward* the sixth, and his whole Parliament, whom also I had publisht in English by a good providence, about a week before this calumnious digression was preach'd ; so that if he knew not *Bucer* then, as he ought to have known, he might at least have known him some months after, ere the Sermon came in print, wherein notwithstanding he persists in his former sentence, and condemns again of wickedness, either ignorantly or wilfully, not only *Martin Bucer*, and all the choicest and holiest of our Reformers, but the whole Parliament and Church of *England* in those best and purest times of *Edward* the sixth. All which I shall prove with good evidence, at the end of these Explanations. And then let it be judg'd and seriously consider'd with what hope the affairs of our Religion are committed to one among others, who hath now only left him which of the twain he will choose, whether this shall be his palpable ignorance, or the same wickedness of his own Book, which he so lavishly imputes to the writings of other men : and whether this of his, that thus peremptorily defames and attaints of wickedness unspotted Churches, unblemisht Parliaments, and the most eminent Restorers of Christian Doctrine, deserve not to be burnt first. And if his heat had burst out only against the Opinion, his wonted passion had no doubt bin silently born with wonted patience. But since, against the charity of that solemn place and meeting, it serv'd him further to inveigh opprobriously against the person, branding him with no less then impudence, only for setting his name to what he had writt'n, I must be excus'd not to be so wanting to the defence of an honest Name, or to the reputation of those good Men who afford me their society, but to be sensible of such a foul endeavour'd disgrace : not knowing ought either in mine own deserts, or the Laws of this Land, why I should be subject, in such a notorious and illegal manner, to the intemperances of this mans preaching choler. And indeed

to be so prompt and ready in the midst of his humbleness, to toll reproaches of this bulk and size, argues as if they were the weapons of his exercise, I am sure not of his Ministry, or of that days work. Certainly to subscribe my name at what I was to own, was what the State had order'd and requires. And he who lists not to be malicious, would call it ingenuity, clear conscience, willingness to avouch what might be question'd, or to be better instructed. And if God were so displeas'd with those, *Isa. 58.* who *on the solemn fast were wont to smite with the fist of wickedness*, it could be no sign of his own humiliation accepted, which dispos'd him to smite so keenly with a reviling tongue. But if only to have writ my name must be counted *impudence*, how doth this but justifie another, who might affirm with as good warrant, that the late Discourse of *Scripture and Reason*, which is certain to be chiefly his own draught, was publisht without a name, out of base fear, and the sly avoidance of what might follow to his detriment, if the party at Court should hap to reach him? And I, to have set my name, where he accuses me to have set it, am so far from recanting, that I offer my hand also if need be, to make good the same opinion which I there maintain, by inevitable consequences drawn parallel from his own principal arguments in that of *Scripture and Reason*: which I shall pardon him, if he can deny, without shaking his own composition to pieces. The *impudence* therefore, since he waigh'd so little what a gross revile that was to give his equal, I send him back again for a *phylactery* to stitch upon his arrogance, that censures not only before conviction so bitterly without so much as one reason giv'n, but censures the Congregation of his Governors to their faces, for not being so hasty as himself to censure.

And whereas my other crime is, that I address'd the Dedication of what I had studied, to the Parliament, how could I better declare the loyalty which I owe to that supreme and majestick Tribunal, and the opinion which I have of the high-entrusted judgment, and personal worth assembl'd in that place? With the same affections therefore, and the same addicted fidelity, Parliament of *England*, I here again have brought to your perusal on the same argument these following Explications of Scripture. The former book, as pleas'd some to think, who were thought judicious, had of reason in it to a sufficiency; what they requir'd, was that the Scriptures there alleg'd might be discuss'd more fully. To their desires, thus much further hath been labour'd in the Scriptures. Another sort also who wanted more authorities, and citations, have not been here unthought of. If all this attain not to satisfy them, as I am confident that none of those our great controversies at this day hath had a more demonstrative explaining, I must confess to admire what it is, for doubtless it is not reason now adays that satisfies, or suborns the common credence of men, to yield so easily, and grow so vehement in matters much more disputable, and far less conducing to the daily good and peace of life. Some whose necessary shifts have long enur'd them to cloak the defects of their unstudied years, and hatred now to learn, under the appearance of a grave solidity, which estimation they have gain'd among weak perceivers, find the ease of slighting what they cannot refute, and are determin'd, as I hear, to hold it not worth the answering. In which number I must be forc'd to reckon that Doctor, who in a late equivocating Treatise plausibly set afloat against the *Dippers*, diving the while himself with a more deep prelatical malignance against the present State and Church-government, mentions with ignominy the *Treatise of Divorce*; yet answers nothing, but instead thereof (for which I do not commend his marshalling) sets *Moses* also among the crew of his Anabaptists, as one who to a holy Nation, the Common-wealth of *Israel*, gave Laws *breaking the bonds of Marriage to inordinate lust*. These are no mean surges of blasphemy, not only dipping *Moses* the divine Lawgiver, but dashing with a high hand against the justice and purity of God himself; as these ensuing Scriptures plainly and freely handl'd shall verifie to the launching of that old *apostemated* error. Him therefore I leave now to his repentance.

Others, which is their courtesie, confess that wit and parts may do much to make that seem true which is not (as was objected to *Socrates* by them who could not resist his efficacy, that he ever made the worse cause seem the better) and thus thinking themselves discharg'd of the difficulty, love not to wade further into the fear of a conviction. These will be their excuses to decline the full examining of this serious point. So much the more I press it and repeat it, Lords and Commons, that ye beware while time is, ere this grand secret, and only art of ignorance affecting tyranny, grow powerful, and rule among us. For if sound argument and reason shall be thus put off, either by an undervaluing silence, or the matterly censure of a rayling word or two in

the Pulpit, or by rejecting the force of truth, as the meer cunning of Eloquence and Sophistry, what can be the end of this, but that all good learning and knowledge will suddenly decay? Ignorance, and illiterate presumption, which is yet but our disease, will turn at length into our very constitution, and prove the *hectic* evil of this age: worse to be fear'd, if it get once to reign over us, than any fifth Monarchy. If this shall be the course, that what was wont to be a chief commendation, and the ground of other mens confidence in an Author, his diligence, his learning, his elocution whether by right, or by ill meaning granted him, shall be turn'd now to a disadvantage and suspicion against him, that what he writes, though unconfuted, must therefore be mistrusted, therefore not receiv'd for the industry, the exactness, the labour in it, confess'd to be more then ordinary; as if wisdom had now forsak'n the thirsty and laborious inquirer to dwell against her nature with the arrogant and shallow babler, to what purpose all those pains and that continual searching requir'd of us by *Solomon* to the attainment of understanding; why are men bred up with such care and expence to a life of perpetual studies, why do your selves with such endeavour seek to wipe off the imputation of intending to discourage the progress and advance of learning? He therefore whose heart can bear him to the high pitch of your noble enterprises, may easily assure himself that the prudence and far-judging circumspectness of so grave a Magistracy sitting in Parliament, who have before them the prepar'd and purpos'd Act of their most religious predecessors to imitate in this question, cannot reject the clearness of these reasons, and these allegations both here and formerly offer'd them; nor can over-look the necessity of ordaining more wholesomely and more humanly in the casualties of Divorce, then our Laws have yet establish'd: if the most urgent and excessive grievances happening in domestick life, be worth the laying to heart, which, unless Charity be far from us, cannot be neglected. And that these things both in the right constitution, and in the right reformation of a Common-wealth call for speediest redress, and ought to be the first consider'd, enough was urg'd in what was prefac'd to that monument of *Bucer* which I brought to your remembrance, and the other time before. Henceforth, except new cause be giv'n, I shall say less and less. For if the Law make not timely provision, let the Law, as reason is, bear the censure of those consequences, which her own default now more evidently produces. And if men want manliness to expostulate the right of their due ransom, and to second their own occasions, they may sit hereafter and bemoan themselves to have neglected through faintness the only remedy of their sufferings, which a seasonable and well-grounded speaking might have purchas'd them. And perhaps in time to come, others will know how to esteem what is not every day put into their hands, when they have markt events, and better weigh'd how hurtful and unwise it is, to hide a secret and pernicious rupture under the ill counsel of a bashful silence. But who would distrust ought, or not be ample in his hopes of your wise and Christian determinations? who have the prudence to consider, and should have the goodness like Gods, as ye are call'd, to find out readily, and by just Law to administer those redresses which have of old, not without God ordaining, bin granted to the adversities of mankind, ere they who needed, were put to ask. Certainly, if any other have enlarg'd his thoughts to expect from this Government so justly undertak'n, and by frequent assistances from Heaven so apparently upheld, glorious changes and renovations both in Church and State, he among the foremost might be nam'd, who prays that the fate of *England* may tarry for no other Deliverers.

Tetrachordon :

Expositions upon the four chief Places in Scripture
which treat of Marriage, or Nullities in Marriage.

Gen. I. 27.

So God created Man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them.

28. *And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful; &c.*

Gen. II. 18.

And the Lord God said, It is not good that Man should be alone, I will make him a help meet for him.

23. *And Adam said, This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man.*

24. *Therefore shall a Man leave his Father and his Mother, and shall cleave unto his Wife, and they shall be one flesh.*

Gen. I. 27.

SO God created Man in his own image.] To be inform'd aright in the whole History of Marriage, that we may know for certain, not by a forc'd yoke, but by an impartial definition, what Marriage is, and what is not Marriage; it will undoubtedly be safest, fairest, and most with our obedience, to enquire, as our Saviours direction is, how it was in the beginning. And that we begin so high as Man created after Gods own Image, there want not earnest causes. For nothing now adays is more degenerately forgott'n; then the true dignity of Man, almost in every respect, but especially in this prime institution of Matrimony, wherein his native pre-eminence ought most to shine. Although if we consider that just and natural privileges men neither can rightly seek, nor dare fully claim, unless they be ally'd to inward goodness, and stedfast knowledge, and that the want of this quells them to a servile sense of their own conscious unworthiness, it may save the wondring why in this age many are so opposite both to humane and to Christian liberty, either while they understand not, or envy others that do; contenting, or rather priding themselves in a specious humility and strictness bred out of low ignorance, that never yet conceiv'd the freedom of the Gospel; and is therefore by the Apostle to the *Colossians* rankt with no better company, then Will-worship and the meer shew of wisdom. And how injurious herein they are, if not to themselves, yet to their neighbours, and not to them only, but to the all-wise and bounteous Grace offer'd us in our redemption, will orderly appear.

In the Image of God created he him.] It is enough determin'd, that this Image of God wherein Man was created, is meant Wisdom, Purity, Justice, and Rule over all creatures. All which being lost in *Adam*, was recover'd with gain by the merits of Christ. For albeit our first parent had Lordship over Sea, and Land, and Air, yet there was a Law without him, as a guard set over him. But Christ having cancell'd the hand-writing of Ordinances which was against us, *Coloss. 2. 14.* and interpreted the fulfilling of all through charity, hath in that respect set us over Law, in the free custody of his love, and left us victorious under the guidance of his living Spirit, not under the dead letter; to follow that which most edifies, most aids and furders a religious life, makes us holiest and likest to his immortal Image, not that which makes us most conformable and captive to civil and subordinat precepts; whereof the strictest observance may oft-times prove the destruction not only of many innocent persons and families, but of whole Nations. Although indeed no Ordinance humane or from heav'n can bind against the good of Man; so that to keep them

strictly against that end, is all one with to break them. Men of most renowned virtue have sometimes by transgressing, most truly kept the Law; and wisest Magistrates have permitted and dispenc'd it; while they look not peevishly at the letter, but with a greater spirit at the good of mankind, if always not writ'n in the characters of Law, yet engrav'n in the heart of Man by a divine impression. This Heathens could see, as the well-read in story can recount of *Solon* and *Epaminondas*, whom *Cicero* in his first Book of *Invention* nobly defends. *All law, saith he, we ought refer to the common good, and interpret by that, not by the scrawl of letters. No man observes Law for Laws sake, but for the good of them for whom it was made.* The rest might serve well to lecture these times, deluded through belly-doctrines into a devout slavery. The Scripture also affords us *David* in the shew-bread, *Hezekiah* in the passover, sound and safe transgressors of the literal command, which also dispenc'd not seldom with it self; and taught us on what just occasions to do so: until our Saviour, for whom that great and God-like work was reserv'd, redeem'd us to a state above prescriptions, by dissolving the whole Law into Charity. And have we not the soul to understand this, and must we against this glory of God's transcendent Love towards us be still the servants of a literal indigment?

Created he him.] It might be doubted why he saith, *In the Image of God created he him*, not them, as well as *male and female* them; especially since that Image might be common to them both, but *male and female* could not, however the Jews fable, and please themselves with the accidental concurrence of *Plato's* wit, as if Man at first had bin created *Hermaphrodite*: but then it must have bin male and female created he him. So had the Image of God bin equally common to them both, it had no doubt bin said, *In the Image of God created he them.* But *St. Paul* ends the controversy, by explaining that the Woman is not primarily and immediately the Image of God, but in reference to the Man. *The head of the Woman, saith he, 1 Cor. 11. is the Man: he the image and glory of God, she the glory of the Man; he not for her, but she for him.* Therefore his precept is, *Wives be subject to your Husbands as is fit in the Lord, Coloss. 3. 18. In every thing, Eph. 5. 24.* Nevertheless man is not to hold her as a servant, but receives her into a part of that empire which God proclaims him to, though not equally, yet largely, as his own image and glory: for it is no small glory to him, that a creature so like him, should be made subject to him. Not but that particular exceptions may have place, if she exceed her Husband in prudence and dexterity, and he contentedly yield; for then a superior and more natural Law comes in, that the wiser should govern the less wise, whether male or female. But that which far more easily and obediently follows from this verse, is that, seeing Woman was purposely made for Man, and he her head, it cannot stand before the breath of this divine utterance, that Man the portraiture of God, joyning to himself for his intended good and solace an inferior sex, should so become her thrall, whose wilfulness or inability to be a wife frustrates the occasional end of her creation, but that he may acquit himself to freedom by his natural birth-right, and that indelible character of priority which God crown'd him with. If it be urg'd that sin hath lost him this, the answer is not far to seek, that from her the sin first proceeded, which keeps her justly in the same proportion still beneath. She is not to gain by being first in the transgression, that Man should further loose to her, because already he hath lost by her means. Oft it happens that in this matter he is without fault; so that his punishment herein is causeless: and God hath the praise in our speeches of him, to sort his punishment in the same kind with the offence. Suppose he err'd; it is not the intent of God or Man, to hunt an error so to the death with a revenge beyond all measure and proportion. But if we argue thus, this affliction is befall'n him for his sin, therefore he must bear it, without seeking the only remedy; first it will be false that all affliction comes for sin, as in the case of *Job*, and of the Man born blind, *Job. 9. 3.* was evident: next by that reason, all miseries coming for sin, we must let them all lie upon us like the vermin of an Indian *Catharist*, which his fond Religion forbids him to molest. Were it a particular punishment inflicted through the anger of God upon a person, or upon a land, no Law hinders us in that regard, no Law but bids us remove it if we can; much more if it be a dangerous temptation withall; much more yet, if it be certainly a temptation, and not certainly a punishment, though a pain. As for what they say we must bear with patience; to bear with patience, and to seek effectual remedies, implies no contradiction. It may no less be for our disobedience, our unfaithfulness, and other sins against God, that wives become adulterous to the bed; and questionless we ought to take the affliction as patiently as Christian pru-

prudence would wish ; yet hereby is not lost the right of divorcing for adultery. No you say, because our Saviour excepted that only. But why, if he were so bent to punish our sins, and try our patience in binding on us a disastrous Marriage, why did he except Adultery ? Certainly to have bin bound from Divorce in that case also had bin as plentiful a punishment to our Sins, and not too little work for the patientest. Nay perhaps they will say it was too great a sufferance, and with as slight a reason, for no wise man but would sooner pardon the act of Adultery once and again committed by a person worth pity and forgiveness, then to lead a wearisome life of unloving and unquiet conversation with one who neither affects nor is affected, much less with one who exercises all bitterness, and would commit Adultery too, but for envy left the persecuted condition should thereby get the benefit of his freedom. 'Tis plain therefore, that God enjoins not this supposed strictness of not divorcing either to punish us, or to try our patience.

Moreover, if Man be the image of God, which consists in holiness, and Woman ought in the same respect to be the image and companion of Man, in such wise to be lov'd as the Church is lov'd of Christ ; and if, as God is the head of Christ, and Christ the head of Man, so Man is the head of Woman ; I cannot see by this golden dependance of headship and subjection, but that Piety and Religion is the main tie of Christian Matrimony : so as if there be found between the pair a notorious disparity either of wickedness or heresie, the Husband by all manner of right is disengag'd from a creature, not made and inflicted on him to the vexation of his righteousness ; the Wife also, as her subjection is terminated in the Lord, being her self the redeem'd of Christ, is not still bound to be the vassal of him, who is the bondslave of Satan : she being now neither the image nor the glory of such a person, nor made for him, nor left in bondage to him ; but hath recourse to the wing of Charity, and protection of the Church, unless there be a hope on either side ; yet such a hope must be meant, as may be a rational hope, and not an endless servitude. Of which hereafter.

But usually it is objected, that if it be thus, then there can be no true Marriage between misbelievers and irreligious persons. I might answer, let them see to that who are such ; the Church hath no commission to judge those without, 1 Cor. 5. But this they will say perhaps, is but penuriously to resolve a doubt. I answer therefore, that where they are both irreligious, the Marriage may be yet true enough to them in a civil relation. For there are left some remains of Gods image in man, as he is merely man ; which reason God gives against the shedding of mans blood, Gen. 9. as being made in Gods image, without expression whether he were a good man or a bad, to exempt the slayer from punishment. So that in those Marriages where the parties are alike void of Religion, the Wife owes a civil homage and subjection, the Husband owes a civil loyalty. But where the yoke is mis-yok'd, heretick with faithful, godly with ungodly, to the grievance and manifest endangering of a brother or sister, reasons of a higher strain than matrimonial bear sway ; unless the Gospel instead of freeing us, debase it self to make us bondmen, and suffer evil to controul good.

Male and Female created he them.] This contains another end of matching Man and Woman, being the right and lawfulness of the Marriage-bed ; though much inferior to the former end of her being his image and help in religious society. And who of weakest insight may not see that this creating of them Male and Female, cannot in any order of Reason, or Christianity, be of such moment against the better and higher purposes of their creation, as to enthrall Husband or Wife to duties or to sufferings, unworthy and unbecoming the image of God in them ? Now whenas not only men, but good men, do stand upon their right, their estimation, their dignity, in all other actions and deportments, with warrant enough and good Conscience, as having the image of God in them, it will not be difficult to determine what is unworthy and unseemly for a man to do or suffer in Wedlock ; and the like proportionally may be found for woman, if we love not to stand disputing below the principles of humanity. He that said, *Male and female created he them*, immediatly before that said also in the same verse, *In the image of God created he him*, and redoubl'd it, that our thoughts might not be so full of dregs as to urge this poor consideration of *male and female*, without remembering the nobleness of that former Repetition ; lest when God sends a wise eye to examine our trivial glosses, they be found extremely to creep upon the ground : especially since they confess that what here concerns Marriage is but a brief touch, only preparative to the Institution which follows more expressly in the next Chapter ; and that Christ so took it, as desiring to be briefest with them who came to tempt him, account shall be given in due place.

V. 28. *And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, &c.*

This declares another end of Matrimony, the propagation of Mankind; and is again repeated to *Noah* and his sons. Many things might be noted on this place not ordinary, nor unworth the noting; but I undertook not a general Comment. Hence therefore we see the desire of children is honest and pious; if we be not less zealous in our Christianity, then *Plato* was in his heathenism; who in the sixth of his *Laws*, counts off-spring therefore desirable, that we may leav in our stead sons of our sons, continual servants of God: a religious and prudent desire, if people knew as well what were requir'd to breeding as to begetting; which desire perhaps was a cause why the Jews hardly could endure a barren wedlock: and *Philo* in his book of special Laws, esteems him only worth pardon that sends not barrenness away. *Carvilius*, the first recorded in *Rome* to have sought Divorce, had it granted him for the barrenness of his wife, upon his oath that he married to the end he might have children; as *Dionysius* and *Gellius* are authors. But to dismiss a wife only for barrenness, is hard: and yet in some the desire of children is so great, and so just, yea sometime so necessary, that to condemn such a one to a childless age, the fault apparently not being in him, might seem perhaps more strict then needed. Sometimes inheritances, crowns, and dignities are so interested and annexed in their common peace and good to such or such lineal descent, that it may prove of great moment both in the affairs of men and of Religion, to consider throughly what might be don herein, notwithstanding the waywardness of our School Doctors.

Gen. II. 18.

And the Lord said, It is not good that man should be alone; I will make him a help meet for him.

V. 23. *And Adam said, &c.* V. 24. *Therefore shall a man leave, &c.*

THis 2^d Chapter is granted to be a Commentary on the 1st; and these verses granted to be an exposition of that former verse, *Male and female created he them*: and yet when this male and female is by the explicate words of God himself here declar'd to be not meant other than a fit help, and meet society, some who would ingross to themselves the whole trade of interpreting, will not suffer the clear text of God to do the office of explaining it self.

And the Lord God said, It is not good.] A man would think that the consideration of who spake, should raise up the intention of our minds to enquire better, and obey the purpos of so great a Speaker: for as we order the business of Marriage, that which he here speaks is all made vain; and in the decision of matrimony, or not matrimony, nothing at all regarded. Our presumption hath utterly chang'd the state and condition of this ordinance: God ordain'd it in love and helpfulness to be indissoluble, and we in outward act and formality to be a forc't bondage; so that being subject to a thousand errors in the best men, if it prove a blessing to any, it is of meer accident, as mans Law hath handl'd it, and not of institution.

It is not good for man to be alone.] Hitherto all things that have bin nam'd, were approv'd of God to be very good: loneliness is the first thing which Gods eye nam'd not good: whether it be a thing, or the want of something, I labour not; let it be their tendance, who have the art to be industriously idle. And here *alone* is meant alone without woman; otherwise *Adam* had the company of God himself, and Angels to convers with; all creatures to delight him seriously, or to make him sport. God could have created him out of the same mould a thousand friends and brother *Adams* to have bin his consorts; yet for all this till *Eve* was giv'n him, God reckon'd him to be alone.

It is not good.] God here presents himself like to a man deliberating; both to shew us that the matter is of high consequence, and that he intended to found it according to natural reason, not impulsive command, but that the duty should arise from the reason of it, not the reason be swallow'd up in a reasonless duty. *Not good*, was as much to *Adam* before his fall, as not pleasing, not expedient; but since the coming of Sin into the world, to him who hath not receiv'd the continence, it is not only not expedient to be alone, but plainly sinful. And therefore he who wilfully abstains from Marriage, not being supernaturally gifted, and he who by making the yoke of Marriage unjust and intolerable, causes men to abhor it, are both in a diabolical sin,

sin, equal to that of Antichrist who forbids to marry. For what difference at all whether he abstain men from marrying, or restrain them in a Marriage hapning totally discommodious, distasteful, dishonest and pernicious to him without the appearance of his fault? For God does not heer precisely say, I make a female unto this male, as he did briefly before; but expounding himself heer on purpos, he saith, because it is not good for man to be alone, I make him therefore a meet help. God supplies the privation of not good, with the perfect gift of a real and positive good; it is mans pervers cooking who hath turn'd this bounty of God into a Scorpion, either by weak and shallow contructions, or by proud arrogance and cruelty to them who neither in their purposes nor in their actions have offended against the due honour of wedlock.

Now whereas the Apostle speaking in the Spirit, *1 Cor. 7.* pronounces quite contrary to this word of God, *It is good for a man not to touch a woman*, and God cannot contradict himself, it instructs us that his commands and words, especially such as bear the manifest title of som good to man, are not to be so strictly wrung, as to command without regard to the most natural and miserable necessities of mankind. Therefore the Apostle adds a limitation in the 26 v. of that chap. for the present necessity it is good; which he gives us doubtless as a pattern how to reconcile other places by the general rule of Charity.

For man to be alone.] Som would have the sense heerof to be in respect of procreation only: and *Austin* contests that manly friendship in all other regards had bin a more becoming solace for *Adam*, then to spend so many secret years in an empty world with one woman. But our Writers deservedly reject this crabbed opinion; and defend that there is a peculiar comfort in the married state besides the genial bed, which no other society affords. No mortal nature can endure either in the actions of Religion, or study of Wisdom, without sometime slackning the cords of intense thought and labour: which lest we should think faulty, God himself conceals us not his own recreations before the World was built; *I was*, saith the eternal Wisdom, *daily his delight, playing always before him.* And to him indeed Wisdom is as a high towr of pleasure, but to us a steep hill, and we toying ever about the bottom: - he executes with ease the exploits of his Omnipotence, as easie as with us it is to will: but no worthy enterprize can be done by us without continual plodding and wearisomness to our faint and sensitive abilities. We cannot therefore always be contemplative, or pragmatikal abroad, but have need of som delightful intermissions, wherein the enlarg'd soul may leav off a while her severe schooling; and like a glad youth in wandring vacancy, may keep her hollidaies to joy and harmles pastime: which as she cannot well do without company, so in no company so well as where the different sex in most resembling unlikenes, and most unlike resemblance, cannot but please best, and be pleas'd in the aptitude of that variety. Wherof lest we should be too timorous, in the aw that our flat Sages would form us and dreis us, wisest *Solomon* among his gravest Proverbs countenances a kind of ravishment and erring fondnes in the entertainment of wedded leisures; and in the Song of Songs, which is generally belev'd, even in the jolliest expressions to figure the Spousals of the Church with Christ, sings of a thousand raptures between those two lovely ones far on the hither side of carnal enjoyment. By these instances, and more which might be brought, we may imagine how indulgently God provided against mans Lonelines; that he approv'd it not, as by himself declar'd not good; that he approv'd the remedy thereof, as of his own ordaining, consequently good: and as he ordain'd it, so doubles proportionably to our fal'n estate he gives it; else were his ordinance at least in vain, and we for all his gift still empty handed. Nay such an unbounteous giver we should make him, as in the Fables *Jupiter* was to *Ixion*, giving him a cloud instead of *Juno*, giving him a monstous issue by her, the breed of *Centaurs*, a neglected and unlov'd race, the fruits of a delusive Marriage; and lastly giving him her with a damnation to that wheel in Hell, from a life thrown into the midst of temptations and disorders. But God is no deceitful giver, to bestow that on us for a remedy of Lonelines, which if it bring not a sociable mind as well as a conjunctive body, leaves us no less alone then before; and if it bring a mind perpetually avers and disagreeable, betrays us to a wors condition then the most deserted Lonelines. God cannot in the justice of his own promise and institution so unexpectedly mock us by forcing that upon us as the remedy of Solitude, which wraps us in a misery worse than any Wilderiness, as the Spirit of God himself judges, *Prov. 19.* especially knowing that the best and wisest men amidst the sincere and most cordial designs of their heart, do daily err in choosing

We may conclude therefore, seeing orthodoxal Expositors confels to our hands, that by Lovelines is not only meant the want of Copulation, and that Man is not less alone by turning in a body to him, unless there be within it a mind answerable, that it is a work more worthy the care and consultation of God to provide for the worthiest part of man which is his Mind, and not unnaturally to set it beneath the formalities and respects of the body, to make it a servant of its own vassal; I say, we may conclude that such a Marriage, wherein the mind is so disgrac't and vilify'd below the bodies interest, and can have no just or tolerable contentment, is not of Gods institution, and therefore no Marriage. Nay in concluding this, I say we conclude no more then what the common Expositors themselves give us, both in that which I have recited, and much more hereafter. But the truth is, they give us, in such a manner, as they who leav their own mature positions like the eggs of an Ostrich in the dust; I do but lay them in the sun; their own pregnancies hatch the truth; and I am taxt of novelties and strange producements, while they, like that inconsiderate bird, know not that these are their own natural breed.

I will make him a help meet for him.] Heer the heav'nly Instituter, as if he labour'd not to be mistak'n by the supercilious hypocrisie of those that love to maister their brethren, and to make us sure that he gave us not now a servil yoke, but an amiable knot, contents not himself to say, I will make him a wife, but resolving to give us first the meaning before the name of a wife, saith graciously, *I will make him a help meet for him.* And heer again, as before, I do not require more full and fair deductions then the whole consent of our Divines usually raise from this text, that in Matrimony there must be first a mutual help to Piety, next to civil fellowship of Love and Amity, then to Generation, so to household Affairs, lastly the remedy of Incontinence. And commonly they reck'n them in such order, as leaves generation and incontinence to be last considered. This I amaze me at, that though all the superior and nobler ends both of Marriage and of the married persons be absolutely frustrat, the matrimony stirs not, loses no hold, remains as rooted as the center: but if the body bring but in a complaint of frigidity, by that cold application only, this adamantine Alp of Wedlock has leav to dissolve; which els all the machinations of religious or civil Reason at the suit of a distressed mind, either for divine worship or humane conversation violated, cannot unfasten. What courts of Concupiscence are these, wherein fleshly appetite is heard before right reason, lust before love or devotion? They may be pious Christians together, they may be loving and friendly, they may be helpful to each other in the family, but they cannot couple, that shall divorce them tho either party would not. They can neither serv God together, nor one be at peace with the other, nor be good in the Family one to other, but live as they were dead, or live as they were deadly enemies in a cage together; 'tis all one, they can couple, they shall not divorce till death, no though this sentence be their death. What is this, besides tyranny, but to turn nature upside down, to make both religion, and the mind of man wait upon the slavish errands of the body, and not the body to follow either the sanctity, or the sovranty of the mind, unspeakably wrong'd, and with all equity complaining? What is this but to abuse the sacred and mysterious bed of Marriage to be the compulsive flie of an ingrateful and malignant lust, stirr'd up only from a carnal acrimony, without either love or peace, or regard to any other thing holy or human. This I admire how possibly it should inhabit thus long in the sense of so many disputing *Theologians*, unless it be the lowest lees of a canonical infection liver-grown to their sides; which perhaps will never uncling, without the strong absterfve of som heroick Magistrat, whose Mind, equal to his high Office, dares lead him both to know and do without their frivolous case-putting. For certain he shall have God and this Institution plainly on his side. And if it be true both in Divinity and Law, that consent alone, though copulation never follow, makes a Marriage, how can they dissolv it for the want of that which made it not, and not dissolv it for that not continuing which made it, and should preserve it in love and reason, and difference it from a brute conjugality?

Meet for him.] The original here is more expressive then other languages word for word can render it; but all agree effectual conformity of disposition and affection to be hereby signify'd; which God as it were, not satisfy'd with the naming of a help, goes on describing *another self, a second self, a very self it self.* Yet now there is nothing in the life of man, through our misconstruction, made more uncertain, more hazardous and full of chance then this divine blessing with such favorable significance heer conferr'd upon us; which if we do but err in our choice, the most unblamable error that

can be; err but one minute, one moment after those mighty Syllables pronounc'd, which take upon them to joyn Heav'n and Hell together unpard'nably till Death pardon: this divine Blessing that lookt but now with such a human smile upon us, and spoke such gentle reason, strait vanishes like a fair Sky, and brings on such a scene of Cloud and Tempest, as turns all to shipwrack without hav'n or shoar, but to a ransomless Captivity. And then they tell us it is our sin: but let them be told again, that sin through the mercy of God hath not made such wast upon us, as to make utterly void to our use any temporal benefit, much less any so much availing to a peaceful and sanctify'd life, meerly for a most incident error which no wariness can certainly shun. And wherefore serves our happy redemption, and the liberty we have in Christ, but to deliver us from calamitous yokes, not to be liv'd under without the endangerment of our souls, and to restore us in some competent measure to a right in every good thing both of this life, and the other? Thus we see how treatably and distinctly God hath here taught us what the prime ends of Marriage are, mutual solace and help. That we are now, upon the most irreprehensible mistake in choosing, defeated and defrauded of all this original benignity, was begun first through the snare of Antichristian Canons long since obtruded upon the Church of *Rome*, and not yet scour'd off by reformation, out of a lingring vain-glory that abides among us to make fair shews in formal Ordinances, and to enjoin Continenence and bearing of Crosses in such a garb as no Scripture binds us, under the thickest Arrows of temptation, where we need not stand. Now we shall see with what acknowledgment and assent *Adam* receiv'd this new associate which God brought him.

V. 23. *And Adam said, This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called Woman, because she was tak'n out of Man.*

That there was a nearer Alliance between *Adam* and *Eve*, than could be ever after between Man and Wife, is visible to any. For no other Woman was ever moulded out of her Husband's Rib, but of meer Strangers for the most part they come to have that consanguinity which they have by Wedlock. And if we look nearly upon the matter, though Marriage be most agreeable to holiness, to purity and justice, yet is it not a natural, but a civil and ordain'd relation. For if it were in nature, no law or crime could disanul it, to make a Wife, or Husband, otherwise than still a Wife or Husband, but only Death; as nothing but that can make a Father no Father, or a Son no Son. But Divorce for Adultery or Desertion, as all our Churches agree but *England*, not only separates, but nullifies, and extinguishes the relation it self of Matrimony, so that they are no more Man and Wife; otherwise the innocent party could not marry elsewhere, without the guilt of Adultery; next were it meerly natural, why was it here ordain'd more than the rest of moral Law to Man in his original rectitude, in whose breast all that was natural or moral was engrav'n without external Constitutions and Edicts? *Adam* therefore in these words does not establish an indissoluble bond of Marriage in the carnal ligaments of flesh and bones; for if he did, it would belong only to himself in the literal sense, every one of us being nearer in flesh of flesh, and bone of bones to our Parents than to a Wife; they therefore were not to be left for her in that respect. But *Adam*, who had the wisdom giv'n him to know all creatures, and to name them according to their properties, no doubt but had the gift to discern perfectly that which concern'd him much more; and to apprehend at first sight the true fitness of that Consort which God provided him. And therefore spake in reference to those words which God pronounc'd before; as if he had said, This is she by whose meet help and society I shall no more be alone; this is she who was made my image, ev'n as I the Image of God; not so much in body, as in unity of mind and heart. And he might as easily know what were the words of God, as he knew so readily what had bin done with his Rib, while he slept so soundly. He might well know, if God took a Rib out of his inside, to form of it a double good to him, he would far sooner disjoyn it from his outside, to prevent a treble mischief to him; and far sooner cut it quite off from all relation for his undoubted ease, than nail it into his body again, to stick for ever there a thorn in his heart. When as Nature teaches us to divide any limb from the body to the saving of its fellows, though it be the maiming and deformity of the whole; how much more is it her doctrine to sever by incision, not a true limb so much, though that be lawful, but an adherent, a sore, the gangrene of a limb, to the recovery of a whole Man? But if in these words we shall make *Adam* to erect a new establishment of Marriage in the meet

flesh, which God so lately had instituted, and founded in the sweet and mild familiarity of love and solace, and mutual fitness; what do we but use the mouth of our general parent, the first time it opens to an arrogant opposition, and correcting of God's wiser Ordinance? These words therefore cannot import any thing new in Marriage, but either that which belongs to *Adam* only, or to us in reference only to the instituting words of God, which made a meet help against loneliness. *Adam* spake like *Adam* the words of flesh and bones, the shell and rind of Matrimony; but God spake like God, of love and solace and meet help, the soul both of *Adam's* words and of Matrimony.

V. 24. *Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife; and they shall be one flesh.*

This verse, as our common herd expounds it, is the great knot-tier, which hath undon by tying, and by tangling, millions of guiltless consciences: this is that glibly Porter, who having drawn men and wisest men by subtle allurements within the train of an unhappy matrimony, claps the dungeon-gate upon them, as irrecoverable as the grave. But if we view him well, and hear him with not too hasty and prejudicant ears, we shall find no such terror in him. For first, it is not here said absolutely without all reason he shall cleave to his wife, be it to his weal or to his destruction as it happens, but he shall do this upon the premises and considerations of that meet help and society before mention'd, *Therefore he shall cleave to his wife*, no otherwise a wife then a fit help. He is not bid to leave the dear cohabitation of his father, mother, brothers and sisters, to link himself inseparably with the meer carcass of a Marriage, perhaps an enemy. This joyning particle *Therefore* is in all equity, may in all necessity of construction to comprehend first and most principally what God spake concerning the inward essence of Marriage in his institution, that we may learn how far to attend what *Adam* spake of the outward materials thereof in his approbation. For if we shall bind these words of *Adam* only to a corporal meaning, and that the force of this injunction upon all us his sons to live individually with any woman which hath befall us in the most mistak'n wedlock, shall consist not in these moral and relative causes of *Eve's* creation, but in the meer anatomy of a rib, and that *Adams* insight concerning wedlock reacht no further, we shall make him as very an idiot as the Socinians make him; which would not be reverently done of us. Let us be content to allow our great forefather so much wisdom, as to take the instituting words of God along with him into this sentence, which if they be well minded, will assure us that flesh and ribs are but of a weak and dead efficacy to keep Marriage united where there is no other fitness. The rib of Marriage, to all since *Adam*, is a relation much rather than a bone; the nerves and the sinews thereof are love and meet help, they knit not every couple that marries, and where they knit they seldom break; but where they break, which for the most part is where they never truly joyn'd, to such at the same instant both flesh and rib cease to be in common: so that here they argue nothing to the continuance of a false or violated Marriage, but must be led back again to receive their meaning from those institutive words of God which gave them all the life and vigour they have.

Therefore shall a man leave his father, &c.] What to a man's thinking more plain by this appointment, that the fatherly power should give place to conjugal prerogative? yet it is generally held by reformed writers against the Papist, that though in persons at discretion the Marriage in it self be never so fit, though it be fully accomplished with benediction, board and bed, yet the father not consenting, his main will without dispute shall dissolve all. And this they affirm only from collective reason, not any direct law; for that in *Exod. 22. 17.* which is most particular, speaks that a father may refuse to marry his daughter to one who hath deflower'd her, not that he may take her away from one who hath soberly married her. Yet because the general honour due to parents is great, they hold he may, and perhaps hold not amiss. But again when the question is of harsh and rugged parents who defer to bestow their children seasonably, they agree jointly that the Church or Magistrate may bestow them, though without the Father's consent: and for this they have no express authority in Scripture. So that they may see by their own handling of this very place, that it is not the stubborn letter must govern us, but the divine and softning breath of charity which turns and winds the dictate of every positive command, and shapes it to the good of mankind. Shall the outward accessory of a Father's will wanting, rend
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the fittest and most affectionat Marriage in twain, after all nuptial consummations; and shall not the want of love and the privation of all civil and religious concord, which is the inward essence of Wedlock, do as much to part those who were never truly wedded? Shall a Father have this power to vindicate his own wilful honour and authority to the utter breach of a most dearly-united Marriage, and shall not a man in his own power have the permission to free his Soul, his Life, and all his comfort of life from the disaster of a no-marriage? Shall fatherhood, which is but man, for his own pleasure dissolve matrimony; and shall not matrimony, which is God's Ordinance, for its own honour and better conservation, dissolve it self, when it is wrong, and not fitted to any of the chief ends which it owes us?

And they shall be one flesh.] These words also infer that there ought to be an individuality in Marriage; but without all question presuppose the joining causes. Not a rule yet that we have met with, so universal in this whole institution, but hath admitted limitations and conditions according to humane necessity. The very foundation of Matrimony, though God laid it so deliberately, *that it is not good for man to be alone*, holds not always, if the Apostle can secure us. Soon after we are bid leave Father and Mother, and cleave to a Wife, but must understand the Fathers consent with-all, else not. *Cleave to a Wife*, but let her be a wife, let her be a meet help, a solace, not a nothing, not an adversary, not a desertrice; can any law or command be so unreasonable as to make men cleave to calamity, to ruin, to perdition? In like manner here, *They shall be one flesh*; but let the causes hold, and be made really good, which only have the possibility to make them one flesh. We know that flesh can neither joyn, nor keep together two bodies of it self; what is it then must make them one flesh, but likeness, but fitness of mind and disposition, which may breed the Spirit of concord, and union between them? If that be not in the nature of either, and that there has bin a remediless mistake, as vain we go about to compel them into one flesh, as if we undertook to weave a garment of dry sand. It were more easy to compel the vegetable and nutritive power of nature to assimilations and mixtures which are not alterable each by other; or force the concoctive stomach to turn that into flesh which is so totally unlike that substance, as not to be wrought on. For as the unity of mind is nearer and greater then the union of bodies, so doubtless is the dissimilitude greater, and more dividual, as that which makes between bodies all difference and distinction. Especially when as besides the singular and substantial differences of every Soul, there is an intimate quality of good or evil, through the whole Progeny of *Adam*, which like a radical heat, or mortal chilness, joyns them, or disjoyns them irresistibly. In whom therefore either the will, or the faculty is found to have never joyn'd, or now not to continue so, 'tis not to say, they shall be one flesh, for they cannot be one flesh. God commands not impossibilities; and all the Ecclesiastical glue, that Liturgy or Laymen can compound, is not able to soder up two such incongruous Natures into the one flesh of a true befeeming Marriage. Why did *Moses* then set down their uniting into one flesh? And I again ask, why the Gospel so oft repeats the eating of our Saviour's flesh, the drinking of his blood? *That we are one body with him, the members of his body, flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone*, Ephes. 5. Yet lest we should be Carnalists; as we are told there, that flesh profiteth nothing; so we are told here, if we be not as deaf as Adders, that this union of the flesh proceeds from the union of a fit help and solace. We know that there was never a more spiritual mystery then this Gospel taught us under the terms of body and flesh; yet nothing less intended then that we should stick there. What a stupidity then is it, that in Marriage, which is the nearest resemblance of our union with Christ, we should deject our selves to such a sluggish and underfoot Philosophy, as to esteem the validity of Marriage meerly by the flesh, though never so brok'n and disjoyned from love and peace, which only can give a humane qualification to that act of the flesh, and distinguish it from bestial. The Text therefore uses this phrase, that *they shall be one flesh*, to justify and make legitimate the rites of Marriage-bed; which was not unneedful, if for all this warrant they were suspected of pollution by some sects of Philosophy, and Religions of old, and latelier among the Papists, and other Heretics elder than they. Some think there is a high mystery in those words, from that which *Paul* saith of them, Ephes. 5. *This is a great mystery, but I speak of Christ and the Church*: and thence they would conclude Marriage to be inseparable. For me I dispute not now whether Matrimony be a mystery or no; if it be of Christ and his Church, certainly it is not meant of every ungodly and miswedded Marriage, but then only mysterious, when it is a holy, happy, and peaceful match. But when a Saint is joyn'd with a Reprobate, or both alike,

wicked with wicked, fool with fool, a he drunkard with a she ; when the bed hath bin nothing else for twenty years or more, but an old haunt of lust and malice mixt together, no love, no goodness, no loyalty, but counterplotting, and secret wishing one anothers dissolution ; this is to me the greatest mystery in the world, if such a Marriage as this can be the mystery of ought, unless it be the mystery of iniquity : According to that which *Paraus* cites out of *Chrysostom*, that a bad Wife is a help for the Devil, and the like may be said of a bad Husband. Since therefore none but a fit and pious Matrimony can signify the union of Christ and his Church, there cannot hence be any hindrance of divorce to that Wedlock wherein there can be no good mystery. Rather it might to a Christian Conscience be matter of finding it self so much less satisfy'd then before, in the continuance of an unhappy yoke, wherein there can be no representation either of Christ, or of his Church.

Thus having enquir'd the Institution how it was in the beginning, both from the 1 Chap. of *Gen.* where it was only mention'd in part, and from the second, where it was plainly and evidently instituted ; and having attended each clause and word necessary with a diligence not drowsy, we shall now fix with some advantage, and by a short view backward gather up the ground we have gone, and sum up the strength we have, into one argumentative Head, with that *organic* force that *Logic* proffers us. All Arts acknowledg that then only we know certainly, when we can define ; for Definition is that which refines the pure essence of things from the circumstance. If therefore we can attain in this our Controversy to define exactly what Marriage is, we shall soon learn when there is a nullity thereof, and when a divorce.

The part therefore of this Chapter which hath bin here treated, doth orderly and readily resolve it self into a definition of Marriage, and a consecratory from thence. To the definition these words chiefly contribute ; *It is not good, &c. I will make, &c.* Where the consecratory begins this connexion, *Therefore* informs us, *Therefore shall a Man, &c.* Definition is decreed by Logicians to consist only of causes constituting the essence of a thing. What is not therefore among the causes constituting Marriage, must not stay in the definition. Those causes are concluded to be *matter*, and, as the Artist calls it, *Form*. But inasmuch as the same thing may be a cause more ways then one, and that in relations and institutions which have no corporal subsistence, but only a respective being, the *Form* by which the thing is what it is, is oft so slender and undistinguishable, that it would soon confuse, were it not sustain'd by the efficient and final causes, which concur to make up the form invalid otherwise of it self, it will be needful to take in all the four Causes into the definition. First therefore the material cause of Matrimony is Man and Woman ; the Author and efficient, God and their consent ; the internal *Form* and soul of this relation, is conjugal love arising from a mutual fitness to the final causes of Wedlock, help and society in religious, civil and domestick conversation, which includes as an inferior end the fulfilling of natural desire, and specifical increase ; these are the final causes both moving the *efficient*, and perfecting the *form*. And although copulation be consider'd among the ends of Marriage, yet the act thereof in a right esteem can no longer be matrimonial, then it is an effect of conjugal love. When love finds it self utterly unmatcht, and justly vanishes, nay rather cannot but vanish, the fleshly act indeed may continue, but not holy, not pure, not befitting the sacred bond of Marriage ; being at best but an animal excretion, but more truly worse and more ignoble than that mute kindliness among the herds and flocks : in that proceeding as it ought from intellective principles, it participates of nothing rational, but that which the field and the fold equals. For in human actions the soul is the agent, the body in a manner passive. If then the body do out of sensitive force, what the soul complies not with, how can Man, and not rather something beneath Man, be thought the doer ?

But to proceed in the pursuit of an accurate definition, it will avail us something, and whet our thoughts, to examine what fabrick hereof others have already rear'd. *Paraus* on *Gen.* defines Marriage to be *an indissoluble conjunction of one Man and one Woman to an individual and intimate conversation, and mutual benevolence, &c.* Wherein is to be markt his placing of intimate conversation before bodily benevolence ; for bodily is meant, though indeed *benevolence* rather sounds will then body. Why then shall divorce be granted for want of bodily performance, and not for want of fitness to intimate conversation, when as corporal benevolence cannot in any humane fashion be without this ? Thus his definition places the ends of Marriage in one order, and esteems them in another. His *Tautology* also of indissoluble and individual is not to be imitated ; especially since neither indissoluble nor individual hath ought to do in

in the exact definition, being but a conſectary flowing from thence, as appears by plain Scripture, *Therefore ſhall a Man leave, &c.* For Marriage is not true Marriage by being individual, but therefore individual, if it be true Marriage. No argument but cauſes enter the definition; a Conſectary is but the effect of thoſe cauſes. Beſides, that Marriage is indiſſoluble, is not *Catholically* true; we know it diſſoluble for Adultery, and for Deſertion by the verdict of all Reformed Churches. Dr. Ames defines it *an individual conjunction of one man and one woman, to communion of body and mutual ſociety of life*: But this perverts the Order of God, who in the inſtitution places meet help and ſociety of life before communion of body. And vulgar eſtimation under-values beyond compariſon all ſociety of life and communion of mind beneath the communion of body; granting no divorce, but to the want, or miſcommunicating of that. Hemingius, an approved Author, Melancthon's Scholar, and who, next to Bucer and Erasmus, writes of Divorce moſt like a Divine, thus comprifes, *Marriage is a conjunction of one man and one woman lawfully conſenting, into one fleſh, for mutual helps ſake, ordain'd of God.* And in his explanation ſtands punctually upon the conditions of conſent, that it be not in any main matter deluded, as being the life of Wedlock, and no true Marriage without a true conſent. *Into one fleſh* he expounds into one mind, as well as one body, and makes it the formal cauſe: Herein only miſſing, while he puts the effect into his definition inſtead of the cauſe which the Text affords him. For *one fleſh* is not the formal eſſence of Wedlock, but one end, or one effect of a *meet help*: The end oft-times being the effect and fruit of the form, as Logick teaches: Elſe many aged and holy Matrimonies, and more eminently that of *Joſeph and Mary*, would be no true Marriage. And that *maxim* generally receiv'd, would be falſe, that *conſent alone, though copulation never follow, makes the Marriage.* Therefore to conſent lawfully into one fleſh, is not the formal cauſe of Matrimony, but only one of the effects. The Civil Lawyers, and firſt *Juſtinian* or *Tribonian* defines Matrimony a *conjunction of man and woman containing individual accuſtom of life.* Wherein firſt, individual is not ſo bad as indiſſoluble put in by others: And although much cavil might be made in the diſtinguiſhing between indiviſible, and individual, yet the one tak'n for poſſible, the other for actual, neither the one nor the other can belong to the eſſence of Marriage; eſpecially when a Civilian defines, by which Law Marriage is actually divorc'd for many cauſes, and with good leave, by mutual conſent. Therefore where *conjunction* is ſaid, they who comment the *Inſtitutes*, agree that conjunction of mind is by the Law meant, not neceſſarily conjunction of body. That Law then had good reaſon attending to its own definition, that divorce ſhould be granted for the breaking of that conjunction which it holds neceſſary, ſooner then for the want of that conjunction which it holds not neceſſary. And whereas *Tuningus* a famous Lawyer excuſes individual as the purpoſe of Marriage, not always the ſucceſs, it ſuffices not. Purpoſe is not able to conſtitute the eſſence of a thing. Nature her ſelf, the univerſal Mother, intends nothing but her own perfection and preſervation; yet is not the more indiſſoluble for that. The *Pandeſts* out of *Modestinus*, though not define, yet well deſcribe Marriage, *the conjunction of male and female, the ſociety of all life, the communion of divine and human right*: which Bucer alſo imitates on the fifth to the *Ephesians*. But it ſeems rather to comprehend the ſeveral ends of Marriage than to contain the more conſtituting cauſe that makes it what it is.

That I therefore among others (for who ſings not *Hylas*) may give as well as take matter to be judg'd on, it will be lookt I ſhould produce another definition than theſe which have not ſtood the trial. Thus then I ſuppoſe that Marriage by the natural and plain order of Gods inſtitution in the Text may be more demonſtratively and eſſentially defin'd. *Marriage is a divine inſtitution, joyning man and woman in a love fitly diſpos'd to the helps and comforts of domeſtick life. A divine inſtitution.* This contains the prime efficient cauſe of Marriage: as for conſent of Parents and Guardians, it ſeems rather a concurrence then a cauſe; for as many that marry are in their own power as not; and where they are not their own, yet are they not ſubjected beyond reaſon. Now though efficient cauſes are not requiſite in a definition, yet divine inſtitution hath ſuch influence upon the *Form*, and is ſo a conſerving cauſe of it, that without it the *Form* is not ſufficient to diſtinguiſh matrimony from other conjunctions of male and female, which are not to be counted Marriage. *Joyning man and woman in a love, &c.* This brings in the parties conſent; until which be, the Marriage hath no true being. When I ſay *conſent*, I mean not error, for error is not properly conſent: And why ſhould not conſent be here underſtood with equity and good

good to either part, as in all other friendly Covenants, and not be strain'd and cruelly urg'd to the mischief and destruction of both? Neither do I mean that singular act of consent which made the contract, for that may remain, and yet the Marriage not true nor lawful; and that may cease, and yet the Marriage both true and lawful, to their sin that break it. So that either as no efficient at all, or but a transitory, it comes not into the definition. That consent I mean which is a love fitly dispos'd to mutual help and comfort of life: this is that happy *Form* of Marriage naturally arising from the very heart of divine institution in the Text, in all the former definitions either obscurely, and under mistak'n terms exprest, or not at all. This gives Marriage all her due, all her benefits, all her being, all her distinct and proper being. This makes a Marriage not a bondage, a blessing not a curse, a gift of God not a snare. Unless there be a love, and that love born of fitness, how can it last? unless it last, how can the best and sweetest purposes of Marriage be attain'd, and they not attain'd, which are the chief ends, and with a lawful love constitute the formal cause of Marriage? How can the essence thereof subsist? How can it be indeed what it goes for? Conclude therefore by all the power of Reason, that where this essence of Marriage is not, there can be no true Marriage; and the Parties, either one of them or both, are free, and without fault, rather by a Nullity than by a Divorce, may betake them to a second choys, if their present condition be not tolerable to them. If any shall ask, why *domestic* in the definition? I answer, that because both in the Scriptures, and in the gravest Poets and Philosophers, I find the properties and excellencies of a Wife set out only from domestic virtues; if they extend further, it diffuses them into the notion of some more common duty than matrimonial.

Thus far of the definition; the *Consefatory* which flows from thence, and altogether depends thereon, is manifestly brought in by this connexive particle *Therefore*; and branches it self into a double consequence; First individual Society, *therefore shall a man leave father and mother*: Secondly, conjugal benevolence, *and they shall be one flesh*. Which, as was shewn, is not without cause here mention'd, to prevent and to abolish the suspect of pollution in that natural and undefiled act. These consequences therefore cannot either in Religion, Law, or Reason be bound, and posted upon Mankind to his sorrow and misery, but receive what force they have from the meetness of help and solace, which is the *formal cause* and end of that definition that sustains them. And although it be not for the Majesty of Scripture to humble her self in artificial *Theorems*, and Definitions, and *Corollaries*, like a professor in the Schools, but looks to be *analys'd*, and interpreted by the logical industry of her Disciples and followers, and to be reduc'd by them as oft as need is, into those *Sciential* rules, which are the implements of instruction; yet *Moses*, as if foreseeing the miserable work that mans ignorance and pusillanimity would make in this matrimonious business, and endeavouring his utmost to prevent it, condescends in this place to such a methodical and School-like way of defining, and consequencing, as in no place of the whole Law more.

Thus we have seen, and if we be not contentious, may know what was Marriage in the beginning, to which in the Gospel we are refer'd; and what from hence to judge of Nullity, or Divorce. Here I esteem the work don; in this field the controversie decided; but because other places of Scripture seem to look averily upon this our decision, although indeed they keep all harmony with it, and because it is a better work to reconcile the seeming diversities of Scripture, than the real dissensions of nearest friends; I shall assay in three following Discourses to perform that Office.

Deut. XXIV. 1, 2.

- 1 *When a man hath taken a Wife, and married her, and it come to pass that she find no favour in his eyes, because he hath found som uncleannes in her, then let him write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house.*
- 2 *And when she is departed out of his house, she may go and be another mans wife.*

THAT which is the only discommodity of speaking in a clear matter, the abundance of argument that presses to be utter'd, and the suspense of judgment what to choose, and how in the multitude of reason to be not tedious, is the greatest difficulty which I expect heer to meet with. Yet much hath bin said formerly concerning this Law in the *Doctrin* of Divorce. Wherof I shall repeat no more then what is necessary. Two things are heer doubted: First, and that but of late, whether this be a Law or no; next what this reason of *uncleannes* might mean for which the Law is granted:

granted. That it is a plain Law no man ever question'd, till *Vatablus* within these hundred years profess'd Hebrew at *Paris*, a man of no Religion, as *Beza* deciphers him. Yet som there be who follow him, not only against the current of all Antiquity both Jewish and Christian, but the evidence of Scripture also, *Malach. 2. 16. Let him who hateth put away, saith the Lord God of Israel.* Although this place also hath bin tamper'd with, as if it were to be thus render'd, *The Lord God saith, that he hateth putting away.* But this new interpretation rests only in the authority of *Junius*; for neither *Calvin*, nor *Vatablus* himself, nor any other known Divine so interpreted before. And they of best note who have translated the Scripture since, and *Diodati* for one, follow not his reading. And perhaps they might reject it, if for nothing els, for these two reasons: First, it introduces in a new manner the person of God speaking less Majestic then he is ever wont; When God speaks by his Prophet, he ever speaks in the first person, thereby signifying his Majesty and Omnipresence. He would have said, I hate putting away, saith the Lord; and not sent word by *Malachi* in a sudden fain stile, *The Lord God saith that he hateth putting away*: that were a phrase to shrink the glorious Omnipresence of God speaking, into a kind of circumscriptive absence. And were as if a Herald in the *Archeivment* of a King, should commit the *indecorum* to set his helmet sideways and close, not full fac't and open in the posture of direction and command. We cannot think therefore that this last Prophet would thus in a new fashion absent the person of God from his own words as if he came not along with them. For it would also be wide from the proper scope of this place: he that reads attentively will soon perceav, that God blames not heer the Jews for putting away their wives, but for keeping strange Concubines, to the *profaning of Juda's holines*, and the vexation of their Hebrew wives, v. 11, and 14. *Judah hath married the daughter of a strange God*: And exhorts them rather to put their wives away whom they hate, as the Law permitted, then to keep them under such affronts. And it is receiv'd that this Prophet liv'd in those times of *Ezra* and *Nebemiah* (nay by som is thought to be *Ezra* himself) when the people were forc't by these two Worthies to put their strange wives away. So that what the story of those times, and the plain context of the 11 verse, from whence this rebuke begins, can give us to conjecture of the obscure and curt *Ebraisms* that follow, this Prophet does not forbid putting away, but forbids keeping, and commands putting away according to God's Law, which is the plainest Interpreter both of what God will, and what he can best suffer. Thus much evinces that God there commanded Divorce by *Malachi*, and this confirms that he commands it also here by *Moses*.

I may the less doubt to mention by the way an Author, tho counted Apocriphal, yet of no small account for Piety and Wisdom, the Author of *Ecclesiasticus*. Which Book, begun by the Grand-father of that *Jesus* who is call'd the Son of *Sirach*, might have bin writt'n in part, not much after the time when *Malachi* liv'd; if we compute by the Reign of *Ptolemæus Euergetes*. It professes to explain the Law and the Prophets; and yet exhorts us to Divorce for incurable causes, and to cut off from the flesh those whom it there describes, *Ecclesiastic. 25. 26.* Which doubtless that wise and ancient Writer would never have advis'd, had either *Malachi* so lately forbid'n it, or the Law by a full precept not left it lawful. But I urge not this for want of better proof; our Saviour himself allows Divorce to be a command, *Mark 10. 3, 5.* Neither do they weak'n this assertion, who say it was only a sufferance, as shall be prov'd at large in that place of *Mark*. But suppose it were not a writt'n Law, they never can deny it was a custom, and so effect nothing. For the same reasons that induce them why it should not be a Law, will strait'n them as hard why it should be allow'd a custom. All custom is either evil or not evil; if it be evil, this is the very end of Lawgiving, to abolish evil customs by wholesome Laws; unless we imagin *Moses* weaker then every negligent and startling Politician. If it be, as they make this of Divorce to be, a custom against nature, against justice, against chastity, how, upon this most impure custom tolerated, could the God of purenes erect a nice and precise Law, that the Wife married after Divorce could not return to her former Husband, as being defiled? What was all this following nicenes worth, built upon the lewd foundation of a wicked thing allow'd? In few words then, this custom of Divorce either was allowable, or not allowable; if not allowable, how could it be allow'd? if it were allowable, all who understand Law will consent, that a tolerated custom hath the force of a Law, and is indeed no other but an unwritt'n Law, as *Justinian* calls it, and is as prevalent as any writt'n statute. So that their shift of turning this Law into a custom wheels about, and gives the onset upon their own flanks; not disproving, but concluding

ding it to be the more firm Law, because it was without controversy a granted custom ; as clear in the reason of common life, as those giv'n rules wheron *Euclides* builds his propositions.

Thus being every way a Law of God, who can without blasphemy doubt it to be a just and pure Law? *Moses* continually disavows the giving them any statute, or judgment, but what he learnt of God; of whom also in his Song he saith, Deut. 32. *He is the rock, his work is perfect, all his ways are judgment, a God of truth and without iniquity, just and right is he.* And *David* testifies, the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether. Not partly right and partly wrong, much less wrong altogether, as Divines of now adays dare censure them. *Moses* again, of that people to whom he gave this Law, saith, Deut. 14. *Ye are the children of the Lord your God, the Lord hath chosen thee to be a peculiar people to himself above all the nations upon the earth, that thou shouldest keep all his Commandments, and be high in praise, in name, and in honour, holy to the Lord,* Chap. 26. And in the fourth, *Behold I have taught you statutes and judgments, even as the Lord my God commanded me; keep therefore and do them. For this is your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of Nations that shall hear all these Statutes, and say, surely this great Nation is a wise and understanding people. For what Nation is there so great, who hath God so nigh to them? and what Nation hath Statutes and Judgments so righteous as all this Law which I set before you this day?* Thus whether we look at the purity and justice of God himself, the jealousy of his honour among other Nations, the holines and moral perfection which he intended by his Law to teach this people, we cannot possibly think how he could indure to let them slug and grow inveteratly wicked, under base allowances, and whole adulterous lives by dispensation. They might not eat, they might not touch an unclean thing; to what hypocrisy then were they train'd up, if by prescription of the same Law, they might be unjust, they might be adulterous for term of life? forbid to soil their garments with a coy imaginary pollution, but not forbid, but countenanced and animated by Law to soil their Souls with deepest defilements. What more unlike to God, what more like that God should hate, then that his Law should be so curious to wash vessels, and vestures, and so careless to leav unwash't, unregarded, so foul a scab of *Egypt* in their Souls? what would we more? the Statutes of the Lord are all pure and just: and if all, then this of Divorce.

Because he hath found som uncleannes in her.] That we may not esteem this Law to be a meer authorizing of licence, as the Pharisees took it, *Moses* adds the reason, for som uncleannes found. Som heertofore have bin so ignorant, as to have thought, that this uncleannes means Adultery. But *Erasmus*, who for having writ an excellent Treatise of Divorce, was wrote against by som burly standard Divine perhaps of *Cullen*, or of *Lovain*, who calls himself *Phimostomus*, shews learnedly out of the Fathers, with other Testimonies and Reasons, that uncleannes is not heer so understood; defends his former work, though new to that age, and perhaps counted licentious, and fears not to ingage all his fame on the Argument. Afterward, when Expositors begin to understand the Hebrew Text, which they had not done of many ages before, they translated word for word not uncleannes, but *the nakedness of any thing*; and considering that nakedness is usually referr'd in Scripture to the mind as well as to the body, they constantly expound it any defect, annoyance, or ill quality in nature, which to be joyn'd with, makes life tedious, and such company wors then solitude. So that heer will be no cause to vary from the general consent of exposition, which gives us freely that God permitted divorce, for whatever was unalterably distasteful, whether in body or mind. But with this admonishment, that if the *Roman Law*, especially in contracts and dowries, left many things to equity with these cautions, *ex fide bonâ, quod æquius melius erit, ut inter bonos bene agitur*, we will not grudge to think that God intended not licence heer to every humor, but to such remediles greivances as might move a good and honest and faithful man then to divorce, when it can no more be peace or comfort to either of them continuing thus joyn'd. And although it could not be avoided, but that Men of hard hearts would abuse this liberty, yet doubtless it was intended, as all other privileges in Law are, to good men principally, to bad only by accident. So that the Sin was not in the permission, nor simply in the action of Divorce (for then the permitting also had bin sin) but only in the abuse. But that this Law should, as it were, be wrung from God and *Moses*, only to serve the hard-heartednes, and the lust of injurious men, how remote 'tis from all sense, and law, and honesty, and therefore surely from the meaning of Christ, shall abundantly be manifest in due order.

Now although *Moses* needed not to add other reason of this Law then that one there express, yet to these ages wherein Canons, and *Scotisms*, and *Lumbard* Laws, have dull'd, and almost obliterated the lively Sculpture of ancient reason, and humanity, it will be requisite to heap reason upon reason, and all little enough to vindicate the whiteness and the innocence of this divine Law, from the calumny it finds at this day, of being a dore to licence and confusion. When as indeed there is not a judicial point in all *Moses*, consisting of more true equity, high wisdom, and God-like pity then this Law; not derogating, but preserving the honour and peace of Marriage, and exactly agreeing with the sense and mind of that institution in *Genesis*.

For first, if Marriage be but an ordain'd relation, as it seems not more, it cannot take place above the prime dictats of nature; and if it be of natural right, yet it must yeeld to that which is more natural, and before it by eldership and precedence in nature. Now it is not natural that *Hugh* marries *Beatrice*, or *Thomas* *Rebecca*, being only a civil contract, and full of many chances, but that these men seek them meet helps, that only is natural; and that they espouse them such, that only is Marriage. But if they find them neither fit helps nor tolerable society, what thing more natural, more original and first in nature then to depart from that which is irksome, grievous, actively hateful, and injurious even to hostility, especially in a conjugal respect, wherein antipathies are invincible, and wher the forc't abiding of the one can be no true good, no real comfort to the other? For if he find no contentment from the other, how can he return it from himself; or no acceptance, how can he mutually accept? What more equal, more pious then to untie a civil knot for a natural enmity held by violence from parting, to dissolv an accidental conjunction of this or that Man and Woman, for the most natural and most necessary disagreement of meet from unmeet, guilty from guiltless, contrary from contrary? It being certain that the mystical and blessed unity of Marriage can be no way more unhallow'd and profan'd, then by the forcible uniting of such disunions and separations. Which if we see oft times they cannot join or pece up to a common friendship, or to a willing conversation in the same house, how should they possibly agree to the most familiar and united amity of Wedlock? *Abraham* and *Lot*, though dear friends, and brethren in a strange Country, chose rather to part asunder, then to infect thir friendship with the strife of their servants: *Paul* and *Barnabas*, join'd together by the Holy Ghost to a spiritual work, thought it better to separate when once they grew at variance. If these great Saints, join'd by Nature, Friendship, Religion, high Providence, and Revelation, could not so govern a casual difference, a sudden passion, but must in wisdom divide from the outward duties of a Friendship, or a Collegueship in the same family, or in the same journey, lest it should grow to a worse division; can any thing be more absurd and barbarous, than that they whom only Error, Casualty, Art, or Plot hath join'd, should be compell'd, not against a sudden passion, but against the permanent and radical discords of Nature, to the most intimate and incorporating duties of Love and Imbracement, therein only rational and human, as they are free and voluntary; being els an abject and servile yoke, scarce not brutish? And that there is in man such a peculiar sway of liking or disliking in the affairs of Matrimony, is evidently seen before Marriage among those who can be friendly, can respect each other, yet to marry each other would not for any perswasion. If then this unfitness and disparity be not till after Marriage discover'd, through many Causes, and Colours, and Concealments, that may overshadow; undoubtedly it will produce the same effects, and perhaps with more vehemence, that such a mistak'n pair would give the world to be unmarried again. And thir condition *Solomon* to the plain justification of Divorce expresses, *Prov.* 30. 21, 23. where he tells us of his own accord, that a *hated*, or a *hateful* Woman, *when she is married, is a thing for which the earth is disquieted, and cannot bear it*: thus giving divine testimony to this divine Law, which bids us nothing more then is the first and most innocent lesson of Nature, to turn away peaceably from what afflicts, and hazards our destruction; especially when our staying can do no good, and is expos'd to all evil.

Secondly, It is unjust that any Ordinance, ordain'd to the good and comfort of Man, where that end is missing, without his fault, should be forc'd upon him to an unsufferable misery and discomfort, if not commonly ruin. All Ordinances are establish'd in their end; the end of Law is the vertu, is the righteousness of Law: and therefore him we count an ill Expounder who urges Law against the intention thereof. The general end of every Ordinance, of every severest, every divinest, even of Sabbath, is the good of Man; yea his temporal good not excluded. But Marriage

is one of the benigneſt ordinances of God to man, whereof both the general and particular end is the peace and contentment of mans mind, as the inſtitution declares. Contentment of body they grant, which if it be defrauded, the plea of frigidity ſhall divorce: But here lies the ſadomles abſurdity, that granting this for bodily defect, they will not grant it for any defect of the mind, any violation of religious or civil ſociety. When as, if the argument of Chriſt be firm againſt the ruler of the Synagogue, Luk. 13. *Thou hypocrite, doſt not each of you on the Sabbath day looſ'n his Oxe or his Aſſe from the ſtall, and lead him to watering, and ſhould not I unbind a daughter of Abraham from this bond of Satan?* it ſtands as good here; ye have regard in Marriage to the grievance of body, ſhould you not regard more the grievances of the mind, ſeeing the Soul as much excels the body, as the outward man excels the Aſs, and more? for that *animal* is yet a living creature, perfect in it ſelf; but the body without the Soul is a meer ſenſeleſs trunk. No ordinance therefore giv'n particularly to the good both ſpiritual and temporal of man, can be urg'd upon him to his miſchief: and if they yield this to the unworthier part, the body, whereabout are they in their principles, that they yield it not to the more worthy, the mind of a good man?

Thirdly, As no Ordinance, ſo no Cov'nant, no not between God and Man, much leſs between Man and Man, being, as all are, intended to the good of both Parties, can hold to the deluding or making miſerable of them both. For Equity is underſtood in every Cov'nant, ev'n between enemies, though the terms be not expreſt. If Equity therefore made it, Extremity may diſſolve it. But Marriage, they uſe to ſay, is the Cov'nant of God. Undoubted: and ſo is any Cov'nant frequently call'd in Scripture, wherein God is call'd to witneſs: the Cov'nant of Friendſhip between David and Jonathan, is call'd *the Cov'nant of the Lord*, 1 Sam. 20. The Cov'nant of Zedekiah with the King of Babel, a Cov'nant to be doubted whether lawful or no, yet in reſpect of God invoc'd thereto, is call'd *the Oath, and the Cov'nant of God*, Ezek. 17. Marriage alſo is call'd *the Cov'nant of God*, Prov. 2. 17. Why, but as before, becauſe God is the witneſs thereof, *Malach.* 2. 14. So that this denomination adds nothing to the Cov'nant of Marriage, above any other civil and ſolemn contract: nor is it more indiffolub'le for this reaſon than any other againſt the end of its own Ordination; nor is any Vow or Oath to God exacted with ſuch a rigor, where ſuperſtition reigns not. For look how much divine the Cov'nant is, ſo much the more equal; ſo much the more to be expected that every Article thereof ſhould be fairly made good; no falſe dealing, or unperforming ſhould be thruſt upon men without redreſs, if the Cov'nant be ſo divine. But Faith, they ſay, muſt be kept in Cov'nant, though to our damage. I anſwer, that only holds true, where the other ſide performs; which failing, he is no longer bound. Again, this is true, when the keeping of Faith can be of any uſe or benefit to the other. But in Marriage, a league of Love and Willingneſs, if Faith be not willingly kept, it ſcarce is worth the keeping; nor can be any delight to a generous mind, with whom it is forcibly kept: and the queſtion ſtill ſuppoſes the one brought to an impoſſibility of keeping it as he ought, by the others default; and to keep it formally, not only with a thouſand ſhifts and diſſimulations, but with open anguiſh, perpetual ſadneſs and diſturbance, no willingneſs, no cheerefulneſs, no contentment, cannot be any good to a mind not baſely poor and ſhallow, with whom the contract of Love is ſo kept. A Cov'nant therefore brought to that paſs, is on the unfaultry ſide without injury diſſolv'd.

Fourthly, The Law is not to neglect men under greateſt ſufferances, but to ſee Cov'nants of greateſt moment faithfull'eſt perform'd. And what injury comparable to that ſuſtain'd in a frustrate and falſe-dealing Marriage, to loſe, for anothers fault againſt him, the beſt portion of his temporal comforts, and of his ſpiritual too, as it may fall out? It was the Law, that for man's good and quiet, reduc'd things to propriety, which were at firſt in common; how much more Law-like were it to aſſiſt Nature in diſappropriating that evil which by continuing proper becomes deſtructive? But he might have bewar'd. So he might in any other Cov'nant, wherein the Law does not conſtrain Error to ſo dear a forfeit. And yet in theſe matters wherein the wiſeſt are apt to err, all the warineſs that can be, oft-times nothing avails. But the Law can compel the offending party to be more duteous. Yes, if all theſe kind of offences were fit in publick to be complain'd on, or being compell'd were any ſatisfaction to a mate not ſottiſh, or malicious. And theſe injuries work ſo vehemently, that if the Law remedy them not, by ſeparating the cauſe when no way elſe will pacify, the perſon not reliev'd betakes him either to ſuch diſorderly courſes, or to ſuch a dull dejection, as renders him either infamous, or uſeleſs to the ſervice of God and his

his Country. Which the Law ought to prevent as a thing pernicious to the Commonwealth; and what better prevention than this which *Moses* us'd?

Fifthly, The Law is to tender the liberty and the human dignity of them that live under the Law, whether it be the man's right above the woman, or the woman's just appeal against wrong and servitude. But the duties of Marriage contain in them a duty of Benevolence, which to do by compulsion against the Soul, where there can be neither peace, nor joy, nor love, but an enthrallment to one who either cannot, or will not be mutual in the godliest and the civilest ends of that society, is the ignoblest, and the lowest slavery that a human shape can be put to. This Law therefore justly and piously provides against such an unmanly task of bondage as this. The Civil Law, though it favour'd the setting free of a slave, yet if he prov'd ungrateful to his Patron, reduc'd him to a servile condition. If that Law did well to reduce from liberty to bondage for an ingratitude not the greatest, much more became it the Law of God to enact the restoration of a free-born man from an unpurpos'd, and unworthy bondage, to a rightful liberty, for the most unnatural fraud and ingratitude that can be committed against him. And if that Civilian Emperour in his title of *Donations*, permit the giver to recall his gift from him who proves unthankful towards him; yea, though he had subscrib'd and sign'd in the deed of his gift, not to recall it, though for this very cause of ingratitude; with much more equity doth *Moses* permit here the giver to recall no petty gift, but the gift of himself from one who most injuriously and deceitfully uses him against the main ends and conditions of his giving himself, exprest in God's institution.

Sixthly, Although there be nothing in the plain words of this Law, that seems to regard the afflictions of a Wife, how great soever; yet Expositors determin, and doubtless determin rightly, that God was not uncompassionate of them also in the framing of this Law. For should the rescript of *Antoninus* in the Civil Law give release to servants flying for refuge to the Emperour's statue, by giving leave to change their cruel Masters; and should God, who in his Law also is good to injur'd servants, by granting them their freedom in divers cases, not consider the wrongs and miseries of a wife which is no servant? Though herein the counter-sense of our Divines, to me, I must confess seems admirable; who teach that God gave this as a merciful Law, not for Man whom he here names, and to whom by name he gives this power, but for the wife whom he names not, and to whom by name he gives no power at all. For certainly if Man be liable to injuries in Marriage, as well as Woman, and Man be the worthier person, it were a preposterous Law to respect only the less worthy; her whom God made for Marriage, and not him at all for whom Marriage was made.

Seventhly, The Law of Marriage gives place to the power of Parents: for we hold, that consent of Parents not had, may break the Wedlock, though else accomplisht. It give place to matterly Power, for the Master might take away from an Hebrew servant the wife which he gave him, *Exod. 21*. If it be answer'd that the Marriage of Servants is no Matrimony; 'tis reply'd, That this in the ancient *Roman* Law is true, not in the *Mosaic*. If it be added, she was a Stranger, not an Hebrew, therefore easily divorc'd: it will be answer'd, That Strangers not being *Canaanites*, and they also being Converts, might be lawfully marry'd, as *Rahab* was. And her conversion is here suppos'd; for an Hebrew master could not lawfully give an Heathen wife to an Hebrew servant. However, the divorcing of an Israelitish woman was as easy by the Law, as the divorcing of a stranger, and almost in the same words permitted, *Deut. 24*. and *Deut. 21*. Lastly, it gives place to the right of War, for a captive Woman lawfully marry'd, and afterward not belov'd, might be dismiss'd, only without ransom, *Deut. 21*. If Marriage may be dissolv'd by so many exterior powers, not superior, as we think, why may not the power of Marriage it self, for its own peace and honour, dissolve it self? where the persons wedded be free persons, why may not a greater and more natural power complaining dissolve Marriage? For the ends why Matrimony was ordain'd, are certainly and by all Logic above the Ordinance it self; why may not that dissolve Marriage, without which that institution hath no force at all? for the prime ends of Marriage, are the whole strength and validity thereof, without which Matrimony is like an Idol, nothing in the world. But those former allowances were all for hardness of heart. Be that granted, until we come where to understand it better: if the Law suffer thus far the obstinacy of a bad man, is it not more righteous here, to do willingly what is but equal, to remove in season the extremities of a good man?

Eightly, If a man had deflowr'd a Virgin, or brought an ill name on his Wife that she came not a Virgin to him, he was amerç'd in certain shekles of Silver, and bound never to divorce her all his days, *Deut. 22.* which shews that the Law gave no liberty to divorce, where the injury was palpable; and that the absolute forbidding to divorce, was in part the punishment of a deflowerer, and a defamer. Yet not so but that the wife questionless might depart when she pleas'd. Otherwise this course had not so much righted her, as delivered her up to more spight and cruel usage. This Law therefore doth justly distinguish the privilege of an honest and blameless man in the matter of divorce from the punishment of a notorious offender.

Ninthly, Suppose it might be imputed to a man, that he was too rash in his choice, and why took he not better heed, let him now smart, and bear his folly as he may; although the Law of God, that terrible Law, do not thus upbraid the infirmities and unwilling mistakes of man in his integrity: But suppose these and the like proud aggravations of some stern hypocrite, more mercilefs in his mercies, than any literal Law in the vigour of severity, must be patiently heard; yet all Law, and Gods Law especially, grants every-where to error easy remittments, even where the utmost penalty exacted were no undoing. With great reason therefore and mercy doth it here not torment an error, if it be so, with the indurance of a whole life lost to all household comfort and society, a punishment of too vast and huge dimension for an error, and the more unreasonable for that the like objection may be oppos'd against the plea of divorcing for adultery; he might have lookt better before to her breeding under religious Parents: why did he not then more diligently inquire into her manners, into what company she kept? every glance of her eye, every step of her gate would have prophecy'd adultery, if the quick scent of these discerners had bin took along; they had the divination to have foretold you all this, as they have now the divinity to punish an error inhumanly. As good reason to be content, and forc'd to be content with your Adulteress, if these objecters might be the judges of human frailty. But God, more mild and good to man, then man to his brother, in all this liberty given to divorcement, mentions not a word of our past errors and mistakes, if any were, which these men objecting from their own inventions, prosecute with all violence and iniquity. For if the one be to look so narrowly what he takes, at the peril of ever keeping, why should not the other be made as wary what is promis'd, by the peril of losing? for without those promises the treaty of Marriage had not proceeded. Why should his own error bind him, rather then the others fraud acquit him? Let the buyer beware, saith the old Law-beaten termier. Belike then there is no more honesty, nor ingenuity in the bargain of a Wedlock, then in the buying of a Colt: We must it seems drive it on as craftily with those whose affinity we seek, as if they were a pack of sale-men and complotters. But the deceiver deceives himself in the unprosperous Marriage, and therein is sufficiently punisht. I answer, that the most of those who deceive, are such as either understand not, or value not the true purposes of Marriage; they have the prey they seek, not the punishment: yet sayit prove to them some cross, it is not equal that error and fraud should be linkt in the same degree of forfeiture, but rather that error should be acquitted, and fraud bereav'd his moriel, if the mistake were not on both sides; for then on both sides the acquitment will be reasonable, if the bondage be intolerable; which this Law graciously determinis, not unmindful of the wife, as was granted willingly to the common Expositers, though beyond the letter of this Law, yet not beyond the spirit of charity.

Tenthly, Marriage is a solemn thing, some say a holy, the resemblance of Christ and his Church; and so indeed it is where the persons are truly religious; and we know all Sacred things not perform'd sincerely as they ought, are no way acceptable to God in their outward formality. And that wherein it differs from personal duties, if they be not truly done, the fault is in our selves; but Marriage to be a true and pious Marriage is not in the singly power of any person; the essence whereof, as of all other Covenants, is in relation to another, the making and maintaining causes thereof are all mutual, and must be a communion of spiritual and temporal comforts. If then either of them cannot, or obstinately will not be answerable in these duties, so as that the other can have no peaceful living, or enduring the want of what he justly seeks, and sees no hope, then strait from that dwelling love, which is the soul of wedlock, takes his flight, leaving only some cold performances of civil and common respects; but the true bond of Marriage, if there were ever any there, is already burst like a rott'n thred. Then follows dissimulation, suspicion, false colours, false pretences,
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and wors then these, disturbance, annoyance, vexation, sorrow, temptation ev'n in the faultles person, weary of himself, and of all action publick or domestick; then comes disorder, neglect, hatred, and perpetual strife, all these the enemies of Holiness and Christianity, and every one of these persisted in, a remedles violation to Matrimony. Therefore God who hates all faining and formality, where there should be all faith and sincereness, and abhors to see inevitable discord, where there should be greatest concord, when through anothers default, faith and concord cannot be, counts it neither just to punish the innocent with the transgressor, nor holy, nor honourable for the sanctity of Marriage, that should be the union of peace and love, to be made the commitment, and close fight of enmity and hate. And therefore doth in this Law, what best agrees with his goodness, loosning a sacred thing to peace and charity, rather then binding it to hatred and contention; loosning only the outward and formal tie of that which is already inwardly and really brok'n, or else was really never joyn'd.

Eleventhly, One of the chief matrimonial ends is said to seek a holy seed; but where an unfit Marriage administers continual cause of hatred and distemper, there, as was heard before, cannot choose but much unholiness abide. Nothing more unhallows a man, more unprepares him to the service of God in any duty, then a habit of wrath and perturbation, arising from the importunity of troublous causes never absent. And where the household stands in this plight, what love can there be to the unfortunate issue, what care of their breeding, which is of main conducement to their being holy? God therefore knowing how unhappy it would be for children to be born in such a family, gives this Law either as a prevention, that being an unhappy pair, they should not add to be unhappy parents, or else as a remedy that if there be children, while they are fewest, they may follow either parent, as shall be agreed, or judg'd, from the house of hatred and discord, to a place of more holy and peaceable education.

Twelfthly, All Law is available to some good end, but the final prohibition of Divorce avails to no good end, causing only the endles aggravation of evil, and therefore this permission of divorce was giv'n to the Jews by the wisdom and fatherly providence of God; who knew that Law cannot command love, without which Matrimony hath no true being, no good, no solace, nothing of God's instituting, nothing but so sordid and so low, as to be disdain'd of any generous person. Law cannot inable natural inability either of body, or mind, which gives the grievance; it cannot make equal those inequalities, it cannot make fit those unfitnesses; and where there is malice more then defect of nature, it cannot hinder ten thousand injuries, and bitter actions of despight, too subtle and too unapparent for Law to deal with. And while it seeks to remedy more outward wrongs, it exposes the injur'd person to other more inward and more cutting. All these evils unavoidably will redound upon the children, if any be, and the whole family. It degenerates and disorders the best spirits, leaves them to unsettl'd imaginations, and degraded hopes, careless of themselves, their household and their friends, unactive to all publick service, dead to the Commonwealth; wherein they are by one mishap, and no willing trespass of theirs, outlaw'd from all the benefits and comforts of married life and posterity. It confers as little to the honour and inviolable keeping of Matrimony, but sooner stirs up temptations, and occasions to secrete adulteries, and unchast roaving. But it maintains publick honesty. Publick folly rather; who shall judg of publick honesty? the Law of God and of ancientest Christians, and all Civil Nations, or the illegitimate Law of Monks and Canonists, the most malevolent, most unexperient, and incompetent Judges of Matrimony?

These reasons, and many more that might be alleg'd, afford us plainly to perceive, both what good cause this Law had to do for good men in mischances, and what necessity it had to suffer accidentally the hard-heartedness of bad men, which it could not certainly discover, or discovering, could not subdue, no nor indeavour to restrain without multiplying sorrow to them, for whom all was indeavour'd. The guiltless therefore were not depriv'd their needful redresses, and the hard hearts of others unchastifiable in those judicial Courts, were so remitted there, as bound over to the higher Session of Conscience.

Notwithstanding all this, there is a loud exception against this Law of God, nor can the holy Author save his Law from this exception, that it opens a dore to all licence and confusion. But this is the rudest, I was almost saying the most graceless objection, and with the least reverence to God and Moses, that could be devis'd: This
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is to cite God before mans Tribunal, to arrogate a wisdom and holiness above him. Did not God then foresee what event of licence or confusion could follow? did not he know how to ponder these abuses with more prevailing respects, in the most even ballance of his justice and pureness, till these correctors came up to shew him better? The Law is, if it stir up sin any way, to stir it up by forbidding, as one contrary excites another, *Rom. 7.* but if it once come to provoke sin, by granting licence to sin, according to Laws that have no other honest end, but only to permit the fulfilling of obstinate lust, how is God not made the contradicter of himself? No man denies that best things may be abus'd: but it is a Rule resulting from many pregnant experiences, that what doth most harm in the abusing, us'd rightly doth most good. And such a good to take away from honest men, for being abus'd by such as abuse all things, is the greatest abuse of all. That the whole Law is no further useful, then as a man uses it lawfully, *St. Paul* teaches *1 Tim. 1.* And that Christian liberty may be us'd for an occasion to the flesh, the same Apostle confesses, *Galat. 5.* yet thinks not of removing it for that, but bids us rather *Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath freed us, and not be held again in the yoke of bondage.* The very permission which Christ gave to Divorce for Adultery, may be foully abus'd, by any whose hardness of heart can either fain adultery, or dares commit, that he may divorce. And for this cause the Pope, and hitherto the Church of *England*, forbid all Divorce from the bond of Marriage, though for openest adultery. If then it be righteous to hinder for the fear of abuse, that which Gods Law, notwithstanding that caution, hath warranted to be done, doth not our righteousness come short of Antichrist? or do we not rather herein conform our selves to his unrighteousness in this undue and unwise fear? For God regards more to relieve by this Law the just complaints of good men, then to curb the licence of wicked men, to the crushing withal, and the overwhelming of his afflicted servants. He loves more that his Law should look with pity upon the difficulties of his own, than with rigor upon the boundless riots of them who serve another Master, and hinder'd here by strictnes, will break another way to worse enormities. If this Law therefore have many good reasons for which God gave it, and no intention of giving scope to lewdnes, but as abuse by accident comes in with every good Law, and every good thing, it cannot be wisdom in us, while we can content us with Gods wisdom, nor can be purity, if his purity will suffice us, to except against this Law, as if it foster'd licence. But if they affirm this Law had no other end, but to permit obdurate lust, because it would be obdurate, making the Law of God intentionally to proclame and enact Sin lawful, as if the will of God were become sinful, or Sin stronger then his direct and Law-giving will, the men would be admonisht to look well to it, that while they are so eager to shut the door against licence. they do not open a worse door to blasphemy. And yet they shall be here further shewn their iniquity; what more foul and common sin among us then drunkenness? and who can be ignorant, that if the importation of Wine, and the use of all strong drink were forbid, it would both clean rid the possibility of committing that odious vice, and men might afterwards live happily and healthfully, without the use of those intoxicating liquors. Yet who is there the severest of them all, that ever propounded to lose his Sack, his Ale, toward the certain abolishing of so great a sin? who is there of them, the holiest, that less loves his rich Canary at meals, though it be fetcht from places that hazard the Religion of them who fetch it, and though it make his neighbour drunk out of the same Tun? While they forbid not therefore the use of that liquid Marchandise, which forbidden would utterly remove a most loathsome sin, and not impair either the health, or the refreshment of mankind, suppli'd many other ways: why do they forbid a Law of God, the forbidding whereof brings into an excessive bondage oft-times the best of men, and betters not the worse? He to remove a National vice, will not pardon his cups, nor think it concerns him to forbear the quaffing of that outlandish Grape, in his unnecessary fulnes, though other men abuse it never so much; nor is he so abstemious as to intercede with the Magistrate that all matter of drunkenness be banisht the Common-wealth; and yet for the fear of a less inconvenience unpardonably requires of his brethren, in their extream necessity, to debar themselves the use of Gods permissive Law, though it might be their saving, and no mans indangering the more. Thus this peremptory strictnes we may discern of what sort it is, how unequal and how unjust.

But it will breed confusion. What confusion it would breed, God himself took the care to prevent in the fourth verse of this Chapter, that the divorce't being married to another, might not return to her former Husband. And *Justinians* Law counsels

fels the same in his Title of *Nuptials*. And what confusion els can ther be in separation, to separat, upon extrem urgency, the religious from the irreligious, the fit from the unfit, the willing from the wilful, the abus'd from the abuser? such a separation is quite contrary to confusion. But to bind and mix together holy with Atheist, heav'nly with hellish, fitnes with unfitnes, light with darknes, antipathy with antipathy, the injur'd with the injurer, and force them into the most inward neernes of a detested union, this doubtles is the most horrid, the most unnatural mixture, the greatest confusion that can be confus'd.

Thus by this plain and Christian *Talmud*, vindicating the Law of God from irreverent and unwary expositions, I trust, wher it shall meet with intelligible perusers, som stay at least of mens thoughts will be obtain'd, to consider these many prudent and righteous ends of this divorcing permission: That it may have, for the great Authors sake, hereafter some competent allowance to be counted a little purer then the prerogative of a legal and public ribaldry, granted to that holy seed. So that from hence we shall hope to find the way still more open to the reconciling of those places which treat this matter in the Gospel. And thither now without interruption the cours of method brings us.

Tetrachordon.

MATTH. V. 31, 32.

- 31 *It hath been said, whosoever shall put away his Wife, let him give her a writing of Divorcement.*
 32 *But I say unto you, that whosoever shall put away his Wife, &c.*

MATTH. XIX. 3, 4, &c.

- 3 *And the Pharisees also came unto him, tempting him, &c.*

I*T hath been said.]* What hitherto hath been spoke upon the Law of God touching Matrimony or Divorce, he who will deny to have bin argu'd according to reason, and all equity of Scripture, I cannot edifie how, or by what rule of proportion that mans vertue calculates, what his *elements* are, nor what his *analytics*. Confidently to those who have read good books, and to those whose reason is not an illiterate book to themselves, I appeal, whether they would not confess all this to be the commentary of truth and justice, were it not for these recited words of our Saviour. And if they take not back that which they thus grant, nothing sooner might perswade them that Christ heer teaches no new precept, and nothing sooner might direct them to find his meanings, then to compare and measure it by the rules of nature and eternal righteousness, which no writ'n Law extinguishes, and the Gospel least of all. For what can be more opposite and disparaging to the cov'nant of love, of freedom, and of our manhood in grace, then to be made the yoking pedagogue of new severities, the scribe of syllables and rigid letters, not only grievous to the best of men, but different and strange from the light of reason in them, save only as they are fair to stretch and distort their apprehensions, for fear of displeasing the verbal straitness of a text, which our own servil fear gives us not the leisure to understand aright? If the Law of Christ shall be writ'n in our hearts, as was promis'd to the Gospel, *Jer. 31.* how can this in the vulgar and superficial sense be a Law of Christ, so far from being writ'n in our hearts, that it injures and disallows not only the free dictates of Nature and moral Law, but of Charity also and Religion in our heart? Our Saviours doctrine is, that the end, and the fulfilling of every command is charity; no faith without it, no truth without it, no worship, no works pleasing to God but as they partake of charity. He himself sets us an example, breaking the solemnest and the strictest ordinance of religious rest, and justity'd the breaking, not to cure a dying man, but such whose cure might without danger have been deterr'd. And wherefore needs must the sick mans bed be carried home on that day by his appointment? and why were the Disciples,

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who could not forbear on that day to pluck the corn, so industriously defended, but to shew us that if he prefer'd the slightest occasions of Mans good before the observing of highest and severest ordinances, he gave us much more ealie leave to break the intolerable yoke of a never well joyn'd Wedlock for the removing of our heaviest afflictions? Therefore it is that the most evangelick precepts are given us in proverbial forms, to drive us from the letter, though we love ever to be sticking there. For no other cause did Christ assure us that whatsoever things we bind, or slacken on earth, are so in heaven, but to signifie that the christian arbitrement of charity is supreme decider of all controversie, and supreme resolver of all Scripture; not as the Pope determines for his own tyranny, but as the Church ought to determine for its own true liberty. Hence *Eusebius*, not far from beginning his History, compares the state of Christians to that of *Noah* and the Patriarchs before the Law. And this indeed was the reason why *Apostolick* tradition in the antient Church was counted nigh equal to the writt'n word, though it carried them at length awry, for want of considering that tradition was not left to be impos'd as Law, but to be a pattern of that Christian prudence, and liberty which holy men by right assum'd of old; which truth was so evident, that it found entrance even into the Council of *Trent*, when the point of Tradition came to be discuss'd. And *Marinaro*, a learned *Carmelite*, for approaching too near the true cause that gave esteem to Tradition, that is to say, the difference between the Old and New Testament, the one punctually prescribing writt'n Law, the other guiding by the inward Spirit, was reprehended by Cardinal *Pool* as one that had spoken more worthy a *German Colloquie*, then a General Council. I omit many instances, many proofs and arguments of this kind, which alone would compile a just volume, and shall content me here to have shew'n breifly, that the great and almost only commandment of the Gospel, is to command nothing against the good of man, and much more no civil command, against his civil good. If we understand not this, we are but crackt cimbals, we do but tinkle, we know nothing, we do nothing, all the sweat of our toilsomest obedience will but mock us. And what we suffer superstitiously, returns us no thanks. Thus med'cining our eyes, we need not doubt to see more into the meaning of these our Saviours words, then many who have gone before us.

It hath been said, whosoever shall put away his wife.] Our Saviour was by the Doctors of his time suspected of intending to dissolve the Law. In this Chapter he wipes off this aspersiion upon his Accusers, and shews how they were the Law-breakers. In every Common-wealth, when it decays, Corruption makes two main steps; first, when men cease to do according to the inward and uncompell'd actions of Vertue, caring only to live by the outward constraint of Law, and turn the simplicity of real good into the craft of seeming so by Law. To this hypocritical honesty was *Rome* declin'd in that Age wherein *Horace* liv'd, and discover'd it to *Quintius*.

*Whom do we count a good man, whom but he
Who keeps the laws and statutes of the Senate,
Who judges in great suits and controversies,
Whose witness and opinion wins the cause?
But his own house, and the whole neighbourhood
Sees his foul inside through his whited skin.*

The next declining is, when Law becomes now too strait for the secular Manners, and those too loose for the cincture of Law. This brings in false and crooked Interpretations to eke out Law, and invents the suttile encroachment of obscure Traditions hard to be disprov'd. To both these descents the Pharisees themselves were fall'n. Our Saviour therefore shews them both where they broke the Law, in not marking the divine Intent thereof, but only the Letter; and where they deprav'd the Letter also with sophistical Expositions. This Law of Divorce they had deprav'd both ways: first, by teaching that to give a bill of Divorce was all the duty which that Law requir'd, whatever the cause were; next by running to Divorce for any trivial, accidental cause; whenas the Law evidently stays in the grave causes of natural and immutable dislike. *It hath been said*, saith he. Christ doth not put any contempt or disesteem upon the Law of *Moses*, by citing it so briefly; for in the same manner God himself cites a Law of greatest caution, Jer. 3. *They say if a man put away his wife, shall he return to her again?* &c. Nor doth he more abolish it then the Law of swearing, cited next with the same brevity, and more appearance of contradicting: for Divorce hath an exception left it; but we are charg'd there, as absolutely as words can charge us, *not*

so swear at all : yet who denies the lawfulness of an Oath, though here it be in no case permitted ? And what shall become of his solemn Protestation not to abolish one Law, or one tittle of any Law, especially of those which he mentions in this Chapter ? And that he meant more particularly the not abolishing of *Mosaic* Divorce, is beyond all cavil manifest in *Luke* 16. 17, 18. where this Clause against abrogating is inserted immediately before the sentence against Divorce, as if it were call'd thither on purpose to defend the equity of this particular Law against the foreseen rashness of common Textuaries, who abolish Laws, as the Rabble demolish Images, in the zeal of their hammers oft violating the Sepulchers of good men ; like *Pentheus* in the Tragedies, they see that for *Thebes* which is not, and take that for Superstition, as these men in the heat of their annulling perceive not how they abolish Right, and Equal, and Justice under the appearance of *judicial*. And yet are confessing all the while, that these sayings of Christ stand not in contradiction to the Law of *Moses*, but to the false Doctrine of the Pharisees rais'd from thence ; that the Law of God is perfect, not liable to additions or diminutions : and *Parau* accuses the Jesuit *Maldonatus* of greatest fallity for limiting the perfection of that Law only to the rudeness of the Jews. He adds, *That the Law promisseth life to the performers thereof, therefore needs not perfecter precepts then such as bring to life ; that if the corrections of Christ stand opposite, not to the corruptions of the Pharisees, but to the Law it self of God, the heresie of Manes would follow, one God of the Old Testament, and another of the New. That Christ saith not here, Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of Moses Law, but of the Scribes and Pharisees.* That all this may be true : whether is common sense flown asquint, if we can maintain that Christ forbid the *Mosaic* Divorce utterly, and yet abolish't not the Law that permits it ? For if the Conscience only were checkt, and the Law not repeal'd, what means the *Fanatic* boldness of this Age that dares tutor Christ to be more strict then he thought fit ? Ye shall have the evasion, it was a judicial Law. What could infancy and slumber have invented more childish ? judicial or not judicial, it was one of those laws expressly which he forewarn'd us with protestation, that his mind was not to abrogate : and if we mark the steerage of his words, what course they hold, we may perceive that what he protested not to dissolve (that he might faithfully and not deceitfully remove a suspicion from himself) was principally concerning the judicial Law ; for of that sort are all these here which he vindicates, except the last. Of the Ceremonial Law he told them true, that nothing of it should pass *until all were fulfill'd*. Of the moral Law he knew the Pharisees did not suspect he meant to nullitie that : for so doing would soon have undone his authority, and advanced theirs. Of the judicial Law therefore chiefly this Apologie was meant : For how is that fulfill'd longer then the common equity thereof remains in force ? And how is this our Saviours defence of himself not made fallacious, if the Pharisees chief fear be lest he should abolish the judicial Law, and he to satisfy them, protests his good intention to the Moral Law ? It is the general grant of Divines, that what in the Judicial Law is not merely *judaical*, but reaches to human equity in common, was never in the thought of being abrogated. If our Saviour took away ought of Law, it was the burthen of it, not the ease of burden ; it was the bondage, not the liberty of any divine Law, that he remov'd : this he often profess't to be the end of his coming. But what if the Law of Divorce be a moral Law, as most certainly it is fundamentally, and hath been so prov'd in the reasons thereof ? For though the giving of a Bill may be judicial, yet the act of Divorce is altogether conversant in good or evil, and so absolutely moral. So far as it is good, it never can be abolish't, being moral ; and so far as it is simply evil, it never could be judicial, as hath been shewn at large in the *Doctrine of Divorce*, and will be reassum'd anon. Whence one of these two necessities follow, that either it was never establisht, or never abolisht. Thus much may be enough to have said on this place. The following Verse will be better unfolded in the 19th Chapter, where it meets us again, after a large debate on the Question between our Saviour and his Adversaries.

Mat. XIX. 3, 4, &c.

V. 3. *And the Pharisees came unto him, tempting him, and saying unto him.*

Tempting him.] The manner of these men coming to our Saviour, not to learn, but to tempt him, may give us to expect that their Answer will be such as is fittest for them ; not so much a teaching, as an intangling. No man, though never so willing or so well enabl'd to instruct, but if he discern his willingness and candor

made use of to intrap him, will suddenly draw in himself, and laying aside the facile vein of perspicuity, will know his time to utter Clouds and Riddles; if he be not less wise than that noted Fish, when as he should be not unwiser than the Serpent. Our Saviour at no time express any great desire to teach the obstinate and unteachable Pharisees; but when they came to tempt him, then least of all. As now about the liberty of Divorce, so another time about the punishment of Adultery they came to sound him; and what satisfaction got they from his answer, either to themselves or to us, that might direct a Law under the Gospel new from that of *Moses*, unless we draw his absolution of Adultery into an Edict? So about the Tribute, who is there can pick out a full Solution, what and when we must give to *Cesar*, by the Answer which he gave the Pharisees? If we must give to *Cesar* that which is *Cæsars*, and all be *Cæsars* which hath his Image, we must either new stamp our Coin, or we may go new stamp our Foreheads with the superscription of Slaves instead of Freemen. Besides, it is a general Precept, not only of Christ, but of all other Sages, not to instruct the unworthy and the conceited, who love Tradition more than Truth, but to perplex and stumble them purposely with contriv'd obcurities. No wonder then if they who would determine of Divorce by this place, have ever found it difficult, and unsatisfying through all the Ages of the Church, as *Austin* himself and other great Writers confess. Lastly, It is manifest to be the principal scope of our Saviour, both here, and in the 5th of *Matthew*, to convince the Pharisees of what they being evil did licentiously, not to explain what others being good and blameless men might be permitted to do in case of extremity. Neither was it seasonable to talk of honest and conscientious liberty among them, who had abused legal and civil liberty to uncivil licence. We do not say to a Servant what we say to a Son; nor was it expedient to preach Freedom to those who had transgressed in Wantonness. When we rebuke a Prodigal, we admonish him of Thrift, not of Magnificence, or Bounty. And to school a proud man we labour to make him humble, not magnanimous. So Christ to retort these arrogant Inquisitors their own, took the course to lay their Haughtiness under a severity which they deserv'd; not to acquaint them, or to make them Judges either of the just mans Right and Privilege, or of the afflicted mans Necessity. And if we may have leave to conjecture, there is a likelihood offer'd us by *Tertullian* in his 4th against *Marcion*, whereby it may seem very probable that the Pharisees had a private drift of Malice against our Saviours life in proposing this Question; and our Saviour had a peculiar aim in the rigor of his Answer, both to let them know the freedom of his spirit, and the sharpness of his discerning. *This I must now shew, saith Tertullian, whence our Lord deduc'd this sentence, and which way he directed it, whereby it will more fully appear that he intended not to dissolve Moles.* And thereupon tells us, that the vehemence of this our Saviours speech was chiefly darted against *Herod* and *Herodias*. The Story is out of *Josephus*: *Herod* had been a long time married to the Daughter of *Aretas* King of *Petra*, till hapning on his journey towards *Rome* to be entertain'd at his brother *Philips* house, he cast his eye unlawfully and unguesslike upon *Herodias* there, the Wife of *Philip*, but Daughter to *Aristobulus* their common Brother, and durst make words of marrying her his Niece from his Brothers bed. She assented upon agreement he should expel his former Wife. All was accomplisht, and by the *Baptist* rebuk't with the loss of his head. Though doubtles that staid not the various discourses of men upon the fact, which while the *Herodian* flatterers, and not a few perhaps among the Pharisees, endeavour'd to defend by wresting the Law, it might be a means to bring the Question of Divorce into a hot agitation among the People, how far *Moses* gave allowance. The Pharisees therefore, knowing our Saviour to be a friend of *John the Baptist*, and no doubt but having heard much of his Sermon in the Mount, wherein he spake rigidly against the licence of Divorce, they put him this Question, both in hope to find him a Contradictor of *Moses*, and a Condemner of *Herod*; so to insnare him within compass of the same accusation which had ended his friend; and our Saviour so orders his Answer, as that they might perceive *Herod* and his Adulterers, only not nam'd: so lively it concern'd them both what he spake. No wonder then if the Sentence of our Saviour sounded stricter then his custom was; which his conscious Attempters doubtless apprehended sooner then his other Auditors. Thus much we gain from hence to inform us, that what Christ intends to speak here of Divorce, will be rather the forbidding of what we may not do herein passionately and abusively, as *Herod* and *Herodias* did, then the discussing of what herein we may do reasonably and necessarily.

Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife?] It might be render'd more exactly from the Greek, *to loosen or to set free*; which though it seem to have a milder signification than the two Hebrew words commonly us'd for divorce, yet Interpreters have noted, that the Greek also is read in the *Septuagint*, for an act which is not without contraint. As when *Achish* drove from his presence *David* counterfeiting madness. *Psal.* 34. the Greek word is the same with this here, to put away. And *Erasmus* quotes *Hilary* rendering it by an expression not so soft. Whence may be doubted, whether the Pharises did not state this question in the strict right of the man, not tarrying for the wives consent. And if our Saviour answer directly according to what was askt in the term of putting away, it may be questionable, whether the rigor of his sentence did not forbid only such putting away as is without mutual consent, in a violent and harsh manner, or without any reason, but will, as the *Tetrarch* did. Which might be the cause that those Christian Emperours fear'd not in their constitutions to dissolve Marriage by mutual consent; in that our Saviour seems here, as the case is most likely, not to condemn all divorce, but all injury and violence in divorce. But no injury can be done to them who seek it, as the *Ethics* of *Aristotle* sufficiently prove. True it is, that an unjust thing may be done to one though willing, and so may justly be forbid'n: But divorce being in it self no unjust or evil thing, but only as it is joyn'd with injury, or lust; injury it cannot be at law, if consent be, and *Aristotle* err not. And lust it may as frequently not be, while charity hath the judging of so many private grievances in a misfortun'd Wedlock, which may pard'nably seek a redemption. But whether it be or not, the law cannot discern, or examine lust, so long as it walks from one lawful term to another, from Divorce to Marriage, both in themselves indifferent. For if the Law cannot take hold to punish many actions apparently covetous, ambitious, ingrateful, proud, how can it forbid and punish that for lust, which is but only surmis'd so, and can no more be certainly prov'd in the divorcing now, then before in the marrying? Whence if Divorce be no unjust thing, but through lust, a cause not discernable by law, as law is wont to discern in other cases, and can be no injury where consent is, there can be nothing in the equity of law, why divorce by consent may not be lawful: leaving secrecies to conscience, the thing which our Saviour here aims to rectifie, not to revoke the statutes of *Moses*. In the mean while the word *To put away*, being in the Greek to loosen or dissolve, utterly takes away that vain papittical distinction of divorce from bed, and divorce from bond, evincing plainly that both Christ and the Pharises mean here that divorce which finally dissolves the bond, and frees both parties to a second Marriage.

For every cause.] This the Pharises held, that for every cause they might divorce, for every accidental cause, any quarrel or difference that might happ'n. So both *Josephus* and *Philo*, men who liv'd in the same age, explain; and the *Syriack* translator, whose antiquity is thought parallel to the *Evangelists* themselves, reads it conformably upon any occasion or pretence. Divines also generally agree that thus the Pharises meant. *Cameron* a late Writer, much applauded, commenting this place not undiligently, affirms that the Greek preposition *καὶ* translated unusually (For) hath a force in it implying the suddenness of those Pharisaic divorces; and that their question was to this effect, *whether for any cause whatever it chanc'd to be, straight as it rose, the divorce might be lawful*. This he freely gives what ever mov'd him, and I as freely take, nor can deny his observation to be acute and learned. If therefore we insist upon the word of *putting away*, that it imports a constraint without consent, as might be insisted, and may enjoy what *Cameron* bestows on us, that *for every cause* is to be understood, *according as any cause may happen*, with a relation to the speediness of those divorces, and that *Herodian* act especially, as is already brought us, the sentence of our Saviour will appear nothing so strict a prohibition as hath been long conceiv'd, forbidding only to divorce for casual and temporary causes, that may be soon ended, or soon remedied; and likewise forbidding to divorce rashly, and on the sudden heat, except it be for adultery. If these qualifications may be admitted, as partly we offer them, partly are offer'd them by some of their own opinion, and that where nothing is repugnant why they should not be admitted, nothing can wrest them from us, the severe sentence of our Saviour will straight unbend the seeming frown into that gentleness and compassion which was so abundant in all his actions, his office and his doctrine, from all which otherwise it stands off at no mean distance.

Verf. 4. *And he answered and said unto them, Have ye not read that he which made them at the beginning, made them Male and Female?*

Verf. 5. *And said, for this cause shall a man leave Father and Mother, and shall cleave to his Wife, and they twain shall be one flesh.*

Verf. 6. *Wherefore they are no more twain, but one flesh: what therefore God hath joyned together, let no man put asunder.*

4. and 5. *Made them Male and Female; And said, for this cause, &c.*] We see it here undeniably, that the Law which our Saviour cites to prove that Divorce was forbidden, is not an absolute and tyrannical command without reason, as now-a-days we make it little better, but is grounded upon some rational cause not difficult to be apprehended, being in a matter which equally concerns the meanest and the plainest sort of persons in a household life. Our next way then will be to inquire if there be not more reasons than one; and if there be, whether this be the best and chiefest. That we shall find by turning to the first Institution, to which Christ refers our own reading; He himself having to deal with treacherous assailants, useth brevity, and lighting on the first place in *Genesis* that mentions any thing tending to Marriage in the first chapter, joyns it immediately to the 24th verse of the 2d chapter, omitting all the prime words between, which create the institution, and contain the noblest and purest ends of Matrimony; without which attain'd, that conjunction hath nothing in it above what is common to us with beasts. So likewise beneath in this very chapter, to the young man who came not tempting him, but to learn of him, asking him which Commandments he should keep; he neither repeats the first Table, nor all the second, nor that in order which he repeats. If here then being tempted, he desire to be the shorter, and the darker in his Conference, and omit to cite that from the second of *Genesis*, which all Divines confess is a Commentary to what he cites out of the first, the *making them Male and Female*: what are we to do, but to search the institution our selves? and we shall find there his own authority, giving other manner of reasons why such firm union is to be in Matrimony; without which reasons, there being male and female can be no cause of joyning them unseparably: for if it be, then no Adultery can sever. Therefore the prohibition of Divorce depends not upon this reason here express'd to the Pharisees, but upon the plainer and more eminent causes omitted here, and referr'd to the institution; which causes not being found in a particular and casual Matrimony, this sensitive and materious cause alone can no more hinder a divorce against those higher and more human reasons urging it, then it can alone without them to warrant a copulation, but leaves arbitrary to those who in their chance of Marriage find not why Divorce is forbid them, but why it is permitted them; and find both here and in *Genesis*, that the forbidding is not absolute, but according to the reasons there taught us, not here. And that our Saviour taught them no better, but uses the most vulgar, most animal and corporal argument to convince them, is first to shew us, that as through their licentious Divorces they made no more of Marriage then, as if to marry were no more then to be male and female, so he goes no higher in his confutation; deeming them unworthy to be talkt with in a higher strain, but to be ty'd in Marriage by the meer material cause thereof, since their own licence testify'd that nothing matrimonial was in their thought but to be male and female. Next it might be done to discover the brute ignorance of these carnal Doctors, who taking on them to dispute of Marriage and Divorce, were put to silence with such a slender opposition as this, and outed from their hold with scarce one quarter of an argument. That we may believe this, his entertainment of the young man soon after may perswade us. Whom, though he came to preach eternal life by faith only, he dismisses with a salvation taught him by works only. On which place *Paræus* notes, *That this man was to be convinc'd by a false persuasion; and that Christ is wont otherwise to answer hypocrites, otherwise those that are docible.* Much rather then may we think that in handling these tempters, he forgot not so to frame his prudent ambiguities and concealments, as was to the troubling of those peremptory disputants most wholesome. When therefore we would know what right there may be, in ill accidents, to divorce, we must repair thither where God professes to teach his servants by the prime institution, and not where we see him intending to dazle Sophisters: We must not read *he made them Male and Female*, and not understand he made them more intendedly *a meet help* to remove the evil of being *alone*. We must take both these together, and then we may infer compleatly as from the whole cause why a man shall cleave to his wife, and they

they twain shall be one flesh: but if the full and chief cause why we may not divorce, be wanting here, this place may skirmish with the Rabbies while it will, but to the true Christian it prohibits nothing beyond the full reason of its own prohibiting, which is best known by the institution.

Verf. 6. *Wherefore they are no more twain, but one flesh.*] This is true in the general right of Marriage, but not in the chance-medley of every particular match. For if they who were once undoubtedly one flesh, yet become twain by adultery, then sure they who were never one flesh rightly, never helps meet for each other according to the plain prescript of God, may with less ado then a volume be concluded still twain. And so long as we account a Magistrate no Magistrate, if there be but a flaw in his election, why should we not much rather count a Matrimony no Matrimony, if it cannot be in any reasonable manner according to the words of God's institution?

What therefore God hath joyned, let no man put asunder.] But here the Christian prudence lies to consider what God hath joyn'd; shall we say that God hath joyn'd error, fraud, unfitness, wrath, contention, perpetual loneliness, perpetual discord; what ever lust, or wine, or witchery, threat, or inticement, avarice or ambition hath joyn'd together, faithful with unfaithful, Christian with Antichristian, hate with hate, or hate with love, shall we say this is God's joyning?

Let not man put asunder.] That is to say, what God hath joyn'd; for if it be, as how oft we see it may be, not of God's joyning, and his Law tells us he joyns not unmatchable things, but hates to joyn them, as an abominable confusion, then the divine law of *Moses* puts them asunder, his own divine will in the institution puts them asunder, as oft as the reasons be not extant, for which only God ordain'd their joyning. Man only puts asunder when his inordinate desires, his passion, his violence, his injury makes the breach: not when the utter want of that which lawfully was the end of his joyning, when wrongs and extremities, and unsupportable grievances compel him to disjoin: when such as *Herod* and the Pharises divorce beside law, or against law, then only man separates, and to such only this prohibition belongs. In a word, if it be unlawful for man to put asunder that which God hath joyn'd, let man take heed it be not detestable to joyn that by compulsion which God hath put asunder.

Verf. 7. *They say unto him, Why did Moses then command to give a writing of divorcement, and to put her away?*

Verf. 8. *He saith unto them, Moses because of the hardness of your hearts suffered you to put away your wives; but from the beginning it was not so.*

Moses because of the hardness of your hearts suffered you.] Hence the Divinity now current argues that this judicial *Moses* is abolisht. But suppose it were so, though it hath bin prov'd otherwise, the firmness of such right to divorce as here pleads is fetcht from the prime institution, does not stand or fall with the judicial Jew, but is as moral as what is morall. Yet as I have shewn positively that this law cannot be abrogated, both by the words of our Saviour pronouncing the contrary, and by that unabolishable equity which it conveys to us; so I shall now bring to view those appearances of strength which are levied from this text to maintain the most gross and massy paradox that ever d'd violence to reason and religion, bred only under the shadow of these words, to all other piety or philosophy strange and insolent, that God by act of law drew out a line of adultery almost two thousand years long: although to detect the prodigy of this surmise, the former book set forth on this argument hath already been copious. I shall not repeat much though I might borrow of mine own, but shall endeavour to add something either yet untoucht, or not largely enough explain'd. First it shall be manifest that the common exposition cannot possibly consist with christian doctrine: next a truer meaning of this our Saviours reply shall be left in the room. The receiv'd exposition is, that God, though not approving, did enact a law to permit adultery by divorcement simply unlawful. And this conceit they feed with fond supposals that have not the least footing in Scripture: As that the Jews learnt this custom of divorce in *Egypt*, and therefore God would not unteach it them till Christ came, but let it stick as a notorious borch of deformity in the midst of his most perfect and severe law. And yet he saith, *Levit.* the 18th, *after the doings of Egypt ye shall not do.* Another while they invent a slander (as what thing more bold then teaching Ignorance when he shifts to hide his nakednes?) that the Jews were naturally to their
wives

wives the cruellest men in the world; would poison, brain, and do I know not what, if they might not divorce. Certain, if it were a fault heavily punished, to bring an evil report upon the land which God gave, what is it to raise a groundless calumny against the people which God made choice of? But that this bold interpretation, how commonly so ever sided with, cannot stand a minute with any competent reverence to God or his law, or his people, nor with any other maxim of religion, or good manners, might be prov'd through all the heads and the *Topics* of argumentation: but I shall willingly be as concise as possible. First the law, not only the moral, but the judicial given by *Moses*, is just and pure; for such is God who gave it. *Harken O Israel, saith Moses, Deut. 4. unto the statutes and the judgments which I teach you, to do them, that ye may live, &c. Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish ought from it, that ye may keep the commandments of the Lord your God which I command you.* And onward in the chapter, *Behold, I have taught you statutes and judgments, even as the Lord my God commanded me. Keep therefore and do them, for this is your wisdom and your understanding. For what nation hath God so nigh unto them, and what nation hath statutes and judgments so righteous as all this law which I set before ye this day?* Is it imaginable there should be among these a law which God allow'd not, a law giving permissions laxative to unmarried a wife and marry a lust, a law to suffer a kind of *tribunal* adultery? Many other Scriptures might be brought to assert the purity of this judicial Law, and many I have alleg'd before; this law therefore is pure and just. But if it permit, if it teach, if it defend that which is both unjust and impure, as by the common doctrine it doth, what think we? The three general doctrines of *Justinians* law, are *To live in honesty, To hurt no man, To give every one his due.* Shall the *Roman civil* law observe these three things, as the only end of law, and shall a statute be found in the civil law of God, enacted simply and totally against all these three precepts of nature and morality?

Secondly, The gifts of God are all perfect, and certainly the Law is of all his other gifts one of the perfectest. But if it give that outwardly which it takes away really, and give that seemingly, which, if a man take it, wraps him into sin and damns him; what gift of an enemy can be more dangerous and destroying than this?

Thirdly, *Moses* every-where commends his Laws, prefers them before all of other Nations, and warrants them to be the way of life and safety to all that walk therein, *Levit. 18.* But if they contain Statutes which God approves not, and train men unwitting to commit injustice and adultery under the shelter of Law; if those things be sin, and death sins wages, what is this Law but the snare of death?

Fourthly, The Statutes and Judgments of the Lord, which, without exception, are often told us to be such, as doing we may live by them, are doubtless to be counted the rule of knowledge and of conscience. *For I had not known lust, saith the Apostle, but by the law.* But if the Law come down from the state of her incorruptible Majesty to grant lust his boon, palpably it dark'ns and confounds both knowledge and conscience; it goes against the common office of all goodness and friendliness, which is at least to counsel and admonish; it subverts the rules of all sober education, and is it self a most negligent and debauching Tutor.

Fifthly, If the Law permit a thing unlawful, it permits that which else-where it hath forbid; so that hereby it contradicts it self, and transgresses it self. But if the Law become a transgressor, it stands guilty to it self, and how then shall it save another? it makes a confederacy with sin, how then can it justly condemn a sinner? And thus reducing it self to the state of neither saving nor condemning, it will not fail to expire solemnly ridiculous.

Sixthly, The Prophets in Scripture declare severely against the decreeing of that which is unjust, *Psal. 94. 20. Isaiah the 10th.* But it was done, they say, for hardness of heart: To which Objection the Apostle's rule, *not to do evil that good may come thereby*, gives an invincible repuls; and here especially, where it cannot be shewn how any good came by doing this evil, how rather more evil did not hereon abound; for the giving way to hardness of heart hard'ns the more, and adds more to the number. God to an evil and adulterous generation would not grant a sign; much less would he for their hardness of heart pollute his Law with an adulterous permission. Yea, but to permit evil, is not to do evil. Yes, it is in a most eminent manner to do evil: where else are all our grave and faithful sayings, that he whose office is to forbid and forbids not, bids, exhorts, encourages? Why hath God denounc'd his anger against Parents, Masters, Friends, Magistrates neglectful of forbidding what they ought, if Law, the common Father, Master, Friend, and perpetual Magistrate shall not only

only not forbid, but enact, exhibit, and uphold with countenance and protection, a deed every way dishonest, whatever the pretence be. If it were of those inward vices, which the Law cannot by outward constraint remedy, but leaves to conscience and persuasion, it had bin guiltless in being silent: but to write a Decree of that which can be no way lawful, and might with ease be hinder'd, makes Law by the doom of Law it self accessory in the highest degree.

Seventhly, It makes God the direct author of Sin: For although he be not made the author of what he silently permits in his Providence, yet in his Law, the image of his Will, when in plain expression he constitutes and ordains a fact utterly unlawful; what wants he to authorize it, and what wants that to be the author?

Eighthly, To establish by Law a thing wholly unlawful and dishonest, is an affirmation was never heard of before in any Law, Reason, Philosophy, or Religion, till it was rais'd by inconsiderat Glossitis from the mistake of this Text. And though the Civilians have bin contented to chew this opinion, after the Canon had subdu'd them, yet they never could bring example or authority either from divine Writ, or human Learning, or human Practice in any Nation, or well-form'd Republick, but only from the customary abuse of this text. Usually they allege the Epistle of *Cicero* to *Atticus*; wherein *Cato* is blam'd for giving sentence to the scum of *Romulus*, as if he were in *Plato's* Commonwealth. *Cato* would have call'd some great one into judgment for Bribery; *Cicero*, as the time stood, advis'd against it. *Cato*, not to endamage the public Treasury, would not grant to the Roman Knights, that the *Asian* Taxes might be farm'd them at a less rate. *Cicero* wisht it granted. Nothing in all this will be like the establishing of a Law to sin: Here are no Laws made, here only the execution of Law is crav'd might be suspended: between which and our question is a broad difference. And what if human Law-givers have confest they could not frame their Laws to that perfection which they desir'd? we hear of no such confession from *Moses* concerning the Laws of God, but rather all praise and high testimony of perfection given them. And although man's nature cannot bear exactest Laws, yet still within the confines of good it may and must, so long as less good is far enough from altogether evil. As for what they instance of Usury, let them first prove Usury to be wholly unlawful, as the Law allows it; which learned Men as numerous on the other side will deny them. Or if it be altogether unlawful, why is it tolerated more then Divorce? he who said, Divorce not, said also, *Lend, hoping for nothing again*, Luk. 6. 35. But then they put in, that Trade could not stand. And so to serve the commodity of insatiable trading, Usury shall be permitted, but Divorce, the only means oft-times to right the innocent, and outrageously wrong'd, shall be utterly forbid. This is egregious doctrine, and for which one day Charity will much thank them. *Beza* not finding how to save this perplexity, and *Cameron* since him, would secure us; although the latter confesses that to permit a wicked thing by law, is a wickedness which God abhors; yet to limit sin, and prescribe it a certain measure, is good. First this evasion will not help here; for this Law bounded no man; he might put away whatever found not favour in his eyes. And how could it forbid to divorce, whom it could not forbid to dislike, or command to love? If these be the limits of Law to restrain sin, who so lame a sinner but may hop over them more easily then over those *Romulean* circumscriptions, not as *Remus* did with hard success, but with all indemnity? Such a limiting as this were not worth the mischief that accompanies it. This Law therefore not bounding the supposed sin, by permitting enlarges it, gives it enfranchisement. And never greater confusion, then when Law and Sin move their Land-marks, mix their Territories, and correspond, have intercourse and traffick together. When Law contracts a kindred and hospitality with Transgression, becomes the Godfather of sin, and names it lawful; when sin revels and gossips within the Arcenal of Law, plays and dandles the Artillery of Justice that should be bent against her, this is a fair limitation indeed. Besides, it is an absurdity to say that Law can measure sin, or moderate sin; sin is not in a predicament to be measur'd and modify'd, but is always an excess. The least sin that is, exceeds the measure of the largest Law that can be good; and is as boundless as that vacuity beyond the world. If once it square to the measure of Law, it ceases to be an excess, and consequently ceases to be a sin; or else Law conforming it self to the obliquity of sin, betrays it self to be not straight, but crooked, and so immediately no Law. And the improper conceit of moderating sin by Law, will appear, if we can imagin any Law-giver so senseless as to decree that so far a man may steal, and thus far be drunk, that moderately he may cozen, and moderately commit adultery. To the same extent it would

be as pithily absurd to publish that a man may moderately divorce, if to do that be intirely naught. But to end this moot, the Law of *Moses* is manifest to fix no limit therein at all, or such at least as impeaches the fraudulent abuser no more then if it were not set ; only requires the dismissive writing without other caution, leaves that to the inner man, and the bar of conscience. But it stopp other sins. This is as vain as the rest, and dangerously uncertain : the contrary to be fear'd rather, that one sin admitted courteously by Law, open'd the gate to another. However, evil must not be done for good. And it were a fall to be lamented, an indignity unspeakable, if Law should become tributary to sin her slave, and forc'd to yield up into his hands her awful minister Punishment, should buy out her peace with sin for sin, paying as it were her so many *Philistian* foreskins to the proud demand of Transgression. But suppose it any way possible to limit sin, to put a girdle about that *Chaos*, suppose it also good ; yet if to permit sin by Law be an abomination in the eyes of God, as *Cameron* acknowledges, the evil of permitting will eat out the good of limiting. For though sin be not limited, there can but evil come out of evil ; but if it be permitted and decreed lawful by divine Law, of force then sin must proceed from the infinite Good, which is a dreadful thought. But if the restraining of sin by this permission being good, as this author testifies, be more good then the permission of more sin by the restraint of divorce, and that God weighing both these, like two ingots in the perfect scales of his Justice and Providence found them so, and others coming without authority from God, shall change this counterpoise, and judg it better to let sin multiply by setting a judicial restraint upon divorce, which Christ never set ; then to limit sin by this permission, as God himself thought best to permit it, it will behove them to consult betimes whether these their ballances be not fals and abominable ; and this their limiting that which God loosen'd, and their loosning the sins that he limited, which they confess was good to do : and were it possible to do by Law, doubtless it would be most morally good ; and they so believing, as we hear they do, and yet abolishing a Law so good and moral, the limiter of sin, what are they else but contrary to themselves ? for they can never bring us to that time wherein it will not be good to limit sin, and they can never limit it better then so as God prescrib'd in his Law.

Others conceive it a more defensible retirement to say this permission to divorce sinfully for hardness of heart was a dispensation. But surely they either know not, or attend not what a dispensation means. A dispensation is for no long time, is particular to some persons rather then general to a whole people ; always hath Charity the end, is granted to necessities and infirmities, not to obstinate lust. This permission is another creature, hath all those evils and absurdities following the name of a dispensation, as when it was nam'd a Law ; and is the very *antarctic pole* against Charity, nothing more advers, ensnaring and ruining those that trust in it, or use it ; so leud and criminous as never durst enter into the head of any Politician, Jew, or Profelyte, till they became the apt Scholars of this Canonistic Exposition. Ought in it, that can allude in the least manner to Charity, or Goodness, belongs with more full right to the Christian under Grace and Liberty, then to the Jew under Law and Bondage. To Jewish ignorance it could not be dispenc'd, without a horrid imputation laid upon the Law, to dispence foully, instead of teaching fairly ; like that dispensation that first polluted Christendom with Idolatry, permitting to laymen Images instead of Books and Preaching. Sloth or malice in the Law would they have this call'd ? But what ignorance can be pretended for the Jews, who had all the same Precepts about Marriage, that we now ? for Christ refers all to the institution. It was as reasonable for them to know then as for us now, and concern'd them alike : for wherein hath the Gospel alter'd the nature of Matrimony ? All these considerations, or many of them, have bin furder amplify'd in *the doctrine of Divorce*. And what *Rivetius* and *Parvus* hath objected, or giv'n over as past cure, hath bin there discuss'd. Whereby it may be plain enough to men of eyes, that the vulgar exposition of a permittance by Law to an entire sin, whatever the colour may be, is an opinion both ungodly, unpolitic, unvertuous, and void of all honesty and civil sense. It appertains therefore to every zealous Christian both for the honour of God's Law, and the vindication of our Saviour's Words, that such an irreligious depravement no longer may be sooth'd and flatter'd through custom, but with all diligence and speed solidly refuted, and in the room a better explanation giv'n ; which is now our next endeavour.

Moses suffer'd you to put away, &c.] Not commanded you, says the common observer, and therefore car'd not how soon it were abolisht, being but suffer'd; here in declaring his annotation to be slight, and nothing law prudent. For in this place *commanded* and *suffer'd* are interchangeably us'd in the same sense both by our Saviour and the Pharises. Our Saviour who here saith, *Moses suffer'd you*, in the 10th of *Mark* saith, *Moses wrote you this Command*. And the Pharises who here say, *Moses commanded*, and would mainly have it a Command, in that place of *Mark* say *Moses suffered*, which had made against them in their own mouths, if the word of *suffering* had weaken'd the command. So that *suffer'd* and *commanded* is here taken for the same thing on both sides of the controversy: as *Cameron* also and others on this place acknowledge. And Lawyers know that all the precepts of Law are divided into obligatory and permissive, containing either what we must do, or what we may do; and of this latter sort are as many precepts, as of the former, and all as lawful. Tutelage, an ordinance then which nothing more just, being for the defence of Orphans, the *Institutes of Justinian*, say *is given and permitted by the Civil Law*: and to Parents it is *permitted to choose and appoint by will the Guardians of their Children*. What more equal, and yet the Civil Law calls this *permission*. So likewise to *manumise*, to adopt, to make a Will, and to be made an Heir is call'd *permission* by Law. Marriage it self, and this which is already granted, to divorce for Adultery, obliges no man, is but a permission by Law, is but suffer'd. By this we may see how weakly it hath bin thought that all Divorce is utterly unlawful, because the Law is said to suffer it: whenas to *suffer* is but the legal phrase denoting what by law a man may do or not do.

Because of the hardness of your hearts.] Hence they argue that therefore he allow'd it not; and therefore it must be abolisht. But the contrary to this will sooner follow, that because he suffer'd it for a cause, therefore in relation to that cause he allow'd it. Next, if he in his wisdom, and in the midst of his severity allow'd it for hardness of heart, it can be nothing better then arrogance and presumption to take stricter courses against hardness of heart then God ever set an example, and that under the Gospel which warrants them to no judicial act of compulsion in this matter, much less to be more severe against hardness of extremity, then God thought good to be against hardness of heart. He suffer'd it, rather then worse inconveniences; these men wiser as they make themselves, will suffer the worst and hainoufist inconveniences to follow, rather then they will suffer what God suffer'd. Although they can know when they please, that Christ spake only to the conscience, did not judg on the civil bench, but always disavow'd it. What can be more contrary to the ways of God then these their doings? If they be such enemies to hardness of heart, although this groundless rigor proclaims it to be in themselves, they may yet learn, or consider that hardness of heart hath a twofold acception in the Gospel. One, when it is in a good man taken for infirmity, and impefection, which was in all the Apostles, whose weakness only, not utter want of belief is call'd hardness of heart, *Mark* 16. Partly for this hardness of heart, the imperfection and decay of man from original righteousness, it was that God suffer'd not Divorce only, but all that which by Civilians is term'd the *secondary Law of Nature and of Nations*. He suffer'd his own people to waste and spoil and slay by War, to lead captives, to be some masters, some servants, some to be Princes, others to be Subjects; he suffer'd propriety to divide all things by several possession, trade and commerce, not without usury; in his Commonwealth some to be undeservedly rich, others to be undeservingly poor. All which till hardness of heart came in, was most unjust; whenas prime Nature made us all equal, made us equal coheirs by common right and dominion over all creatures. In the same manner, and for the same cause he suffer'd Divorce as well as Marriage, our imperfect and degenerate condition of necessity requiring this Law among the rest, as a remedy against intolerable wrong and servitude above the patience of man to bear. Nor was it giv'n only because our infirmity, or if it must be so call'd, hardness of heart could not endure all things, but because the hardness of anothers heart might not inflict all things upon an innocent person, whom far other ends brought into a league of love and not of bondage and indignity. If therefore we abolish Divorce as only suffer'd for hardness of heart, we may as well abolish the whole Law of Nations, as only suffer'd for the same cause; it being shewn us by Saint Paul 1 *Cor.* 6. that the very seeking of a mans right by Law, and at the hands of a worldly Magistrate, is not without the hardness of our hearts. *For why do ye not rather take wrong*, saith he, *why suffer ye not rather your selves to be defrauded?* If nothing now must be suffer'd for hardness of heart, I say the very prosecution of our right by way of civil Justice can no more be suffer'd among

Christians, for the hardnes of heart wherewith most men persue it. And that would next remove all our judicial Laws, and this restraint of Divorce also in the number; which would more then half end the controversy. But if it be plain that the whole juridical Law and Civil Power is only suffer'd under the Gospel, for the hardnes of our hearts, then wherefore should not that which *Moses* suffer'd, be suffer'd still by the same reason?

In a second signification hardnes of heart is tak'n for a stubborn resolution to do evil. And that God ever makes any Law purposely to such, I deny; for he voutsafes not to enter Cov'nant with them, but as they fortune to be mixt with good men, and pass undiscover'd; much less that he should decree an unlawful thing only to serve their licentiousness. But that God *suffers* this reprobate hardnes of heart I affirm, not only in this law of Divorce, but throughout all his best and purest Commandments. He commands all to worship in singlenes of heart according to all his Ordinances; and yet suffers the wicked man to perform all the rites of Religion hypocritically and in the hardnes of his heart. He gives us general statutes and privileges in all civil matters, just and good of themselves, yet suffers unworthiest men, to use them, and by them to prosecute their own right, or any colour of right, tho for the most part maliciously, covetously, rigorously, revengefully. He allow'd by law the discreet father and husband to forbid, if he thought fit, the religious vows of his wife or daughter, *Num. 30.* and in the same law suffer'd the hard-heartednes of impious and covetous fathers or husbands abusing this law to forbid their wives or daughters in their offerings and devotions of greatest zeal. If then God suffer hardnes of heart equally in the best Laws as in this of Divorce, there can be no reason that for this cause this Law should be abolished. But other Laws, they object, may be well us'd, this never. How often shall I answer both from the institution of Marriage, and from other general rules in Scripture, that this Law of Divorce hath many wise and charitable ends besides the being suffer'd for hardnes of heart; which is indeed no end, but an accident hapning through the whole Law; which gives to good men right, and to bad men, who abuse right under false pretences, gives only sufferance. Now although Christ expresse no other reasons here, but only what was suffer'd, it nothing followes that this Law had no other reason to be permitted but for hardnes of heart. The Scripture seldom, or never in one place sets down all the reasons of what it grants or commands, especially when it talks to enemies and tempters. *St. Paul* permitting Marriage, *1 Cor. 7.* seems to permit even that also for hardnes of heart only, lest we should run into fornication; yet no intelligent man thence concludes Marriage allow'd in the Gospel only to avoid an evil, because no other end is there exprest. Thus *Moses* of necessity suffer'd many to put away their wives for hardnes of heart; but enacted the law of Divorce doubtles for other good causes, nor for this only sufferance. He permitted not Divorce by law as an evil, for that was impossible to divine Law, but permitted by accident the evil of them who divorc't against the Laws intention undiscoverably. This also may be thought not improbably, that Christ, stirr'd up in his spirit against these tempting Pharises, answer'd them in a certain form of indignation usual among good authors; whereby the question, or the truth is not directly answer'd, but some thing which is fitter for them, who ask, to hear. So in the Ecclesiastical stories, one demanding how God imploy'd himself before the world was made? had answer; that he was making hell for curious questioners. Another (and *Libanius* the *Sophist* as I remember) asking in derision some Christian, What the Carpenter, meaning our Saviour, was doing, now that *Julian* so prevail'd? had it return'd him, that the Carpenter was making a coffin for the *Apestat*. So Christ being demanded maliciously why *Moses* made the law of Divorce, answers them in a vehement *scheme*, not telling them the cause why he made it, but what was fittest to be told them, that for the hardnes of their hearts he suffer'd them to abuse it. And albeit *Mark* say not he suffer'd you, but to you he wrote this precept; *Mark* may be warrantably expounded by *Matthew* the larger. And whether he suffer'd, or gave precept, being all one as was heard, it changes not the trope of indignation, fittest account for such askers. Next for the hardnes of your hearts to you he wrote this precept, inters not therefore for this cause only he wrote it, as was parallell'd by other Scriptures. Lastly, It may be worth the observing, that Christ speaking to the Pharises, does not say in general that for hardnes of heart he gave this precept, but you he suffer'd, and to you he gave this precept for your hardnes of heart. It cannot be easily thought that Christ here included all the children of *Israel* under the person of these tempting Pharises, but that he conceals; wherefore he gave the better sort of them this Law, and expresses by saying emphatically

phatically *To you* how he gave it to the worse, such as the Pharisees best represented, that is to say, for the hardnes of your hearts: as indeed to wicked men and hardn'd hearts he gives the whole Law and the Gospel also, to hard'n them the more. Thus many ways it may orthodoxally be understood how God or *Moses* suffer'd such as the demanders were, to divorce for hardnes of heart. Whereas the vulgar Expofitor, beset with contradictions and absurdities round, and resolving at any peril to make an expofition of it, as there is nothing more violent and boiftrous than a reverend ignorance in fear to be convicted, rushes brutally and impetuously against all the principles both of Nature, Piety, and moral Goodnes; and in the fury of his literal expounding overturns them all.

But from the beginning it was not so.] Not how from the beginning? do they suppose that men might not divorce at all, not necessarily, not deliberately, except for Adultery, but that some law, like canon law, presently attacht them both before and after the flood, till stricter *Moses* came, and with law brought licence into the world? that were a fancy indeed to smile at. Undoubtedly as to point of judicial Law Divorce was more permissive from the beginning before *Moses* then under *Moses*. But from the beginning, that is to say, by the institution in Paradise, it was not intended that Matrimony should dissolve for every trivial cause, as you Pharisees accustom. But that it was not thus suffer'd from the beginning ever since the race of men corrupted, and Laws were made, he who will affirm, must have found out other antiquities then are yet known. Besides we must consider now, what can be so as from the beginning, not only what should be so. In the beginning, had men continu'd perfect, it had bin just that all things should have remain'd, as they began to *Adam* and *Eve*. But after that the Sons of Men grew violent and injurious, it alter'd the lore of justice, and put the government of things into a new frame. While man and woman were both perfect each to other, there needed no Divorce; but when they both degenerated to imperfection, and oft times grew to be an intolerable evil each to other, then Law more justly did permit the alienating of that evil which mistake made proper, then it did the appropriating of that good which Nature at first made common. For if the absence of outward good be not so bad as the presence of a close evil, and that propriety, whether by cov'nant or possession, be but the attainment of some outward good, it is more natural and righteous that the Law should sever us from an intimate evil, then appropriate any outward good to us from the Community of nature. The Gospel indeed tending ever to that which is perfectest, aim'd at the restoration of all things as they were in the beginning, and therefore all things were in common to those primitive Christians in the Acts, which *Ananias* and *Sapphira* dearly felt. That custom also continu'd more or less till the time of *Justin Martyr*, as may be read in his second *Apology*, which might be writ after that act of communion perhaps some forty years above a hundr'd. But who will be the man shall introduce this kind of Commonwealth, as Christianity now goes? If then Marriage must be as in the beginning, the persons that marry must be such as then were; the institution must make good, in some tolerable sort, what it promises to either party. If not, it is but madness to drag this one Ordinance back to the beginning, and draw down all other to the present necessity and condition, far from the beginning, even to the tolerating of extortions and oppressions. Christ only told us that from the beginning it was not so; that is to say, not so as the Pharisees manur'd the business; did not command us that it should be forcibly so again in all points, as at the beginning; or so at least in our intentions and desires, but so in execution, as reason and present nature can bear. Although we are not to seek, that the institution it self from the first beginning was never but conditional, as all cov'nants are: because thus and thus, therefore so and so; if not thus, then not so. Then moreover was perfectest to fulfil each Law in it self; now is perfectest in this estate of things, to ask of charity how much law may be fulfill'd: els the fulfilling oft times is the greatest breaking. If any therefore demand, which is now most perfection, to ease an extremity by Divorce, or to enrage and fetter it by the grievous observance of a miserable Wedloc, I am not destitute to say which is most perfection (although some who believe they think favourably of Divorce, esteem it only venial to infirmity.) Him I hold more in the way to perfection who forgoes an unfit, ungodly, and discordant Wedloc, to live according to peace and love, and Gods institution in a fitter chois, then he who debars himself the happy experience of all godly, which is peaceful conversation in his family, to live a contentious, and unchristian life not to be avoided, in temptations not to be liv'd in, only for the fals keeping of a most unreal nullity, a Marriage that hath no

affinity with God's intention, a daring phantasm, a meer toy of terror awing weak senses, to the lamentable superstition of ruining themselves; the remedy whereof God in his Law vouchsafes us. Which not to dare use, he warranting, is not our perfection, is our infirmity, our little faith, our timorous and low conceit of Charity: and in them who force us, it is their masking pride and vanity, to seem holier and more circumspect than God. So far is it that we need impute to him infirmity, who thus divorces: since the rule of perfection is not so much that which was done in the beginning, as that which now is nearest to the rule of charity. This is the greatest, the perfectest, the highest commandment.

V. 9. *And I say unto you, Whoso shall put away his wife, except it be for Fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery; and whoso marrieth her which is put away, doth commit adultery.*

And I say unto you.] That this restrictive denouncement of Christ contradicts and refutes that permissive precept of *Moses*, common Expositors themselves disclaim: and that it does not traverse from the Closet of Conscience to the Courts of Civil or Canon Law, with any Christian rightly commenc'd, requires not long evincing. If Christ then did not hear check permissive *Moses*, nor did reduce Matrimony to the beginning more than all other things, as the reason of mans condition could bear, we would know precisely what it was which he did, and what the end was of his declaring thus austere against Divorce. For this is a confessed Oracle in Law, that he who looks not at the intention of a Precept, the more superstitious he is of the letter, the more he misinterprets. Was it to shame *Moses*? that had been monstrous: or all those purest Ages of *Israel*, to whom the Permission was granted? that were as incredible. Or was it that he who came to abrogate the burden of Law, not the equity, should put this yoke upon a blameless person, to league himself in chains with a beginning mischief, not to separate till death? He who taught us that no man puts a piece of new cloth upon an old garment, nor new wine into old bottles, that he should sew this patch of strictness upon the old apparel of our frailty, to make a rent more incurable, whereas in all other amendments his doctrine still charges, that regard be had to the garment, and to the vessel, what it can endure; this were an irregular and single piece of rigor, not only sounding disproportion to the whole Gospel, but outstretching the most rigorous nervs of Law and Rigor it self. No other end therefore can be left imaginable of this excessive restraint, but to bridle those erroneous and licentious possillers the Pharisees; not by telling them what may be done in necessity, but what censure they deserve who divorce abusively, which their Tetrarch had done. And as the offence was in one extreme, so the rebuke, to bring more efficaciously to a rectitude and mediocrity, stands not in the middle way of duty, but in the other extreme. Which art of powerful reclaiming, wisest men have also taught in their ethical Precepts and *Gnomologies*, resembling it, as when we bend a crooked wand the contrary way; not that it should stand so bent, but that the overbending might reduce it to a straightness by its own reluctance. And as the Physician cures him who hath tak'n down poyson, not by the middling temper of nourishment, but by the other extreme of *Antidote*, so Christ administers heer a sharp and corrosive sentence against a foul and putrid licence; not to eat into the flesh, but into the fore. And knowing that our Divines through all their Comments make no scruple, where they please, to soften the high and vehement speeches of our Saviour, which they call *Hyperbolies*; why in this one Text should they be such crabbed *Maforites* of the letter, as not to mollifie a transcendence of literal rigidity, which they confess to find often elsewhere in his manner of delivery, but must make their exposition heer such an obdurate *Cyclops*, to have but one eye for this Text, and that only open to cruelty and enthrallment, such as no divine or human Law before ever heard of? No, let the foppish Canonist, with his fardel of matrimonial cases, go and be vendible where men be so unhappy as to cheap'n him: the words of Christ shall be asserted from such elemental Notaries, and resolv'd by the now-only lawgiving mouth of charity; which may be done undoubtedly by understanding them as follows.

Whosoever shall put away his wife.] That is to say, shall so put away as the Propounders of this question, the Pharisees, were wont to do, and covertly defended *Herod* for so doing; whom to rebuke, our Saviour heer mainly intends, and not to determine all the cases of Divorce, as appears by *St. Paul*. Whosoever shall put away, either violently without mutual consent for urgent reasons, or conspiringly by plot of lust, or cunning malice, shall put away for any sudden mood, or contingency of disagreement,

agreement, which is not daily practice, but may blow soon over, and be reconcil'd, except it be Fornication; whosoever shall put away rashly, as his choler prompts him, without due time of deliberating, and think his Conscience discharg'd only by the bill of Divorce giv'n, and the outward Law satisfi'd; whosoever, lastly, shall put away his Wife, that is a Wife indeed, and not in name only, such a one who both can and is willing to be a meet help toward the chief ends of Marriage both civil and sanctify'd, except Fornication be the cause, that Man, or that Pair, commit Adultery. Nor he who puts away by mutual consent, with all the considerations and respects of humanity and gentleness without malicious or lustful drift. Nor he who after sober and cool experience, and long debate within himself, puts away, whom though he cannot love or suffer as a Wife, with that sincere affection that Marriage requires, yet loves at least with that civility and goodness, as not to keep her under a neglected and unwelcome residence, where nothing can be hearty, and not being, it must needs be both unjoyous, and injurious to any perceiving person so detain'd, and more injurious then to be freely, and upon good terms dismiss. Nor doth he put away adulterously who complains of causes rooted in immutable nature, utter unfitness, utter disconformity, not concileable, because not to be amended without a miracle. Nor he who puts away an unquenchable vexation from his bosom; and flies an evil, then which a greater cannot betell human society. Nor he who puts away with the full suffrage and applause of his conscience, not relying on the writ'n bill of Law, but claiming by faith and fulnes of perswasion the rights and promises of Gods institution, of which he finds himself in a mistak'n wedlock defrauded. Doubtless this man hath bail enough to be no Adulterer, giving Divorce for these causes.

His wife.] This word is not to be idle here, a meer word without a sense, much less a fallacious word signifying contrary to what it pretends; but faithfully signifies a Wife, that is, a comfortable help and society, as God instituted; does not signify deceitfully under this name, an intolerable adversary, not a helpless, unaffectionate and sulen ma's, whose very company represents the visible and exactest figure of loneliness it self. Such an associate he who puts away, divorces not a wife, but disjoyns a nuality which God never joyn'd, if she be neither willing, nor to her proper and requisite duties sufficient, as the words of God institute her. And this also is *Bucers* explanation of this place.

Except it be for fornication, or saving for the cause of fornication, as Matt. 5.] This declares what kind of causes our Saviour meant; fornication being no natural and perpetual cause, but only accidental and temporary; therefore shews that head of causes from whence it is excepted, to be meant of the same sort. For exceptions are not logically deduct from a divers kind, as to say who so puts away for any natural cause except Fornication, the exception would want salt. And if they understand it, who so for any cause whatever, they cast themselves; granting Divorce for frigidity a natural cause of their own allowing, though not heer exprest, and for desertion without infidelity, when as he who marries, as they allow him for a desertion, deserts as well as is deserted, and finally puts away for another cause besides Adultery. It will with all due reason therefore be thus better understood, who so puts away for any accidental and temporary causes, except one of them, which is fornication. Thus this exception finds out the causes from whence it is excepted, to be of the same kind, that is casual, not continual.

Saving for the cause of fornication.] The New Testament, though it be said originally writ in Greek, yet hath nothing neer so many *Atticisms* as *Hebraisms*, and *Syriacisms*, which was the Majesty of God, not fitting the tongue of Scripture to a Gentilish *Idiom*, but in a princely manner offering to them as to Gentiles and Forainers grace and mercy, though not in forein words, yet in a forein stile that might induce them to the fountains; and though their calling were high and happy, yet still to acknowledg Gods ancient people their betters, and that language the *Metropolitan* language. He therefore who thinks to *Scholiase* upon the Gospel, though Greek according to his Greek *Analogy*, and hath not bin Auditor to the Oriental dialects, shall want in the heat of his *Analysis* no accommodation to stumble. In this place, as the 5th of *Math.* reads it, *Saving for the cause of fornication*, the Greek, such as it is, sounds it, except for the *word, report, speech, or proportion* of fornication. In which regard, with other inducements, many ancient and learned Writers have understood this exception, as comprehending any fault equivalent and proportional to fornication. But truth is, the Evangelist heer *Hebraizes*, taking *word* or *speech* for *cause* or *matter* in the common Eastern phrase, meaning perhaps no more then if he had said for fornication, as in this 19th chapter. And yet the word is found in the

5th of *Exodus* also signifying *Proportion* ; where the Israelites are commanded to do their tasks, *The matter of each day in his day*. A task we know is a proportion of work not doing the same thing absolutely every day, but so much. Whereby it may be doubtful yet, whether here be not excepted not only fornication it self, but other causes equipollent, and proportional to fornication. Which very word also to understand rightly, we must of necessity have recours again to the Ebrew. For in the Greek and Latin, sense by fornication is meant the common prostitution of body for sale. So that they who are so exact for the letter, shall be dealt with by the *Lexicon*, and the *Etymologicon* too if they please, and must be bound to forbid Divorce for adultery also, until it come to open whoredom and trade, like that for which *Claudius* divorc't *Messalina*. Since therefore they take not here the word fornication in the common significance, for an open exercise in the stews, but grant Divorce for one single act of privatest Adultery, notwithstanding that the word speaks a public and notorious frequency of fact, not without price ; we may reason with as good leave, and as little straining to the text, that our Saviour on set purpose chose this word *Fornication*, improperly appli'd to the lapse of Adultery, that we might not think our selves bound from all Divorce, except when that fault hath bin actually committed. For the language of Scripture signifies by fornication (and others besides St. *Austin* so expounded it) not only the trespass of Body, nor perhaps that between married persons, unless in a degree or quality as shameles as the *Bordello*, but signifies also any notable disobedience, or intractable carriage of the Wife to the Husband, as *Judg.* 19. 2. Whereof at large in the *Doctrin of Divorce*, l. 2. c. 18. Secondly, signifies the apparent alienation of mind not to Idolatry, (which may seem to answer the act of Adultery) but far on this side, to any point of will-worship, though to the true God ; sometimes it notes the love of earthly things, or worldly pleasures, though in a right Believer, sometimes the least suspicion of unwitting Idolatry. As *Num.* 15. 39. wilful disobedience to any the least of Gods Commandment is call'd fornication. *Psal.* 73. 26, 27. A distrust only in God, and withdrawing from that nearnes of zeal and confidence which ought to be, is call'd fornication. We may be sure it could not import thus much less than Idolatry in the borrow'd metaphor between God and Man, unless it signify'd as much less than Adultery in the ordinary acception between Man and Wife. Add also, that there was no need our Saviour should grant divorce for Adultery, it being death by Law, and Law then in force. Which was the cause why *Joseph* sought to put away his betrothed Wife privately, lest he should make her an example of capital punishment, as learnedest Expounders affirm, *Herod* being a great zealot of the Mosaic Law, and the Pharisees great masters of the Text, as the woman tak'n in Adultery doubtles had cause to fear. Or if they can prove it was neglected, which they cannot do, why did our Saviour shape his Answer to the corruption of that age, and not rather tell them of their neglect ? If they say he came not to meddle with their Judicatures, much less then was it in his thought to make them new ones, or that Divorce should be judicially restrain'd in a stricter manner by these his words, more than Adultery judicially acquitted by those his words to the Adultres. His sentence doth no more by Law forbid Divorce here, then by Law it doth absolve Adultery there. To them therefore who have drawn this yoke upon Christians from his words thus wrested, nothing remains but the guilt of a presumption and perverseness, which will be hard for them to answer. Thus much that the word Fornication is to be understood as the Language of Christ understands it, for a constant alienation and disaffection of mind, or for the continual practice of disobedience and crossnes from the duties of love and peace ; that is in sum, when to be a tolerable Wife is either naturally not in their power, or obstinately not in their will : and this Opinion also is St. *Austin's*, lest it should hap to be suspected of novelty. Yet grant the thing heer meant were only Adultery, the reason of things will afford more to our assertion, then did the reason of words. For why is Divorce unlawful but only for Adultery ? because, say they, that crime only breaks the Matrimony. But this, I reply, the Institution it self gainsays : for that which is most contrary to the words and meaning of the Institution, that most breaks the Matrimony ; but a perpetual unmeetnes and unwillingnes to all the duties of Help, of Love, and Tranquillity, is most contrary to the words and meaning of the Institution ; that therefore much more breaks Matrimony then the act of Adultery though repeated. For this, as it is not felt, nor troubles him who perceives it not, so being perceiv'd, may be soon repented, soon amended, soon, if it can be pardon'd, may be redeem'd with the more ardent love and duty in her who hath the pardon. But this natural unmeetnes both cannot be unknown long, and ever after cannot be amended, if it be natural,

natural, and will not, if it be far gon obstinat. So that wanting ought in the instant to be as great a breach as Adultery, it gains it in the perpetuity to be greater. Next, Adultery does not exclude her other fitnes, her other pleasingnes; she may be otherwise both loving and prevalent, as many Adultresses be; but in this general unfitnes or alienation she can be nothing to him that can please. In Adultery nothing is given from the husband, which he misses, or enjoys the less, as it may be justly giv'n: but this unfitnes defrauds him of the whole contentment which is sought in Wedlock. And what benefit to him, though nothing be giv'n by the stealth of Adultery to another, if that which there is to give, whether it be solace, or society, be not such as may justly content him? and so not only deprives him of what it should give him, but gives him sorrow and affliction, which it did not owe him. Besides, is Adultery the greatest breach of Matrimony in respect of the offence to God, or of the injury to Man? if in the former, then other sins may offend God more, and sooner cause him to disunite his servant from being one flesh with such an offender. If in respect of the latter, other injuries are demonstrated therein more heavy to mans nature than the iterated act of Adultery. God therefore, in his wisdom, would not so dispose his remedies, as to provide them for the less injuries, and not allow them for the greater. Thus is won both from the word Fornication, and the reason of Adultery, that the exception of Divorce is not limited to that act, but enlarg'd to the causes above specify'd.

And who so marrieth her which is put away, doth commit adultery.] By this Clause alone, if by nothing else, we may assure us, that Christ intended not to deliver heer the whole doctrine of Divorce, but only to condemn abuses. Otherwise to marry after Desertion, which the Apostle, and the reformed Churches at this day permit, is heer forbid, as Adultery. Be she never so wrongfully deserted, or put away, as the Law then suffer'd, if thus forsak'n and expulst, she accept the refuge and protection of any honest man who would love her better, and give her self in Marriage to him, by what the letter guides us, it shall be present Adultery to them both. This is either harsh and cruel, or all the Churches teaching as they do the contrary, are loos and remiss; besides that the Apostle himself stands deeply tin'd in a contradiction against our Saviour. What shall we make of this? what rather the common interpreter can make of it, for they be his own markets, let him now try; let him try which way he can wind in his *Vertumnian* distinctions and evasions, if his canonical Gabardine of text and letter do not now sit too close about him, and pinch his activity; which if I err not, hath heer hamper'd it self in a spring fit for those who put their confidence in Alphabets. *Spanheim* a writer of *Evangelic doubts*, comes now and confesses that our Saviour's words are to be limited beyond the limitation there exprest, and excepted beyond their own exception, as not speaking of what happen'd rarely, but what most commonly. Is it so rare, *Spanheim*, to be deserted? or was it then so rare to put away injuriously, that a person so hatefully expell'd, should to the heaping of more injury be turn'd like an infectious thing out of all Marriage-fruition upon pain of Adultery, as not considerable to the brevity of this half sentence? Of what then speaks our Saviour? of that collusion, saith he *which was then most frequent among the Jews of changing wives and husbands, through inconstancy and unchast desires*. Colluders your selves, as violent to this Law of God by your unmerciful binding, as the Pharises by their unbounded loosning! Have thousands of Christian souls perisht as to this life, and God knows what hath betided their Consciences, for want of this healing explanation; and is it now at last obscurely drawn forth, only to cure a scratch, and leave the main wound spouting? *Whosoever putteth away his wife, except for fornication, committeth adultery*. That shall be spoke of all ages, and all men, though never so justly otherwise mov'd to Divorce: In the very next breath, *And who so marrieth her which is put away, committeth adultery*: the men are new and miraculous, they tell you now you are to limit it to that age, when it was in fashion to chop matrimonies; and must be meant of him who puts away with his wifes consent through the lightnes and leudnes of them both. But what rule of Logic, or indeed of Reason is our commission to understand the *Antecedent* one way and the *Consequent* another? for in that habitude this whole vers may be considered: or at least to take the parts of a *copulat axiom*, both absolutely affirmative, and to say the first is absolutely true, the other not, but must be limited to a certain time and custom; which is no less then to say they are both false? For in this *compound axiom*, be the parts never so many, if one of them do but falter, and be not equally absolute and general, the rest are all fals. If therefore that *he who marries her which is put away commits adultery*, be not generally true, neither is it generally true that *he commits adultery who puts away for other cause then fornication*. And if the marrying her

her which is put away, must be understood limited, which they cannot but yield it must with the same limitation must be understood the putting away. Thus doth the common exposition confound it self, and justify this which is heer brought; that our Saviour as well in the first part of this sentence as in the second, prohibited onely such Divorces as the Jews then made through malice or through plotted licence, not those which are for necessary and just causes; where charity and wisdom disjoyns, that which not God, but Error and Disaster joyn'd.

And there is yet to this our exposition, a stronger siding friend, then any can be an adversary, unless St. *Paul* be doubted, who repeating a command concerning Divorce, *1 Cor. 7.* which is agreed by Writers to be the same with this of our Saviour, and appointing that the *wife remain unmarried, or be reconcil'd to her husband*, leaves it infallible that our Saviour spake chiefly against putting away for casual and cholerick disagreements, or any other cause which may with human patience and wisdom be reconcil'd, not hereby meaning to hale and dash together the irreconcilable averiations of nature, nor to tie up a faultless person like a Parricide, as it were into one sack with an enemy, to be his causeless tormenter and executioner the length of a long life. Lastly, let this sentence of Christ be understood how it will, yet that it was never intended for a judicial Law, to be enforce'd by the Magistrat, besides that the office of our Saviour had no such purpose in the Gospel, this latter part of the sentence may assure us, *And whoso marieth her who is put away, commits adultery.* Shall the exception for Adultery belong to this clause or not? if not, it would be strange, that he who marries a Woman really divorc'd for Adultery, as Christ permitted, should become an Adulterer by marrying one who is now no other mans Wife, himself being also free, who might by this means reclaim her from common Whoredom. And if the exception must belong hither, then it follows that he who marries an Adulteress divorc'd commits no Adultery; which would soon discover to us what an absurd and senseless peece of injustice this would be to make a civil Statute of in penal Courts: whereby the Adulteress put away may marry another safely, and without a crime to him that marries her; but the innocent and wrongfully divorc'd shall not marry again without the guilt of Adultery both to her self and to her second husband. This saying of Christ therefore cannot be made a temporal Law, were it but for this reason. Nor is it easie to say what coherence there is at all in it from the letter, to any perfect sense not obnoxious to some absurdity, and seems much less agreeable to what ever else of the Gospel is left us written; doubtless by our Saviour spok'n in that fiercenes and abstruse intricacy, first to amuse his tempters, and admonish in general the abusers of that Mosaisic Law; next to let *Herod* know a second knower of his unlawful act, though the Baptist were beheaded; last, that his Disciples and all good men might learn to expound him in this place, as in all other his precepts, not by the written letter, but by that unerring paraphrase of Christian Love and Charity, which is the sum of all commands, and the perfection.

V. 10. *His Disciples say unto him, If the case of the man be so with his Wife, it is not good to marry.*

This verse I add, to leave no objection behind unanswer'd: for some may think, if this our Saviour's sentence be so fair, as not commanding ought that patience or nature cannot brook, why then did the disciples murmur and say, *it is not good to marry*? I answer, that the Disciples had bin longer bred up under the Pharisaean Doctrine, then under that of Christ, and so no marvel though they yet retain'd the infection of loving old licentious customs; no marvel though they thought it hard they might not for any offence that thoroughly anger'd them, divorce a Wife, as well as put away a Servant, since it was but giving her a Bill, as they were taught. Secondly, it was no unwonted thing with them not to understand our Saviour in matters far easier. So, that be it granted their conceit of this text was the same which is now commonly conceiv'd, according to the usual rate of their capacity then, it will not hurt a better interpretation. But why did not Christ, seeing their error, inform them? for good cause; it was his profest method not to teach them all things at all times, but each thing in due place and season. Christ said, *Luke 22.* that *he who had no sword should sell his garment and buy one*: the Disciples took it in a manifest wrong sense, yet our Saviour did not there inform them better. He told them *it was easier for a Camel to go through a needles eye*, then a rich man in at heav'n gate. They were amaz'd exceedingly: he explain'd himself to mean of those who trust in riches, *Mark 10.* They were amaz'd

zed them out of measure, for so *Mark* relates it; as if his explaining had increas'd their amazement in such a plain case, and which concern'd so neerly their calling to be inform'd in. Good reason therefore, if Christ at that time did not stand amplifying, to the thick prejudice and tradition wherein they were, this question of more difficulty, and less concernment to any perhaps of them in particular. Yet did he not omit to sow within them the seeds of a sufficient determining, agen the time that his promis'd Spirit should bring all things to their memory. He had declar'd in their hearing not long before, how distant he was from abolishing the Law it self of Divorce; he had refer'd them to the institution; and after all this, gives them a set answer, from which they might collect what was cleer enough, that *all men cannot receive all sayings*, verse 11. If such regard be had to each mans receiving of Marriage or single life, what can arise that the same christian regard should not be had in most necessary Divorce? All which instructed both them and us, that it befeem'd his Disciples to learn the deciding of this question, which hath nothing new in it, first by the institution, then by the general grounds of Religion, not by a particular saying here or there, temper'd and level'd only to an incident occasion, the riddance of a tempting assault. For what can this be but weak and shallow apprehension, to forsake the standard principles of institution, faith, and charity; then to be blank and various at every occurrence in Scripture, and in a cold *Spasim* of scruple, to rear peculiar doctrines upon the place, that shall bid the gray authority of most unchangeable and sovran Rules to stand by and be contradicted? Thus to this Evangelic precept of famous difficulty, which for these many ages weakly understood, and violently put in practice, hath made a shambles rather then an ordinance of Matrimony, I am firm a truer exposition cannot be given. If this or that argument heer us'd, please not every one, there is no scarcity of arguments, any half of them will suffice. Or should they all fail, as Truth it self can fail as soon, I should content me with the institution alone to wage this controverlie, and not distrust to evince. If any need it not, the happier; yet Christians ought to study earnestly what may be anothers need. But if, as mortal mischances are, some hap to need it, let them be sure they abuse not, and give God his thanks, who hath reviv'd this remedy, not too late for them, and scowr'd off an inveterate misexposition from the Gospel: a work not to perish by the vain breath or doom of this age. Our next industry shall be, under the same guidance, to try with what fidelity that remaining passage in the *Epistles* touching this matter, hath bin commented.

1 Cor. VII. 10, &c.

10. *And unto the married I command, &c.*

11. *And let not the husband put away his wife.*

THis intimates but what our Saviour taught before, that Divorce is not rashly to be made, but reconciliation to be persuaded and endeavor'd, as oft as the cause can have to do with reconciliation, and is not under the dominion of blameles nature; which may have reason to depart, though seldomest and last from charitable love, yet sometimes from friendly, and familiar, and something finer from conjugal love, which requires not only moral, but natural causes to the making and maintaining; and may be warrantably excus'd to retire from the deception of what it justly seeks, and the ill requitals which unjustly it finds. For Nature hath her *Zodiack* also, keeps her great annual circuit over human things, as truly as the Sun and Planets in the firmament; hath her *anomalies*, hath her obliquities in ascensions and declinations, accesss and recesses, as blamelessly as they in Heaven. And sitting in her planetary Orb with two reins in each hand, one strait, the other loos, tempers the cours of minds as well as bodies to severall conjunctions and oppositions, friendly or unfriendly aspects, consenting ofttest with reason, but never contrary. This in the effect no man of meanest reach but daily sees; and though to every one it appear not in the cause, yet to a clear capacity, well nurtur'd with good reading and observation, it cannot but be plain and visible. Other exposition therefore then hath bin given to former places that give light to these two summary verses, will not be needful: save only that these precepts are meant to those married who differ not in Religion.

But to the rest speak I, not the Lord; if any brother hath a wife that believeth not, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away.

Now follows what is to be done, if the persons wedded be of a different faith. The common belief is, that a Christian is here commanded not to divorce, if the Infidel

please to stay, though it be but to vex, or to deride, or to seduce the Christian. This doctrine will be the ealie work of a refutation. The other opinion is, that a Christian is here conditionally permitted to hold Wedlock with a misbeliever only, upon hopes limited by Christian prudence, which without much difficulty shall be defended. That this here spoken by *Paul*, not by the Lord, cannot be a Command, these reasons avouch. First, the Law of *Moses*, *Exod.* 34. 16. *Deut.* 7. 3, 6. interpreted by *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, two infallible authors, commands to divorce an Infidel not for the fear only of a ceremonious defilement, but of an irreligious seducement, fear'd both in respect of the Believer himself, and of his Children in danger to be perverted by the misbelieving parent, *Nehem.* 13. 24, 26. And *Peter Martyr* thought this a convincing reason. If therefore the legal pollution vanishing, have abrogated the ceremony of this Law, so that a Christian may be permitted to retain an Infidel without uncleanness, yet the moral reason of divorcing stands to eternity, which neither Apostle nor Angel from heaven can countermand. All that they reply to this, is their human warrant, that God will preserve us in our obedience to this command against the danger of seducement. And so undoubtedly he will, if we understand his commands aright; if we turn not this evangelick permission into a legal, and yet illegal command; if we turn not hope into bondage, the charitable and free hope of gaining another, into the forc't and servil temptation of losing our selves: but more of this beneath. Thus these words of *Paul*, by common doctrine made a command, are made a contradiction to the moral Law.

Secondly, not the Law only, but the Gospel from the Law, and from it self, requires even in the same chapter, where Divorce between them of one Religion is so narrowly forbid, rather then our Christian love should come into danger of backsliding, to forsake all relations how near so ever, and the Wife expressly, with promise of a high reward, *Mat.* 19. And he who hates not Father or Mother, Wife or Children, hindring his christian cours, much more if they despise or assault it, cannot be a Disciple, *Luke* 14. How can the Apostle then command us to love and continue in that matrimony, which our Saviour bids us hate, and forsake? They can as soon teach our faculty of respiration to contract and to dilate it self at once, to breath and to fetch breath in the same instant, as teach our minds how to do such contrary acts as these towards the same object, and as they must be done in the same moment. For either the hatred of her Religion, and her hatred to our Religion will work powerfully against the love of her society, or the love of that will by degrees flatter out all our zealous hatred and forsaking, and soon ensnare us to unchristianly compliances.

Thirdly, In Marriage there ought not only to be a civil love, but such a love as Christ loves his Church; but where the Religion is contrary without hope of conversion, there can be no love, no faith, no peaceful society, (they of the other opinion confess it) nay there ought not to be, furdher then in expectation of gaining a soul; when that ceases, we know God hath put an enmity between the seed of the Woman, and the seed of the Serpent. Neither should we love them that hate the Lord, as the Prophet told *Jehosaphat*, *2 Chron.* 19. And this Apostle himself in another place warns us that we be not unequally yoked with Infidels, *2 Cor.* 6. for that there can be no fellowship, no communion, no concord between such. Outward commerce and Civil intercourrs cannot perhaps be avoided; but true friendship and familiarity there can be none. How vainly therefore, not to say how impiously would the most inward and dear alliance of Marriage or continuance in Marriage be commanded, where true friendship is confest impossible? For say they, we are forbid here to marry with an Infidel, not bid to divorce. But to rob the words thus of their full sense, will not be allow'd them: it is not said, enter not into yoke, but be not unequally yoked; which plainly forbids the thing in present act, as well as in purpose: and his manifest conclusion is, not only that we should not touch, but that having toucht, we should come out from among them, and be separate; with the promise of a blessing thereupon, that God will receive us, will be our father, and we his sons and daughters, v. 17, 18. Why we should stay with an Infidel after the expence of all our hopes, can be but for a civil relation; but why we should depart from a seducer, setting aside the misconstruction of this place, is from a religious necessity of departing. The wors cause therefore of staying (if it be any cause at all, for civil government forces it not) must not overtop the religious cause of separating, executed with such an urgent zeal, and such a prostrate humiliation by *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*. What God hates to joyn, certainly he cannot love should continue joyn'd: it being all one in matter of ill consequence, to marry, or to continue married with an Infidel, save only

only so long as we wait willingly, and with a safe hope. *St. Paul* therefore citing heer a command of the *Lord Almighty*, for so he terms it, that we should *separate* cannot have bound us with that which he calls his own whether command or counsel that we should not separate.

Which is the fourth Reason, for he himself takes care lest we should mistake him, [*But to the rest speak I, not the Lord.*] If the Lord spake not, then Man spake it, and Man hath no Lordship to command the conscience : yet modern Interpreters will have it a command, maugre *St. Paul* himself, they will make him a Prophet like *Caiphaz*, to speak the word of the Lord not thinking, nay denying to think ; though he disavow to have receiv'd it from the Lord, his word shall not be tak'n, though an Apostle, he shall be born down in his own Epistle, by a race of Expositors who presume to know from whom he spake, better then he himself. *Paul* deposes that the Lord speaks not this, they, that the Lord speaks it : Can this be less then to brave him with a full-fac'd contradiction ? Certainly to such a violence as this, for I cannot call it an expounding, what a man should answer I know not ; unless that if it be their pleasure next to put a gag into the Apostle's mouth, they are already furnisht with a commodious audacity toward the attempt. *Beza* would seem to shun the contradictory, by telling us that the Lord spake it not in person, as he did the former precept. But how many other Doctrines doth *St. Paul* deliver, which the Lord spake not in person, and yet never uses this preamble but in things indifferent ? So long as we receive him for a messenger of God, for him to stand sorting Sentences what the Lord spake in person, and what he, not the Lord in person, would be but a chill trifling, and his Readers might catch an Ague the while. But if we shall supply the Grammatical *Ellipsis* regularly, and as we must in the same *tense*, all will be then clear, for we cannot supply it thus, to the rest I speak ; the Lord spake not, but I speak, the Lord speaks not. If then the Lord neither spake in person, nor speaks it now, the Apostle testifying both, it follows duely, that this can be no command. Forsooth the fear is, lest this not being a command, would prove an evangelick counsel, and so make way for supererogations. As if the Apostle could not speak his mind in things indifferent, as he doth in four or five several places of this chapter with the like preface of not commanding, but that the doubted inconvenience of supererogating must needs rush in. And how adds it to the Word of the Lord, (for this also they object) when as the Apostle by his christian prudence guides us in the liberty which God hath left us to, without command ? could not the Spirit of God instruct us by him what was free, as well as what was not ? But what need I more, when *Cameron* an ingenuous writer, and in high esteem, solidly confutes the surmise of a command heer, and among other words hath these ; That when *Paul* speaks as an Apostle, he uses this form, The Lord saith. not I, v. 10. but as a private man he saith, I speak, not the Lord. And thus also all the prime fathers, *Austin*, *Ferom*, and the rest understood this place.

Fifthly, The very stating of the Question declares this to be no Command ; *If any Brother hath an unbelieving Wife, and she be pleas'd to dwell with him, let him not put her away.* For the Greek word *συνευδκνεί* does not imply only her being pleas'd to stay, but his being pleas'd to let her stay ; it must be a consent of them both. Nor can the force of this word be render'd less, without either much negligence or iniquity of him that otherwise translates it. And thus the Greek Church also and their Synods understood it, who best knew what their own language meant, as appears by *Mathæus Monachus*, an Author set forth by *Leunclavius*, and of antiquity perhaps not inferior to *Balsamon*, who writes upon the Canons of the Apostles : this Author in his chap. *That Marriage is not to be made with Hereticks*, thus recites the second Canon of the 6th Synod ; *As to the Corinthians, Paul determines ; If the believing Wife choose to live with the unbelieving Husband, or the believing Husband with the unbelieving Wife. Mark saith he, how the Apostle here condescends, if the believer please to dwell with the unbeliever, so that if he please not, out of doubt the Marriage is dissolv'd. And I am perswaded it was so in the beginning, and thus preach.* And thereupon gives an example of one, who though not deserted, yet by the Decree of *Theodosius* the Patriarch divorc'd an unbelieving Wife. What therefore depends in the plain state of this question on the consent and well liking of them both, must not be a Command. Lay next the latter end of the 11th verse to the 12th (for wherefore else is Logic taught us) in a discreet axiom, as it can be no other by the phrase ; *The Lord saith, Let not the Husband put away his Wife : but I say, Let him not put away a misbelieving Wife.* This sounds as if by the judgment of *Paul*, a man might put away any Wife but the misbelieving ; or else the parts are not *discreet*, or *dissentany*, for both conclude not

putting away, and consequently in such a form the proposition is ridiculous. Of necessity therefore the former part of this sentence must be conceiv'd, as understood, and silently granted, that although the Lord command to divorce an infidel, yet I, not the Lord command you? No, but give my judgment, that for some evangelick reasons a Christian may be permitted not to divorce her. Thus while we reduce the brevity of *St. Paul* to a plainer sense, by the needful supply of that which was granted between him and the Corinthians, the very logic of his speech extracts him confessing that the Lords command lay in a seeming contrariety to this his counsel: and that he meant not to thrust out a command of the Lord by a new one of his own, as one nail drives another, but to release us from the rigor of it, by the right of the Gospel, so far forth as a charitable cause leads us on in the hope of winning another soul without the peril of losing our own. For this is the glory of the Gospel, to teach us that *the end of the commandment is charity*, *1 Tim. 1.* not the drudging out a poor and worthless duty forc'd from us by the tax and tail of so many letters. This doctrine therefore can be no command, but it must contradict the moral Law, the Gospel; and the Apostle himself both elsewhere, and here also even in the act of speaking.

If then it be no command, it must remain to be a permission, and that not absolute, for so it would be still contrary to the law, but with such a caution as breaks not the Law, but as the manner of the Gospel is, fulfils it through Charity. The Law had two reasons, the one was ceremonial, the pollution that all Gentiles were to the Jews; this the vision of *Peter* had abolisht, *Acts 10.* and clens'd all creatures to the use of a Christian. The *Corinthians* understood not this, but fear'd lest dwelling in matrimony with an unbeliever, they were desil'd. The Apostle discusses that scruple with an Evangelic reason, shewing them that although God heretofore under the Law, not intending the conversion of the Gentiles, except some special ones, held them as polluted things to the Jew, yet now purposing to call them in, he hath purify'd them from that legal uncleanness wherein they stood, to use and to be us'd in a pure manner.

For saith he, *The unbelieving husband is sanctify'd by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctify'd by the husband, else were your children unclean; but now they are holy.* That is, they are sanctify'd to you, from that legal impurity which you so fear; and are brought into a neer capacity to be holy, if they believe, and to have free access to holy things. In the mean time, as being God's creatures, a Christian hath power to use them according to their proper use; in as much as now, *all things to the pure are become pure.* In this legal respect therefore ye need not doubt to continue in Marriage with an unbeliever. Thus others also expound this place, and *Cameron* especially. This reason warrants us only what we may do without fear of pollution, does not bind us that we must. But the other reason of the Law to divorce an infidel was moral, the avoiding of enticement from the true Faith. This cannot shrink; but remains in as full force as ever, to save the actual Christian from the snare of a misbeliever. Yet if a Christian full of grace and spiritual gifts, finding the misbeliever not frowardly affected, fears not a seducing, but hopes rather a gaining, who sees not that this moral Reason is not violated by not divorcing, which the Law commanded to do, but better fulfill'd by the excellence of the Gospel working through Charity. For neither the faithful is seduc'd, and the unfaithful is either sav'd, or with all discharge of love, and evangelic duty sought to be sav'd. But contrary-wise if the infirm Christian shall be commanded here against his mind, against his hope, and against his strength, to dwell with all the scandals, the household persecutions, or alluring temptations of an Infidel, how is not the Gospel by this made harsher then the Law, and more yoking? Therefore the Apostle ere he delivers this other reason why we need not in all haste put away an Infidel, his mind misgiving him, lest he should seem to be the imposer of a new command, stays not for method, but with an abrupt speed inserts the declaration of their liberty in this matter.

But if the unbelieving depart, let him depart; a brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases: but God hath called us to peace.

But if the unbelieving depart.] This cannot be restrain'd to local departure only; for who knows not that an offensive society is worse then a forsaking. If his purpose of cohabitation be to endanger the life, or the conscience, *Beza* himself is half perswaded, that this may purchase to the faithful person the same freedom that a desertion may; and so *Gerard* and others whom he cites. If therefore he depart in affection; if he depart from giving hope of his conversion; if he disturb, or scoff at Religion, seduce, or tempt; if he rage, doubtless not the weak only, but the strong may leave him;

him; if not for fear, yet for the dignities sake of Religion, which cannot be liable to all base affronts, merely for the worshipping of a civil Marriage. I take therefore *departing* to be as large as the negative of being well pleas'd: that is, if he be not pleas'd for the present to live lovingly, quietly, inoffensively, so as may give good hope; which appears well by that which follows.

A brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases.] If St. Paul provide seriously against the bondage of a Christian, it is not the only bondage to live unmarried for a deserting Infidel, but to endure his presence intolerably, to bear indignities against his Religion in words or deeds, to be wearied with seducements, to have idolatries and superstitions ever before his eyes, to be tormented with impure and prophane conversation, this must needs be bondage to a Christian: is this left all unprovided for, without remedy, or freedom granted? undoubtedly no, for, the Apostle leaves it furdher to be consider'd with prudence, what bondage a brother or sister is not under, not only in this case, but as he speaks himself plurally, *in such cases*.

But God hath called us to peace.] To peace, not to bondage, not to brabbles and contentions with him who is not pleas'd to live peaceably, as Marriage and Christianity requires. And where strife arises from a cause hopeless to be allay'd, what better way to peace then by separating that which is ill joyn'd? It is not Divorce that first breaks the peace of a family, as some fondly comment on this place, but it is peace already brok'n, which, when other cures fail, can only be restor'd to the faultles person by a necessary Divorce. And St. Paul here warrants us to seek peace, rather then to remain in bondage. If God hath call'd us to peace, why should we not follow him? why should we miserably stay in perpetual discord under a servitude not requir'd?

For what knowest thou, O Wife, whether thou shalt save thy Husband, &c.] St. Paul having thus clear'd himself, not to go about the mining of our Christian liberty, not to cast a snare upon us, which to do he so much hated, returns now to the second reason of that Law, to put away an Infidel for fear of seducement, which he does not here contradict with a Command now to venture that; but if neither the infirmity of the Christian, nor the strength of the Unbeliever be fear'd, but hopes appearing that he may be won, he judges it no breaking of that Law, though the Believer be permitted to forbear Divorce, and can abide, without the peril of seducement, to offer the charity of a salvation to Wife or Husband, which is the fulfilling, not the transgressing of that Law; and well worth the undertaking with much hazard and patience. For what knowest thou whether thou shalt save thy Wife, that is, till all means convenient and possible with discretion and probability, as human things are, have bin us'd. For Christ himself sends not our hope on pilgrimage to the World's end; but sets it bounds, beyond which we need not wait on a Brother, much less on an Infidel. If after such a time we may count a professing Christian no better then a Heathen, after less time perhaps we may cease to hope of a Heathen, that he will turn Christian. Otherwise, to bind us harder then the Law, and tell us we are not under Bondage, is meer mockery. If till the unbeliever please to part, we may not stir from the house of our bondage, then certain this our liberty is not grounded in the purchas of Christ, but in the pleasure of a Miscreant. What knows the loyal Husband, whether he may not save the Adulteress? he is not therefore bound to receive her. What knows the Wife but she may reclaim her Husband who hath deserted her? yet the reformed Churches do not enjoin her to wait longer then after the contempt of an Ecclesiastical Summons. Beza himself here befriends us with a remarkable Speech, *What could be firmly constituted in human matters, if under pretence of expecting grace from above, it should be never lawful for us to seek our right.* And yet in other cases not less reasonable to obtain a most just and needful remedy by Divorce, he turns the innocent party to a task of prayers beyond the multitude of Beads and Rosaries, to beg the gift of Chastity in recompence of an injurious Marriage. But the Apostle is evident enough, *we are not under bondage*, trusting that he writes to those who are not ignorant what Bondage is, to let supercilious determiners cheat them of their freedom. God hath call'd us to peace, and so doubtless hath left in our hands how to obtain it seasonably; if it be not our own choice to sit ever like novices wretchedly servile.

Thus much the Apostle in this question between Christian and Pagan, to us now of little use; yet supposing it written for our instruction, as it may be rightly apply'd, I doubt not but that the difference between a true believer and a heretic, or any one truly religious either deserted or seeking Divorce from any one grossly erroneous or profane may be referr'd hither. For St. Paul leaves us heer the solution not of this case only, which little concerns us, but of *such like cases*, which may occur to us.

For

For where the reasons directly square, who can forbid why the verdict should not be the same? But this the common Writers allow us not. And yet from this Text; which in plain words gives liberty to none, unless deserted by an Infidel, they collect the same freedom, though the desertion be not for Religion, which, as I conceive, they need not do; but may, without straining, reduce it to the cause of Fornication. For first; they confess that desertion is seldom without a just suspicion of Adultery: next it is a breach of Marriage in the same kind, and in some sort worse: for Adultery; though it give to another, yet it bereaves not all; but the deserter wholly denies all right, and makes one flesh twain, which is counted the absolute breach of Matrimony, and causes the other, as much as in him lies, to commit sin, by being so left. Nevertheless, those reasons which they bring of establishing by this place the like liberty from any desertion, are fair and solid: and if the thing be lawful, and can be prov'd so, more ways then one, so much the safer. Their arguments I shall here recite, and that they may not come idle, shall use them to make good the like freedom to Divorce for other causes; and that we are no more under Bondage to any hainous default against the main ends of Matrimony, then to a Desertion: First they allege that to 1 Tim. 5. 8. *If any provide not for those of his own house, he hath deny'd the faith, and is worse then an Infidel.* But a deserter, say they, *can have no care of them who are most his own, therefore the deserted party is not less to be righted against such a one then against an Infidel.* With the same evidence I argue, that Man or Wife who hates in Wedlock, is perpetually unfociable, unpeaceful, or unduteous, either not being able, or not willing to perform what the main ends of Marriage demand in help and solace, cannot be said to care for who should be dearest in the house; therefore is worse then an infidel in both regards, either in undertaking a duty which he cannot perform, to the undeserved and unspeakable injury of the other party so defrauded and betray'd, or not performing what he hath undertaken, whenas he may or might have, to the perjury of himself more irreligious then heathenism. The blameless person therefore hath as good a plea to sue out his delivery from this bondage, as from the desertion of an infidel. Since most Writers cannot but grant that desertion is not only a local absence, but an intolerable society; or if they grant it not, the reasons of Saint Paul grant it, withall as much leave as they grant to enlarge a particular freedom from paganism, into a general freedom from any desertion. Secondly, they reason from the likenes of either fact, *the same loss redounds to the deserted by a Christian, as by an Infidel, the same peril of temptation.* And I in like manner affirm, that if honest and free persons may be allow'd to know what is most to their own loss, the same loss and discontent, but worse disquiet, with continual misery and temptation, relides in the company, or better call'd the persecution of an unfit, or an unpeaceable Consort, then by his desertion. For then the deserted may enjoy himself at least. And he who deserts is more favourable to the party whom his presence afflicts, then that importunate thing which is and will be ever conversant before the eyes, a loyal and individual vexation. As for those who still rudely urge it no loss to Marriage, no Desertion, so long as the Flesh is present, and offers a Benevolence that hates, or is justly hated; I am not of that vulgar and low perswasion, to think such forc'd embracements as these worth the honour, or the humanity of Marriage, but far beneath the soul of a rational and free-born Man. Thirdly, they say, *It is not the Infidelity of the deserter, but the desertion of the Infidel from which the Apostle gives this freedom;* and I joyn, that the Apostle could as little require our subjection to an unfit and injurious Bondage present, as to an Infidel absent. To free us from that which is an evil by being distant, and not from that which is an inmate, and in the bosom evil, argues an improvident and careless Deliverer. And thus all occasions, which way soever they turn, are not unofficious to administer something which may conduce to explain, or to defend the assertion of this book touching Divorce. I complain of nothing, but that it is indeed too copious to be the matter of a dispute, or a defence, rather to be yielded, as in the best Ages, a thing of common Reason, not of Controversie. What have I left to say? I fear to be more elaborat in such a perspicuity as this; lest I should seem not to teach, but to upbraid the dulnes of an Age; not to commune with reason in men, but to deplore the loss of reason from among men: this only, and not the want of more to say, is the limit of my discourse.

Who among the Fathers have interpreted the words of Christ concerning Divorce, as is here interpreted; and what the Civil Law of Christian Emperors in the primitive Church determin'd

Although

Although testimony be in Logic an argument rightly call'd *inartificial*, and doth not solidly fetch the truth by multiplicity of Authors, nor argue a thing false by the few that hold so; yet seeing most men from their youth so accustom, as not to scan reason, nor clearly to apprehend it, but to trust for that the names and numbers of such, as have got, and many times undeservedly, the reputation among them to know much, and because there is a vulgar also of teachers, who are as blindly by whom they fancy led, as they lead the people, it will not be amiss for them who had rather list themselves under this weaker sort, and follow authorities, to take notice that this opinion which I bring, hath bin favour'd, and by some of those affirm'd, who in their time were able to carry what they taught, had they urg'd it, through all Christendom; or to have left it such a credit with all good men, as they who could not boldly use the opinion, would have fear'd to censure it. But since by his appointment on whom the times and seasons wait, every point of doctrine is not fatal to be thoroughly sifted out in every age, it will be enough for me to find, that the thoughts of wisest heads heertofore, and hearts no less reverenc'd for devotion have tended this way, and contributed their lot in some good measure towards this which hath bin here attain'd. Others of them, and modern especially, have bin as full in the assertion; though not so full in the reason; so that either in this regard, or in the former, I shall be manifest in a middle fortune to meet the praise or dispraise of being something first.

But I defer not what I undertook to shew, that in the Church both primitive and reformed, the words of Christ have bin understood to grant Divorce for other causes then Adultery; and that the word *fornication* in Marriage hath a larger sense then that commonly suppos'd.

Justin Martyr in his first Apology writt'n within 50 years after *St. John* dy'd, relates a story which *Eusebius* transcribes, that a certain Matron of *Rome*, the Wife of a vicious Husband, her self also formerly vicious, but converted to the Faith, and persuading the same to her Husband, at least the amendment of his wicked life, upon his not yeilding to her daily entreaties and persuasions in this behalf, procur'd by Law to be divorc'd from him. This was neither for Adultery, nor Desertion, but as the relation says, *esteeming it an ungodly thing to be the consort of bed with him, who against the Law of Nature and of right sought out voluptuous ways*. Suppose he endeavour'd some unnatural abuse, as the Greek admits that meaning, it cannot yet be call'd Adultery; it therefore could be thought worthy of Divorce no otherwise then as equivalent, or wors; and other vices will appear in other respects as much divorlive. Next 'tis said her friends advis'd her to stay a while; and what reason gave they? not because they held unlawful what she purpos'd, but because they thought she might longer yet hope his repentance. She obey'd, till the man going to *Alexandria*, and from thence reported to grow still more impenitent, not for any Adultery or Desertion, wherof neither can be gather'd, but, saith the *Martyr*, and speaks it like one approving, *lest she should be partaker of his unrighteous and ungodly deeds, remaining in Wedlock, the communion of bed and board with such a person, she left him by a lawful Divorce*. This cannot but give us the judgment of the Church in those pure and next to Apostolic times. For how els could the Woman have bin permitted, or here not reprehended? and if a Wife might then do this without reproof, a Husband certainly might no less, if not more.

Tertullian in the same Age, writing his 4th Book against *Marcion*, witnesses that *Christ* by his answer to the Pharises, protected the constitution of *Moses* as his own, and directed the institution of the Creator, for I alter not his *Carthaginian* phrase; he excus'd rather then destroy'd the constitution of *Moses*; I say, he forbid conditionally, if any one therefore put away, that he may marry another: so that if he prohibited conditionally, then not wholly; and what he forbid not wholly, he permitted otherwise, where the cause ceases for which he prohibited: that is, when a man makes it not the cause of his putting away, meerly that he may marry again. *Christ* teaches not contrary to *Moses*, the justice of Divorce hath *Christ* the asserter: he would not have Marriage separate, nor kept with ignominy, permitting then a Divorce; and guesses that this vehemence of our Saviour's sentence was chiefly bent against *Herod*, as was cited before. Which leaves it evident how *Tertullian* interpreted this prohibition of our Saviour: for whereas the Text is, *Whosoever putteth away, and marrieth another*; wherefore should *Tertullian* explain it, *Whosoever putteth away that he may marry another*, but to signifie his opinion, that our Saviour did not forbid Divorce from an unworthy Yoke, but forbid the Malice or the Lust of a needles Change, and chiefly those plotted Divorces then in use?

Origen in the next century testifies to have known certain who had the government of Churches in his time, who permitted some to marry, while yet their former husbands liv'd, and excuses the deed, as don *not without cause, though without Scripture*, which confirms that cause not to be Adultery; for how then was it against Scripture that they married again? And a little beneath, for I cite his 7. homily on *Matthew*, saith he, *To endure faults worse than adultery and fornication, seems a thing unreasonable*; and disputes therefore that Christ did not speak by way of precept, but as it were expounding. By which, and the like speeches, *Origen* declares his mind, far from thinking that our Saviour confin'd all the causes of Divorce to actual adultery.

Lactantius of the age that succeeded, speaking of this matter in the 6th of his *Institutions*, hath these words: *But lest any think he may circumscribe divine precepts, let this be added, that all misinterpreting, and occasion of fraud or death may be remov'd, he commits adultery who marries the divorc'd wife, and, besides the crime of adultery, divorces a wife that he may marry another.* To divorce and marry another, and to divorce that he may marry another, are two different things; and imply that *Lactantius* thought not this place the forbidding of all necessary Divorce, but such only as proceeded from the wanton desire of a future choice, not from the burden of a present affliction.

About this time the Council of *Eliberis* in Spain decreed the husband excommunicat, *If he kept his wife being an adulteress; but if he left her, he might after ten years be receiv'd into communion, if he retain'd her any while in his house after the adultery known.* The Council of *Neocæsarea* in the year 314. decreed, That if the wife of any *Laic* were convicted of adultery, that man could not be admitted into the Ministry: if after ordination it were committed, he was to divorce her; if not, he could not hold his Ministry. The Council of *Nantes* condemn'd in seven years penance the husband that would reconcile with an adulteress. But how proves this that other causes may divorce? It proves thus: There can be but two causes why these Councils enjoin'd so strictly the divorcing of an adulteress, either as an offender against God, or against the husband; in the latter respect they could not impose on him to divorce; for every man is the master of his own forgiveness; who shall hinder him to pardon the injuries don against himself? It follows therefore that the divorce of an adulteress was commanded by these three Councils, as it was a sin against God; and by all consequence they could not but believe that other sins as heinous might with equal justice be the ground of a divorce.

Basil in his 73d Rule, as *Chamier* numbers it, thus determines, That divorce ought not to be, unless for adultery, or the hinderance to a godly life. What doth this but proclaim aloud more causes of divorce than adultery, if by other sins besides this, in wife or husband, the godliness of the better person may be certainly hinder'd and endanger'd?

Epiphanius no less ancient, writing against Hereticks, and therefore should himself be orthodoxal above others, acquaints us in his second book, *Tom. 1.* not that his private persuasion was, but that the whole Church in his time generally thought other causes of divorce lawful besides adultery, as comprehended under that name: *If, saith he, a divorce happen for any cause, either fornication, or adultery, or any heinous fault, the word of God blames not either the man or wife marrying again, nor cuts them off from the congregation, or from life, but bears with the infirmity; not that he may keep both wives, but that leaving the former he may be lawfully joyn'd to the latter: the holy Word, and the holy Church of God commiserates this man, especially if he be otherwise of good conversation, and live according to Gods law.* This place is clearer then exposition, and needs no comment.

Ambrose on the 16th of *Luke*, teaches that all wedlock is not Gods joyning: and to the 19th of *Prov.* That a wife is prepar'd of the Lord, as the old Latin translates it, he answers that the Septuagint renders it, *a wife is fitted by the Lord, and temper'd to a kind of harmony; and where that harmony is, there God joyns; where it is not, there dissention reigns, which is not from God, for God is love.* This he brings to prove the marrying of Christian with Gentile to be no marriage, and consequently divorc'd without sin: but he who sees not this Argument how plainly it serves to divorce any untunable, or unatunable matrimony, sees little. On the 15th to the *Cor. 7.* he grants a woman may leave her husband not for only fornication, but for *Apostacy*, and *inverting nature*, though not marry again; but the man may: here are causes of divorce assign'd other then adultery. And going on, he affirms, *that the cause of God is greater than the cause of matrimony; that the reverence of wedlock is not due to him*
who

who hates the author thereof; that no matrimony is firm without devotion to God; that dishonour don to God acquits the other being deserted from the bond of matrimony; that the faith of marriage is not to be kept with such. If these contorted sentences be ought worth, it is not the desertion that breaks what is broken, but the impiety; and who then may not for that cause better divorce, than tarry to be deserted? or these grave sayings of St. Ambrose are but knacks.

Jerom on the 19th of Matthew explains, that for the cause of fornication, or the suspicion thereof, a man may freely divorce. What can breed that suspicion, but sundry faults leading that way? by Jerom's consent therefore Divorce is free not only for actual adultery, but for any cause that may incline a wise man to the just suspicion thereof.

Austin also must be remember'd among those who hold that this instance of fornication gives equal inference to other faults equally hateful, for which to divorce: and therefore in his books to Pollentius he disputes that Infidelity, as being a greater sin than Adultery, ought so much the rather cause a divorce. And on the Sermon in the Mount, under the name of fornication will have idolatry, or any harmful superstition contain'd, which are not thought to disturb Matrimony so directly as some other obliuities and disaffections, more against the daily duties of that covenant, and in the Eastern tongues not unfrequently call'd fornication, as hath bin shewn. Hence is understood, saith he, that not only for bodily fornication, but for that which draws the mind from Gods law, and foully corrupts it; a man may without fault put away his wife, and a wife her husband, because the Lord excepts the cause of fornication, which fornication we are constrain'd to interpret in a general sense. And in the first book of his Retractions, chap. 16. he retracts not this his opinion, but commends it to serious consideration; and explains that he counted not there all sin to be fornication, but the more detestable sort of sins. The cause of Fornication therefore is not in this discours newly interpreted to signify other faults infringing the duties of Wedlock, besides Adultery.

Lastly, the Council of Agatha in the year 506. Can. 25. decreed, that if Lay-men who divorce't without some great fault, or giving no probable cause, therefore divorce't; that they might marry som unlawful person, or som other mans, if before the provincial Bishops were made acquainted, or judgment past; they presum'd this, Excommunication was the penalty. Whence it follows, that if the cause of Divorce were som great offence, or that they gave probable causes for what they did, and did not therefore divorce that they might presume with som unlawful person, or what was another mans, the censure of Church in those days did not touch them.

Thus having alleg'd enough to shew, after what manner the primitive Church for above 500 years understood our Saviours words touching Divorce, I shall now, with a labour less dispers'd, and sooner dispatcht, bring under view what the civil Law of those times constituted about this matter: I say the civil Law, which is the honour of every true Civilian to stand for, rather then to count that for Law, which the Pontifical Canon had enthrall'd them to, and instead of interpreting a generous and elegant Law, made them the drudges of a blockish Rubric.

Theodosius and Valentinian, pious Emperors both, ordain'd that as by consent lawful marriages were made, so by consent, but not without the bill of Divorce, they might be dissolv'd; and to dissolve was the more difficult, only in favour of the children. We see the Wisdom and Piety of that age, one of the purest and learnedest since Christ, conceiv'd no hindrance in the words of our Saviour, but that a Divorce mutually consented, might be suffer'd by the Law, especially if there were no children, or if there were, careful provision was made. And further saith that Law (supposing there wanted the consent of either) We design the causes of Divorce by this most wholesom Law; for as we forbid the dissolving of Marriage without just cause, so we desire that a husband or a wife distressed by som advers necessity, should be freed, though by an unhappy; yet a necessary releef. What dram of Wisdom or Religion (for Charity is truest Religion) could there be in that knowing age, which is not virtually sum'd up in this most just Law? As for those other Christian Emperors, from Constantine the first of them, finding the Roman Law in this point so answerable to the Mosaic, it might be the likeliest cause why they alter'd nothing to restraint, but if ought, rather to liberty, for the help, and consideration of the weaker sex, according as the Gospel seems to make the wife more equal to her husband in these conjugal respects then the law of Moses doth. Therefore if a man were absent from his wife four years, and in that space not heard of, though gon to war in the service of

the Empire, she might divorce, and marry another by the edict of *Constantine* to *Dalmatius*, *Co. l. 5. tit. 17.* And this was an Age of the Church both antient, and cry'd up still for the most flourishing in knowledge and pious government since the Apostles. But to return to this Law of *Theodosius*, with this observation by the way, that still as the Church corrupted, as the Clergy grew more ignorant, and yet more usurping on the Magistrate, who also now declin'd, so still Divorce grew more restrain'd; though certainly if better times permitted the thing that worse times restrain'd, it would not weakly argue that the permission was better, and the restraint worse. This Law therefore of *Theodosius*, wiser in this then the most of his successors, though not wiser then God and *Moses*, reduc't the causes of Divorce to a certain number, which by the judicial Law of God, and all recorded humanity were left before to the breast of each husband, provided that the dissolvs was not without reasonable conditions to the Wife. But this was a restraint not yet come to extremes. For besides Adultery, and that not only actual, but suspected by many signs there set down, any fault equally punishable with Adultery, or equally infamous, might be the cause of a Divorce. Which informs us how the wisest of those ages understood that place in the Gospel, whereby, not the pilfering of a Benevolence was consider'd as the main and only breach of Wedloc, as is now thought, but the breach of love and peace, a more holy union then that of the flesh; and the dignity of an honest person was regarded, not to be held in bondage with one whose ignominy was infectious. To this purpose was constituted *Cod. l. 5. tit. 17. and Authent. collat. 4. tit. 1. Novell. 22.* where *Justinian* added three causes more. In the 117. *Novell.* most of the same causes are allow'd, but the liberty of divorcing by consent is repeal'd: but by whom? by *Justinian*, not a wiser, not a more religious Emperor then either of the former, but noted by judicious writers for his fickle head in making and unmaking Laws; and how *Procopius*, a good Historian, and a Counsellor of State then living, deciphers him in his other actions, I willingly omit. Nor was the Church then in better case, but had the corruption of a 100 declining years swept on it, when the statute of *Consent* was call'd in; which, as I said, gives us every way more reason to suspect this restraint, more than that liberty: which therefore in the reign of *Justin*, the succeeding Emperor, was recall'd, *Novell. 140.* and establish'd with a preface more wise and christianly then for those times, declaring the necessity to restore that *Theodosian* Law, if no other means of reconciliation could be found. And by whom this Law was abrogated, or how long after, I do not find; but that those other causes remain'd in force as long as the Greek Empire subsisted, and were assented by that Church, is to be read in the Canons and Edicts compar'd by *Photius* the Patriarch, with the avertiments of *Balsamon* and *Matthæus Monachus* thereon.

But long before those days *Leo*, the son of *Basilius Macedo*, reigning about the year 886. and for his excellent wisdom surnam'd the *Philosopher*, constituted that in case of madness the husband might divorce after three years, the wife after five. *Constitut. Leon. 111, 112.* This declares how he expounded our Saviour, and deriv'd his reasons from the Institution, which in his Preface with great eloquence are set down; whereof a passage or two may give som proof, though better not divided from the rest. *There is not, saith he, a thing more necessary to preserve mankind, then the help giv'n him from his own rib; both God and Nature so teaching us: which being so, it was requisite that the providence of Law, or if any other care be to the good of man, should teach and ordain those things which are to the help and comfort of married persons, and confirm the end of marriage purpos'd in the beginning, not those things which afflict and bring perpetual misery to them.* Then answers the Objection that they are one flesh; if matrimony had held so as God ordain'd it, he were wicked that would dissolve it. But if we respect this in matrimony, that it be contracted to the good of both, how shall he, who for some great evil fear'd, perswades not to marry though contracted, nor perswade to unmarry, if after marriage a calamity befall? Should we bid beware lest any fall into an evil, and leave him helpless who by human error is fall'n therein? This were as if we should use remedies to prevent a disease, but let the sick die without remedy. The rest will be worth reading in the Author.

And thus we have the judgment first of primitive fathers; next of the imperial Law not disallow'd by the universal Church in ages of her best authority; and lastly of the whole Greek Church and civil State, incorporating their Canons and Edicts together, that Divorce was lawful for other causes equivalent to Adultery, contain'd under the word Fornication. So that the expolition of our Saviour's sentence here alleg'd

hath all these ancient and great asserters, is therefore neither new nor licentious, as some would persuade the commonalty; although it be nearer truth that nothing is more new than those teachers themselves, and nothing more licentious than some known to be, whose hypocritie yet shames not to take offence at this doctrine for licence; when as indeed they fear it would remove licence, and leave them but few companions.

That the Popes Canon Law incroaching upon civil Magistracy, abolish't all Divorce even for Adultery. What the reformed Divines have recover'd; and that the famousst of them have taught according to the assertion of this Book.

But in these western parts of the Empire it will appear almost unquestionable that the cited Law of *Theodosius* and *Valentinian* stood in force until the blindest and corruptest times of Popedom displac't it. For, that the Volumes of *Justinian* never came into *Italy*, or beyond *Illyricum*, is the Opinion of good Antiquaries. And that only Manuscript thereof found in *Apulia* by *Lotharius* the *Saxon*, and giv'n to the States of *Pisa* for their aid at sea against the *Normans* of *Sicily*, was receiv'd as a rarity not to be matcht. And altho the *Goths*, and after them the *Lombards* and *Franks*, who over-run the most of *Europe* except this Iland (unless we make our *Saxons* and *Normans* a limb of them) brought in their own customs, yet that they follow'd the Roman Laws in their Contracts and Marriages, *Agathius* the Historian is alleg'd. And other testimonies relate that *Alaricus* and *Theodoric* their Kings writ their statutes out of this *Theodosian Code*, which hath the recited Law of Divorcè. Nevertheless while the Monarchs of Christendom were yet barbarous, and but half Christian, the Popes took this advantage of their weak Superstition, to raise a corpulent Law out of the Canons and *Decretals* of audacious Priests; and presum'd also to set this in the front; *That the constitutions of Princes are not above the constitutions of Clergy, but beneath them.* Using this very instance of Divorce as the first prop of their tyranny; by a false consequence drawn from a passage of *Ambrose* upon *Luke*, where he saith, though *Mans law grant it, yet Gods law prohibits it*: Whence *Gregory* the Pope writing to *Theodicta* inters that Ecclesiastical Courts cannot be dissolv'd by the Magistrate. A fair conclusion from a double error. First in saying that the Divine Law prohibited Divorce, for what will he make of *Moses*? next supposing that it did, how will it follow, that whatever Christs forbids in his Evangelic precepts, should be hal'd into a judicial constraint against the pattern of a divine Law? Certainly the Gospel came not to enact such compulsions. In the mean while we may note here that the restraint of Divorce was one of the first fair seeming pleas which the Pope had, to step into secular authority, and with his Antichristian rigor to abolish the permissive Law of Christian Princes conforming to a sacred Lawgiver. Which if we consider, this papal and unjust restriction of Divorce need not be so deer to us, since the plausible restraining of that was in a manner the first loosning of Antichrist, and as it were the substance of his eldest Horn. Nor do we less remarkably ow the first means of his fall here in *England* to the concerning of that restraint by *Henry 8.* whose Divorce he opposed. Yet was not that rigour executed anciently in spiritual Courts until *Alexander* the third; who trod upon the neck of *Frederic Barbarossa* the Emperor, and summond our *Henry 2.* into *Normandy* about the death of *Becket*. He it was, that the worthy author may be known, who first actually repeal'd the imperial Law of Divorce, and decreed this tyrannous Decree, that Matrimony for no cause should be dissolv'd, though for many causes it might separate; as may be seen *Decret Gregor. l. 4. tit. 19.* and in other places of the Canonical Tomes. The main good of which invention, wherein it consists who can tell? but that it hath one vertue incomparable, to fill all Christendom with Whoredoms and Adulteries beyond the art of *Balaams*, or of Devils. Yet neither can these, though so perverse, but acknowledg that the words of Christ under the name of fornication allow putting away for other causes than Adultery both from *bed and bord*, but not from the *band*; their only reason is, because Marriage they believe to be a Sacrament. But our Divines who would seem long since to have renounc't that reason, have so forgot themselves, as yet to hold the absurdity, which but for that reason, unless their be some mystery of Satan in it, perhaps the Papist would not hold. 'Tis true, we grant Divorce for actual and prov'd Adultery, and not for less then many tedious and unreparable years of desertion, wherein a man shall lose all his hope of posterity, which great and holy men have bewail'd, ere he can be righted; and then perhaps on the confines of his old age, when all is not worth the while. But grant this were seasonably don; what are these two cases to many other, which afflict the state of

Marriage as bad, and yet find no redress? What hath the soul of man deserv'd, if it be in the way of salvation, that it should be morgag'd thus, and may not redeem it self according to conscience out of the hands of such ignorant and slothful teachers as these, who are neither able nor mindful to give due tendance to that pretious cure which they rashly undertake; nor have in them the noble goodness to consider these distresses and accidents of mans life, but are bent rather to fill their mouths with Tithe and Oblation? Yet if they can learn to follow, as well as they can seek to be follow'd, I shall direct them to a fair number of renowned men, worthy to be their leaders, who will commend to them a doctrine in this point wiser then their own; and if they be not impatient, it will be the same doctrine which this Treatise hath defended.

Wicklef that Englishman honor'd of God to be the first Preacher of a general Reformation to all *Europe*, was not in this thing better taught of God, then to teach among his chiefest recoveries of truth, that Divorce is lawful to the Christian for many other causes equal to Adultery. This book indeed, through the poverty of our Libraries, I am forc't to cite from *Arniseus* of *Halberstad* on the right of Marriage, who cites it from *Corasius* of *Toulouse*, c. 4. Cent. Sc. and he from *Wicklef*, l. 4. Dial. c. 21. So much the sorrier, for that I never lookt into an Author cited by his Adversary upon this occasion, but found him more conducive to the question than his quotation render'd him.

Next *Luther*, how great a servant of God, in his book of *conjugal life* quoted by *Gerard* out of the Dutch, allows Divorce for the obstinate denial of conjugal duty; and that a man may send away a proud *Vashti*, and marry an *Esther* in her stead. It seems, if this example shall not be impertinent, that *Luther* meant not only the refusal of benevolence, but a stubborn denial of any main conjugal duty; or if he did not, it will be evinc't from what he allows. For out of question, with men that are not barbarous, love and peace, and fitness, will be yielded as essential to marriage, as corporal benevolence. Though I give my body to be burnt, saith *St. Paul*, and have not charity, it profits me nothing. So though the body prostitute it self to whom the mind affords no other love or peace, but constant malice and vexation, can this bodily benevolence deserve to be call'd a marriage between Christians and rational Creatures?

Melancthon, the third great luminary of Reformation, in his book concerning Marriage, grants Divorce for cruel usage, and danger of life, urging the authority of that *Theodosian Law*, which he esteems written with the grave deliberation of godly men; and that they who reject this law, and think it disagreeing from the Gospel, understand not the difference of Law and Gospel; that the Magistrat ought not only to defend life, but to succour the weak conscience, lest broke with grief and indignation, it relinquish Prayer, and turn to some unlawful thing. What if this heavy plight of despair arise from other discontents in Wedloc, which may go to the soul of a good man more than the danger of his life, or cruel using? which a man cannot be liable to, suppose it be ingrateful usage, suppose it be perpetual spight, and disobedience, suppose a hatred; shall not the Magistrat free him from this disquiet which interrupts his prayers, and disturbs the cours of his service to God and his Country all as much, and brings him such a misery, as that he more desires to leave his life, then fears to lose it? shall not this equally concern the office of civil protection, and much more the charity of a true Church to remedy?

Erasmus, who for Learning was the wonder of his age, both in his *Notes* on *Matthew*, and on the first to the *Corinthians*, in a large and eloquent Discourse, and in his answer to *Phimosomus* a Papist, maintains (and no Protestant then living contradicted him) that the words of Christ comprehend many other causes of Divorce under the name of fornication.

Bucer (whom our famous Dr. *Rainolds* was wont to prefer before *Calvin*) in his Comment on *Matthew*, and in his second book of the Kingdom of Christ, treats of Divorce at large to the same effect as is written in the doctrine and discipline of Divorce lately publisht, and the Translation is extant: whom lest I should be thought to have wrested to mine own purpose, take something more out of his 49th Chapter, which I then for brevity omitted. It will be the duty of pious Princes, and all who govern Church or Commonwealth, if any, whether husband or wife, shall affirm their want of such who either will, or can tolerably perform the necessary duties of married life, to grant that they may seek them such, and marry them; if they make it appear that such they have not. This Book he wrote here in England, where he liv'd the greatest admir'd man; and this he dedicated to *Edward* the sixth.

Fagius,

Fagius, rankt among the famous Divines of *Germany*, whom *Frederic*, at that time the *Palatine*, sent for to be the Reformer of his Dominion, and whom afterwards *England* sought to, and obtain'd of him to come and teach her, differs not in this opinion from *Bucer*, as his Notes on the *Chaldee Paraphrast* well testify.

The whole Church of *Strasburgh* in her most flourishing time, when *Zellius*, *Hedio*, *Capito*, and other great Divines taught there, and those two renowned Magistrates *Farrerus* and *Sturmius* govern'd that Commonwealth and Academy to the admiration of all *Germany*, hath thus in the 21st Article: *We teach, that if according to the word of God, yea or against it, Divorces happen, to do according to Gods word, Deut. 24. 1. Mat. 19. 1 Cor. 7. and the observation of the primitive Church, and the Christian constitution of pious Cæsars.*

Peter Martyr seems in word our easy adversary, but is in deed for us: toward which though it be something when he saith of this opinion, *that it is not wicked, and can hardly be refuted*, this which follows is much more; I speak not here, saith he, of natural impediments which may so happ'n that the matrimony can no longer hold: but adding, *that he often wonder'd, how the antient and most christian Emperors establisht those laws of Divorce, and neither Ambrose, who had such influence upon the laws of Theodosius, nor any of those holy Fathers found fault, nor any of the Churches, why the Magistrats of this day should be so loth to constitute the same.* Perhaps they fear an inundation of Divorces, which is not likely, whenas we read not either among the Ebrews, Greeks, or Romans, that they were much frequent where they were most permitted. If they judg christian men worse than Jews or Pagans, they both injure that name, and by this reason will be constrain'd to grant Divorces the rather; because it was permitted as a remedy of evil, for who would remove the medicin, while the disease is yet so rife? This being read both in his common places, and on the first to the *Corinthians*, with what we shall relate more of him yet ere the end, sets him absolutely on this side. Not to insist that in both these, and other places of his commentaries he grants Divorce not only for desertion, but for the seducement and scandalous demeanour of a heretical consort.

Musculus, a Divine of no obscure fame, distinguishes between the religious and the civil determination of Divorce; and leaving the civil wholly to the Lawyers, pronounces a conscionable Divorce for impotence not only natural, but accidental, if it be durable. His equity, it seems, can enlarge the words of Christ to one cause more than Adultery; why may not the reason of another man as wife, enlarge them to another cause?

Gualter of *Zuric*, a well known judicious commentator, in his Homilies on *Matthew* allows Divorce for *Leprosie, or any other cause which renders unfit for wedloc*, and calls this rather *a nullity of marriage then a divorce*. And who, that is not himself a meer body, can restrain all the unfitness of Marriage only to a corporeal defect?

Hemingius an Author highly esteem'd, and his works printed at *Geneva*, writing of Divorce, confesses that learned men vary in this question, some granting three causes thereof, some five, others many more; he himself gives us six, *Adultery, Desertion, Inability, Error, Evil-usage, and Impiety*, using argument that Christ under one special contains the whole kind, and under the name and example of fornication he includes other causes equipollent. This discours he wrote at the request of many who had the judging of these causes in *Denmark* and *Norway*, who by all likelihood follow'd his advice.

Hunnius a Doctor of *Wittenberg*, well known both in Divinity and other Arts, on the 19th of *Matth.* affirms, *That the exception of fornication exprest by our Saviour excludes not other causes equalling adultery, or destructive to the substantial of matrimony; but was oppos'd to the custom of the Jews who made divorce for every light cause.*

Felix Bidenbachius, an eminent Divine in the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, affirms, *That the obstinate refusal of conjugal due, is a lawful cause of Divorce*, and gives an instance that the consistory of that state so judg'd.

Gerard cites *Harbardus* an Author not unknown, and *Arniseus* cites *Wigandus*, both yeelding divorce in case of cruel usage; and another author who testifies to have seen in a dukedom of *Germany* marriages disjoyn'd for some implacable enmities arising.

Beza, one of the strictest against Divorce, denies it not for danger of life from a Heretic, or importunat solicitation to do ought against Religion: and counts it

all

all one whether the Heretic desert, or would stay upon intolerable conditions. But this decision well examin'd will be found of no solidity. For *Beza* would be ask'd why, if God so strictly exact our stay in any kind of Wedloc, we had not better stay and hazard a murdering for Religion at the hand of a wife or husband, as he and others enjoyn us to stay and venture it for all other causes but that? and why a mans life is not as well and warrantably sav'd by divorcing from an orthodox murderer, as a heretical? Again, if desertion be confest by him to consist not only in the forsaking, but in the unsufferable conditions of staying, a man may as well deduce the lawfulness of divorcing from any intolerable conditions (if his grant be good that we may divorce thereupon from a Heretic) as he can deduce it lawful to divorce from any deserter, by finding it lawful to divorce from a deserting Infidel. For this is plain, if *St. Pauls* permission to divorce an infidel deserter, infer it lawful for any malicious desertion, then doth *Beza's* definition of a deserter transfer it self with like facility from the cause of Religion to the cause of Malice, and proves it as good to divorce from him who intolerably stays, as from him who purposely departs; and leaves it as lawful to depart from him who urgently requires a wicked thing, though profiting the same Religion, as from him who urges a heathenish or superstitious compliance in a different faith. For if there be such necessity of our abiding, we ought rather to abide the utmost for Religion than for any other cause; seeing both the cause of our stay is pretended our Religion to Marriage, and the cause of our suffering is suppos'd our constant Marriage to Religion. *Beza* therefore, by his own definition of a deserter, justifies a divorce from any wicked or intolerable conditions rather in the same Religion than in a different.

Aretius, a famous Divine of *Bern*, approves many causes of Divorce in his *Problems*, and adds, *That the laws and consistories of Switzerland approve them also.* As first, *Adultery*, and that not actual only, but intentional, alleging *Matthew 5.* *Whosoever looketh to lust, hath committed adultery already in his heart.* Whereby, saith he, our Saviour shews that the breach of matrimony may be not only by outward act, but by the heart and desire; when that hath once possess'd, it renders the conversation intolerable, and commonly the fact follows. Other causes to the number of 9. or 10. consenting in most with the imperial Laws, may be read in the Author himself, who avers them to be grave and weighty. All these are men of name in Divinity; and to these, if need were, might be added more. Nor have the Civilians bin all so blinded by the Canon, as not to avouch the justice of those old permissions touching Divorce.

Alciat of *Millain*, a man of extraordinary wisdom and learning, in the sixth book of his *Parerga*, defends those imperial Laws, not repugnant to the Gospel, as the Church then interpreted. For, saith he, the antients understood him separat by man, whom passions and corrupt affections divorc't, not if the provincial Bishops first heard the matter, and judg'd, as the Council of *Agatha* declares: and on some part of the Code he names *Isidorus Hispalensis*, the first computer of Canons, to be in the same mind. And in the former place gives his opinion that Divorce might be more lawfully permitted than Usury.

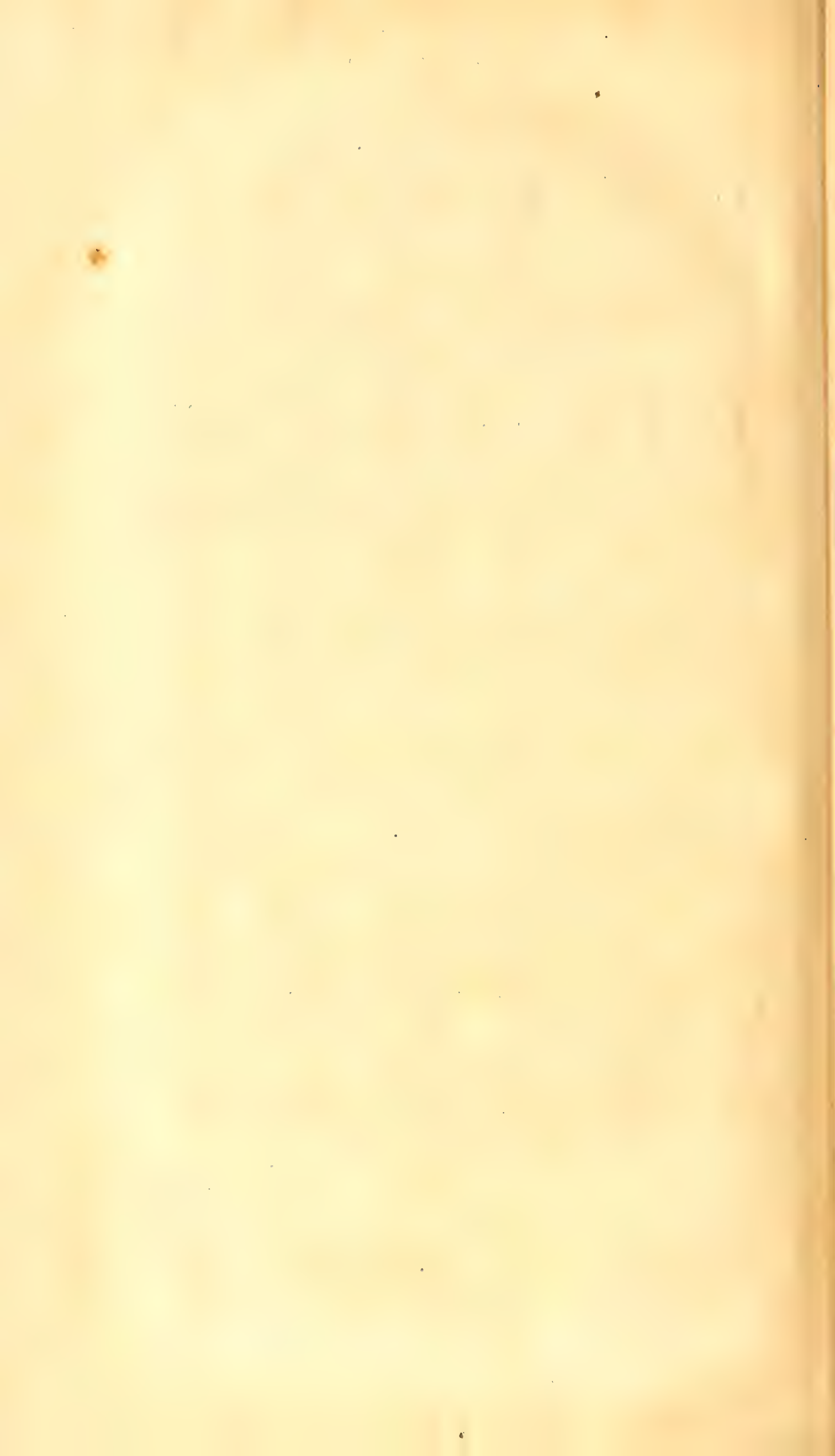
Corasius, recorded by *Helvicus* among the famous Lawyers, hath been already cited of the same judgment.

Wesembachius, a much nam'd Civilian, in his Comment on this Law defends it, and affirms, *That our Saviour excluded not other faults equal to adultery; and that the word fornication signifies larger among the Hebrews than with us, comprehending every fault which alienates from him to whom obedience is due, and that the primitive Church interpreted so.*

Grotius, yet living, and of prime note among learned men, retires plainly from the Canon to the ancient Civility, yea to the Mosaic Law, as being most just and undeceivable. On the 5th of *Matth.* he saith, *That Christ made no civil Laws, but taught us how to use Law: that the Law sent not a husband to the Judge about this matter of Divorce, but left him to his own conscience; that Christ therefore cannot be thought to send him; that Adultery may be judg'd by a vehement suspicion; that the exception of Adultery seems an example of other like offences; proves it from the manner of speech, the maxims of Law, the reason of Charity, and common Equity.*

These Authorities, without long search, I had to produce, all excellent Men, few of them such as many ages had brought forth none greater: almost the meanest of them might deserve to obtain credit in a singularity; what might

not then all of them joyn'd in an opinion so consonant to reason? For although some speak of this cause, others of that, why Divorce may be, yet all agreeing in the necessary enlargement of that textual straitness, leave the matter to equity, nor to literal bondage, and so the Opinion closes. Nor could I have wanted more testimonies, had the cause needed a more solicitous enquiry. But herein the satisfaction of others hath bin studied, not the gaining of more assurance to mine own perswasion: although authorities contributing reason withall, be a good confirmation and a welcome. But God, I solemnly attest him, withheld from my knowledge the consenting judgment of these men so late, until they could not be my instructors, but only my unexpected witnesses to partial men, that in this work I had not given the worst experiment of an industry joyn'd with integrity, and the free utterance tho' of an unpopular truth. Which yet to the people of *England* may, if God so please, prove a memorable informing; certainly a benefit which was intended them long since by men of highest repute for Wisdom and Piety, *Bucer* and *Erasmus*. Only this one authority more, whether in place or out of place, I am not to omit; which if any can think a small one, I must be patient, it is no smaller then the whole assembl'd Authority of *England* both Church and State; and in those times which are on record for the purest and sincerest that ever shon yet on the reformation of this Island, the time of *Edward* the 6th. That worthy Prince having utterly abolisht the Canon Law out of his Dominions, as his Father did before him, appointed by full vote of Parliament, a Committee of two and thirty chosen men, Divines and Lawyers, of whom *Cranmer* the Archbishop, *Peter Martyr*, and *Walter Haddon* (not without the assistance of Sir *John Cheeke* the Kings Tutor, a man at that time counted the learnedest of English-men, and for piety not inferior) were the chief, to frame anew some Ecclesiastical Laws that might be instead of what was abrogated. The work with great diligence was finish'd, and with as great approbation of that reforming age was receav'd; and had bin doubtless, as the learned Preface thereof testifies, establish'd by Act of Parliament, had not the good Kings death so soon ensuing, arrested the further growth of Religion also, from that season to this. Those Laws, thus founded on the memorable Wisdom and Piety of that religious Parliament and Synod, allow Divorce and second Marriage not only for adultery or desertion, but for any capital enmity or plot laid against the others life, and likewise for evil and fierce usage: nay the 12 Chap. of that title by plain consequence declares, that lesser contentions, if they be perpetual, may obtain divorce: which is all one really with the position by me held in the former Treatise publish'd on this argument, herein only differing, that there the cause of perpetual strife was put for example in the unchangeable discord of some natures; but in these Laws intended us by the best of our ancestors, the effect of continual strife is determined no unjust plea of Divorce, whether the cause be natural or wilful. Whereby the wariness and deliberation from which that discourse proceeded, will appear, and that God hath aided us to make no bad conclusion of this point; seeing the Opinion which of late hath undergone ill censures among the vulgar, hath now prov'd to have done no violence to Scripture, unless all these famous Authors alleg'd have done the like; nor hath affirm'd ought more then what indeed the most nominated Fathers of the Church both ancient and modern are unexpectedly affirming, the Laws of Gods peculiar people, and of primitive Christendom found to have practis'd, reformed Churches and States to have imitated, and especially the most pious Church-times of this Kingdom to have fram'd and publish'd, and, but for sad hindrances in the sudden change of Religion, had enacted by the Parliament. Henceforth let them who condemn the assertion of this book for new and licentious, be sorry; lest, while they think to be of the graver sort, and take on them to be teachers, they expose themselves rather to be pledg'd up and down by men who intimately know them, to the discovery and contempt of their ignorance and presumption.



THE
J U D G M E N T
O F
Martin Bucer,
CONCERNING
D I V O R C E:

Writt'n to EDWARD the Sixt, in his Second
Book of the Kingdom of Christ:

And now Englisht.

Wherein a late Book, restoring the *Doctrine and
Discipline of Divorce*, is here confirm'd and justify'd by the
Authority of MARTIN BUCER.

To the Parliament of England.

JOHN III. 10.

Art thou a Teacher of Israel, and know'st not these things?

Publisht by Authority.

*Testimonies of the high Approbation which Learned
Men have given of MARTIN BUCER.*

Simon Grynaeus, 1533.

AMong all the *Germans*, I give the Palm to *Bucer* for Excel-
lence in the Scriptures. *Melanchton* in human Learning is
wondrous fluent; but greater Knowledg in the Scripture
I attribute to *Bucer*, and speak it unfaindly.

John Calvin, 1539.

Martin Bucer, a most faithful Doctor of the Church of Christ, be-
sides his rare Learning, and copious Knowledg of many things, be-
sides his cleannes of Wit, much Reading, and other many and vari-
ous Vertues, wherein he is almost by none now living excell'd, hath
D d d few

few Equals, and excels most ; hath this praise peculiar to himself, that none in this Age hath us'd exacter diligence in the Exposition of Scripture.

And a little beneath.

Bucer is more large then to be read by over-busied Men, and too high to be easily understood by unattentive Men, and of a low capacity.

Sir John Cheek, Tutor to K. Edward VI. 1551.

We have lost our Master, then whom the World scarce held a greater, whether we consider his knowledg of true Religion, or his integrity and innocence of life, or his incessant study of holy things, or his matchless labour of promoting piety, or his authority and amplitude of teaching, or whatever els was praise-worthy and glorious in him. *Script. Anglicana, pag. 864.*

John Sturmius of Strasburgh.

No man can be ignorant what a great and constant opinion and estimation of *Bucer* there is in *Italy France, and England*. Whence the Saying of *Quintilian* hath come to my mind, that he hath well profited in Eloquence whom *Cicero* pleases. The same say I of *Bucer*, that he hath made no small progress in Divinity, whom *Bucer* pleases ; for in his Volumes, which he wrote very many, there is the plain impression to be discern'd of many great Vertues, of Diligence, of Charity, of Truth, of Acuteness of Judgment, of Learning. Wherein he hath a certain proper kind of Writing, whereby he doth not only teach the Reader, but affects him with the sweetness of his Sentences, and with the manner of his Arguing, which is so teaching, and so logical, that it may be perceiv'd how learnedly he separates probable Reasons from necessary, how forcibly he confirms what he has to prove, how subtly he refutes, not with sharpnes, but with truth.

Theodore Beza on the Portraiture of M. Bucer.

This is that count'nance of *Bucer*, the mirror of mildnes, temper'd with gravity ; to whom the City of *Strasburgh* owes the Reformation of her Church. Whose singular Learning, and eminent Zeal, joyn'd with excellent Wisdom, both his learned Books, and public Disputations in the general Diets of the Empire, shall witness to all Ages. Him the *German* Persecution drove into *England* ; where honourably entertain'd by *Edward the Sixt*, he was for two years chief Professor of Divinity in *Cambridge*, with greatest frequency and applause of all learned and pious Men until his death, 1551. *Beza Icones.*

Mr. Fox Book of Martyrs, Vol. 3. p. 763.

Bucer, what by writing, but chiefly by reading and preaching openly, wherein being painful in the Word of God, he never spar'd himself, nor regarded his Health, brought all Men into such an admiration of him, that neither his Friends could sufficiently praise him, nor his Enemies in any point find fault with his singular Life, and sincere Doctrine. A most certain tok'n whereof may be his sumptuous Burial at *Cambridge*, solemniz'd with so great an assistance of all

all the University, that it was not possible to devise more to the setting out and amplifying of the same.

Dr. Pern the Popish Vice-Chancellor of Cambridg, his Adversary.

Cardinal *Pool* about the fourth year of *Queen Mary*, intending to reduce the University of *Cambridg* to Popery again, thought no way so effectual, as to cause the Bones of *Martin Bucer* and *Paulus Fagius*, which had been four years in the Grave, to be tak'n up and burnt openly with their Books, as knowing that those two worthy Men had bin of greatest moment to the Reformation of that place from Popery, and had left such powerful Seeds of their Doctrine behind them, as would never die, unless the Men themselves were digg'd up, and openly condemn'd for Heretics by the University it self. This was put in execution, and Doctor *Pern*, Vice-Chancellor, appointed to preach against *Bucer*. Who, among other things, laid to his charge the Opinions which he held of the Marriage of Priests, of Divorcement, and of Usury. But immediately after his Sermon, or somewhat before, as the *Book of Martyrs* for a truth relates, *Vol 3. p. 770.* the said Doctor *Pern* smiting himself on the Breast, and in manner weeping, wisht with all his heart, that God would grant his Soul might then presently depart, and remain with *Bucer's*; for he knew his Life was such, that if any man's Soul were worthy of Heaven, he thought *Bucers* in special to be most worthy. *Histor. de Combust. Buceri, & Fagii.*

Acworth the University-Orator.

Soon after that *Queen Elizabeth* came to the Crown, this Condemnation of *Bucer* and *Fagius* by the Cardinal and his Doctors, was solemnly repeal'd by the University; and the Memory of those two famous Men celebrated in an Oration by *Acworth* the University-Orator, which is yet extant in the *Book of Martyrs, Vol. 3. p. 773.* and in Latin, *Scripta Anglic. p. 936.*

Nicolas Carre, a learned Man; *Walter Haddon*, Master of the Requests to *Queen Elizabeth*; *Matthew Parker*, afterwards Primate of *England*, with other eminent Men, in their funeral Orations and Sermons, express abundantly how great a Man *Martin Bucer* was; what an incredible loss *England* sustain'd in his Death; and that with him dy'd the hope of a perfect Reformation for that Age. *Ibid.*

* *Jacobus Verheiden of Grave, in his Elogies of famous Divines.*

Though the Name of *Martin Luther* be famous, yet thou *Martin Bucer*, for Piety, Learning, Labour, Care, Vigilance, and Writing, art not to be held inferior to *Luther*. *Bucer* was a singular instrument of God, so was *Luther*. By the Death of this most learned and most faithful Man, the Church of Christ sustain'd a heavy loss, as *Calvin* witnesseth; and they who are studious of *Calvin*, are not ignorant how much he ascribes to *Bucer*; for thus he writes in a Letter to *Viretus*: What a manifold loss beset the Church of God in the Death of *Bucer*, as oft as I call to mind, I feel my heart almost rent asunder.

Peter Martyr *Epist. to* Conradus Hubertus.

He is dead, who hath overcome in many Battels of the Lord. God lent us for a time this our Father, and our Teacher, never enough prais'd. Death hath divided me from a most unanimous Friend, one truly according to mine own heart. My Mind is overprest with Grief, insomuch that I have not power to write more. I bid thee in Christ farewell, and wish thou maist be able to bear the loss of *Bucer*, better then I can bear it.

Testimonies giv'n by Learned Men to Paulus Fagius, who held the same Opinion with Martin Bucer concerning Divorce.

Exæ Icones.

Paulus Fagius, born in the *Palatinate*, became most skilful in the Hebrew Tongue. Being call'd to the Ministry at *Isna*, he publisht many ancient and profitable Hebrew Books, being aided in the expences by a Senator of that City, as *Origen* sometime was by a certain rich man call'd *Ambrosius*. At length invited to *Strasburgh*, he there famously discharg'd the Office of a Teacher; until the same Persecution drove him and *Bucer* into *England*, where he was preferr'd to a Professors place in *Cambridge*, and soon after died.

Melchior Adamus writes his Life among the famous *German Divines*.

Slerdan and *Ihuanus* mention him with honour in their History. And *Verheiden* in his *Elogies*.

To the PARLAMENT.

THE Book, which among other great and high Points of Reformation, contains as a principal part thereof, this Treatise here presented, Supreme Court of Parliament, was by the famous Author *Martin Bucer*, dedicated to *Edward* the sixth: whose incomparable Youth doubtless had brought forth to the Church of *England* such a glorious Manhood, had his life reacht it, as would have left in the affairs of Religion, nothing without an excellent pattern for us now to follow. But since the secret purpose of divine Appointment hath reserv'd no less perhaps then the just half of such a sacred Work to be accomplisht in this Age, and principally, as we trust, by your succesful Wisdom and Authority, religious Lords and Commons, what wonder if I seek no other, to whose exactest judgment and review I may commend these last and worthiest Labours of this renowned Teacher? whom living, all the pious Nobility of those reforming Times, your truest and best imitated Ancestors, reverenc'd and admir'd. Nor was he wanting to a recompence as great as was himself; when both at many times before, and especially among his last Sighs and Prayers testifying his dear and fatherly affection to the Church and Realm of *England*, he sincerely wisht in the hearing of many devout Men, that what he had in this his last Book written to King *Edward* concerning Discipline, might have place in this Kingdom. His hope was then, that no calamity, no confusion, or deformity would happen to the Common-wealth; but otherwise he fear'd, lest in the midst of all this ardency to know God, yet by the neglect of Discipline, or good Endeavours, would not succeed. These remarkable words of so godly and so eminent a Man at his death, as they are related by a sufficient and well-known witness, who heard them, and inserted by *Ihuanus* into his grave and serious History; so ought they to be chiefly consider'd by that Nation for whose sake they were utter'd, and more especially by that general Council which represents the Body of that Nation. If therefore the Book or this part thereof, for necessary causes, be now reviv'd and recommended to the use of this undisciplin'd Age; it hence

*Nicol. de obitu
Buceri.*

hence appears, that these Reasons have not err'd in the choice of a fit Patronage for a discourse of such importance. But why the whole Tractat is not here brought entire; but this matter of Divorcement selected in particular, to prevent the full speed of some mis-interpreter, I hasten to disclose. First, it will be soon manifest to them who know what wise men should know, that the constitution and reformation of a Commonwealth, if *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* did not mis-reform, is, like a building, to begin orderly from the foundation thereof, which is Marriage and the Family, to set right first what ever is amiss therein. How can there els grow up a Race of warrantable Men, while the house and home that breeds them, is troubl'd and disquieted under a bondage not of God's constraining with a natureles constraint (if his most righteous judgments may be our rule) but laid upon us imperiously in the worst and weakest Ages of Knowledg, by a canonical tyranny of stupid and malicious Monks: who having rashly vow'd themselves to a single life, which they could not undergo, invented new fetters to throw on Matrimony, that the World thereby waxing more dissolute, they also in a general looseness might sin with more favour. Next, there being yet among many, such a strange iniquity and perversnes against all necessary Divorce; while they will needs expound the words of our Saviour not duly by comparing other places, as they must do in the resolving of a hunder'd other Scriptures, but by persisting deady in the abrupt and Papistical way of a literal apprehension against the direct *Analogy* of Sense, Reason, Law and Gospel; it therefore may well seem more then time to apply the sound and holy Persuasions of this Apostolic Man, to that part in us, which is not yet fully dispossess'd of an error as absurd, as most that we deplore in our blindest Adversaries; and to let his Authority and unanswerable Reasons be vulgarly known, that either his Name, or the force of his Doctrine may work a wholesome effect. Lastly, I find it clear to be the Author's intention, that this point of Divorcement should be held and receiv'd as a most necessary and prime part of discipline in every Christian Government. And therefore having reduc'd his model of Reformation to 14 Heads, he bestows almost as much time about this one point of Divorce, as about all the rest; which also was the judgment of his Heirs and learned Friends in *Germany*, best acquainted with his meaning; who first publishing this his Book by *Oporinus* at *Basil* (a City for Learning and Constancy in the true Faith, honorable among the first) added a special note in the title, *that there the Reader should find the Doctrine of Divorce handi'd so solidly, and so fully, as scars the like in a Writer of that Age*: and with this particular commendation they doubted not to dedicate the Book, as a most profitable and exquisit Discours, to *Christian* the 3^d, a worthy and pious King of *Denmark*, as the Author himself had done before to our *Edward* the sixt. Yet did not *Bucer* in that Volume only declare what his constant opinion was herein, but also in his Comment upon *Matthew*, written at *Strasburgh* divers years before, he treats distinctly and copiously the same Argument in three several places; touches it also upon the 7th to the *Romans*, and promises the same Solution more largely upon the 1st to the *Corinthians*, omitting no occasion to weed out this last and deepest mischief of the Canon-law, sown into the Opinions of modern Men, against the Laws and Practice both of God's chosen People, and the best primitive Times. Wherin his faithfulness and powerful evidence prevail'd so far with all the Church of *Strasburgh*, that they publisht this doctrine of Divorce, as an Article of their Confession, after they had taught so eight and twenty years, through all those times, when that City flourish'd, and excell'd most, both in Religion, Learning, and good Government, under those first restorers of the Gospel there, *Zelius*, *Hedio*, *Capito*, *Fagius*, and those who incomparably then govern'd the Commonwealth, *Farrerus* and *Sturmius*. If therefore God in the former Age found out a Servant, and by whom he had convert'd and reform'd many a City, by him thought good to restore the most needful Doctrine of Divorce from rigorous and harmful mistakes on the right hand, it can be no strange thing if in this age he stir up by whatsoever means whom it pleases him, to take in hand and maintain the same assertion. Certainly if it be in man's discerning to sever Providence from Chance, I could allege many instances, wherein there would appear cause to esteem of me no other then a passive instrument under some power and counsel higher and better then can be human, working to a general good in the whole cours of this matter. For that I owe no light, or leading receiv'd from any man in the discovery of this truth, what time I first undertook it in the doctrine and discipline of Divorce, and had only the infallible grounds of Scripture to be my guide; he who tries the inmost heart, and saw with what severe industry and examination of my self, I set down every period, will be my witnes. When I had almost finish'd the first Edition;

tion, I chanc'd to read in the Notes of *Hugo Grotius* upon the 5th of *Matth.* whom I strait understood inclining to reasonable terms in this Controverlie: and something he whisper'd rather than disputed about the Law of Charity, and the true end of Wed-loc. Glad therefore of such an able Assistant, however at much distance, I resolv'd at length to put off into this wild and calumnious World. For God; it seems, intended to prove me, whether I durst alone take up a rightful Cause against a World of dis-esteem, and found I durst. My Name I did not publish, as not willing it should sway the Reader either for me or against me. But when I was told, that the stile, which what it ails to be so soon distinguishable, I cannot tell, was known by most Men, and that some of the Clergy began to inveigh and exclaim on what I was credibly inform'd they had not read; I took it then for my proper season both to shew them a Name that could easily condemn such an indiscreet kind of Censure, and to reinforce the Question with a more accurat diligence: that if any of them would be so good as to leave railing, and to let us hear so much of his Learning and Christian Wisdom, as will be strictly demanded of him in his answering to this Problem, care was had he should not spend his Preparations against a nameless Pamphlet. By this time I had learnt that *Paulus Fagius*, one of the chief Divines in *Germany*, sent for by *Frederic the Palatine*, to reform his Dominion, and after that invited hither in *King Edward's* days to be Professor of Divinity in *Cambridge*, was of the same Opinion touching Divorce, which these Men so lavishly traduc'd in me. What I found, I inserted where fittest place was, thinking sure they would respect so grave an Author, at last to the moderating of their odious Inferences. And having now perfected a second Edition, I refer'd the judging therof to your high and impartial Sentence, honour'd Lords and Commons. For I was confident, if any thing generous, any thing noble, and above the Multitude, were left yet in the Spirit of *England*; it could be no where sooner found, and no where sooner understood, then in that House of Justice and true Liberty where ye sit in Council. Nor doth the Event hitherto, for some reasons which I shall not here deliver, fail me of what I conceiv'd so highly. Nevertheless, being far otherwise dealt with by some, of whose Profession and supposed Knowledge I had better hope, and esteem'd the deviser of a new and pernicious Paradox, I felt no difference within me from that peace and firmnes of Mind, which is of nearest kin to Patience and Contentment: both for that I knew I had divulg'd a truth linkt inseparably with the most fundamental Rules of Christianity, to stand or fall together, and was not un-inform'd that divers learned and judicious Men testify'd their daily Approbation of the Book. Yet at length it hath pleas'd God, who had already giv'n me satisfaction in my self, to afford me now a means whereby I may be fully justify'd also in the eyes of Men. When the Book had bin now the second time set forth well-nigh three Months, as I best remember, I then first came to hear that *Martin Bucer* had writt'n much concerning Divorce: whom earnestly turning over, I soon perceiv'd, but not without amazement, in the same Opinion, confirm'd with the same Reasons which in that publish'd Book, without the help or imitation of any precedent Writer, I had labour'd out, and laid together. Not but that there is some difference in the Handling, in the Order, and the Number of Arguments, but still agreeing in the same Conclusion. So as I may justly gratulat mine own mind with due acknowledgment of assistance from above, which led me, not as a Learner, but as a collateral Teacher, to a sympathy of judgment with no less a man then *Martin Bucer*. And he, if our things here below arrive him where he is, does not repent him to see that point of Knowledge which he first, and with an uncheckt freedom preach't to those more knowing times of *England*, now found so necessary, though what he admonish't were lost out of our memory; yet that God doth now again create the same doctrine in another unwritt'n Table, and raises it up immediately out of his pure Oracle to the convictionment of a pervers Age, eager in the reformation of Names and Ceremonies, but in realities as traditional and as ignorant as their forefathers. I would ask now the formost of my profound Accusers, Whether they dare affirm that to be licentious, new and dangerous, which *Martin Bucer* so often, and so urgently avouch't to be most lawful, most necessary, and most Christian, without the least blemish to his good Name, among all the worthy Men of that Age, and since, who testifie so highly of him? If they dare, they must then set up an Arrogance of their own against all those Churches and Saints who honour'd him without this exception: If they dare not, how can they now make that licentious Doctrine in another, which was never blam'd, or confuted in *Bucer*, or in *Fagius*? The truth is, there will be due to them for this their unadvised rashnes, the best Donative that can be giv'n them, I mean a round

Reproof;

Reproof; now that where they thought to be most Magisterial, they have display'd their own want, both of reading, and of judgment. First, to be so unacquainted in the Writings of *Bucer*, which are so obvious and so useful in their own faculty; next to be so caught in a prejudicating weaknes, as to condemn that for lewd, which (whether they knew or not) these elect Servants of Christ commended for lawful; and for new, that which was taught by these almost the first and greatest Authors of Reformation, who were never taxt for so teaching; and dedicated without scruple to a royal Pair of the first reforming Kings in Christendom, and confest in the public Confession of a most *Orthodoxal* Church and State in *Germany*. This is also another fault which I must tell them; that they have stood now almost this whole year clamouring a far off, while the Book hath bin twice printed, twice bought up, and never once vouchsaf't a friendly Conference with the Author, who would be glad and thankful to be shewn an Error, either by privat Dispute, or public Answer, and could retract, as well as wise men before him; might also be worth the gaining, as one who heretofore, hath done good service to the Church by their own confession. Or if he be obstinat, their Confutation would have render'd him without excuse, and reclaim'd others of no mean parts who incline to his Opinion. But now their work is more then doubl'd; and how they will hold up their heads against the sudden aspect of these two great and reverend Saints whom they have defam'd, how they will make good the censuring of that for a novelty of licence, which *Bucer* constantly taught to be a pure and holy Law of Christ's Kingdom, let them advise. For against these my Adversaries, who before the examining of a propounded truth in a fit time of Reformation, have had the conscience to oppose naught els but their blind reproaches and surmises, that a single innocence might not be oppress'd and overborn by a crew of mouths for the restoring of a Law and Doctrin falsely and unlearnedly reputed new and scandalous, God, that I may ever magnific and record this his Goodnes, hath unexpectedly rais'd up as it were from the dead, more then one famous Light of the first Reformation to bear witnes with me, and to do me honour in that very thing, wherein these men thought to have blotted me: And hath giv'n them the proof of a capacity which they despis'd, running equal, and authentic with some of their chiefest Matters unthought of, and in a point of sagest moment. However, if we know at all when to ascribe the Occurrences of this life to the work of a special Providence, as nothing is more usual in the talk of good men, what can be more like to a special Providence of God, then in the first Reformation of *England*, that this question of Divorce, as a main thing to be restor'd to just freedom, was writt'n, and seriously commended to *Edward* the sixth, by a man call'd from another Country to be the instructor of our Nation; and now in this present renewing of the Church and Commonwealth, which we pray may be more lasting, that the same Question should be again treated and presented to this Parliament, by one enabl'd to use the same reasons without the least sight or knowledg of what was done before. It were no trespass, Lords and Commons, though something of less note were attributed to the ordering of a heavenly Power; this question therefore of such prime concernment both to Christian and Civil welfare, in such an extraordinary manner, not recover'd, but plainly twice born to these latter Ages, as from a divine hand I tender to your Acceptance, and most considerate Thoughts. Think not that God rais'd up in vain a man of greatest authority in the Church to tell a trivial and licentious Tale in the ears of that good Prince, and to bequeath it as his last Will and Testament, nay rather as the Testament and Royal Law of Christ to this Nation; or that it should of it self after so many years, as it were in a new Feild where it was never sow'n, grow up again as a vitious plant in the mind of another, who had spoke honestest things to the Nation; though he knew not that what his Youth then reason'd without a pattern, had bin heard already, and well allow'd from the Gravity and Worth of *Martin Bucer*: till meeting with the envy of men ignorant in their own undertak'n Calling, God directed him to the forgott'n Writings of this faithful Evangelist, to be his defence and warrant against the gross imputation of broaching Licence. Ye are now in the glorious way to high Vertue, and matchless Deeds, trusted with a most inestimable Trust, the asserting of our just Liberties. Ye have a Nation that expects now, and from mighty sufferings aspires to be the example of all Christendom to a perfectest reforming. Dare to be as great, as ample, and as eminent in the fair progress of your noble designs, as the full and goodly stature of Truth and Excellence it self; as unlimited by petty Precedents and Copies, as your unquestionable Calling from Heaven gives ye power to be. What are all our public Immunities and Privileges worth? and how shall it be judg'd that we fight for them with Minds worthy to enjoy them,

if we suffer our selves in the mean while not to understand the most important freedom that God and Nature hath giv'n us in the family, which no wise Nation ever wanted, till the Popery and Superstition of some former Ages attempted to remove and alter divine and most prudent Laws for human and most imprudent Canons: whereby good men in the best portion of their lives, and in that Ordinance of God which entitles them from the beginning to most just and requisite contentments, are compell'd to civil Indignities, which by the Law of *Moses* bad men were not compell'd to? Be not bound about, and straitn'd in the spacious Wisdom of your free Spirits, by the scanty and unadequat and inconsistent Principles of such as condemn others for adhering to Traditions, and are themselves the prostrat Worshippers of Custom; and of such a tradition as they can deduce from no antiquity, but from the rudest, and thickest Barbarism of Antichristian times. But why do I anticipate the more acceptable, and prevailing voice of learned *Bucer* himself, the Pastor of Nations? And O that I could set him living before ye in that Doctoral Chair, where once the learnedest of *England* thought it no disparagement to sit at his feet! He would be such a Pilot, and such a Father to ye, as ye would soon find the difference of his hand and skill upon the helm of Reformation. Nor do I forget that faithful Associate of his Labours, *Paulus Fagius*; for these their great Names and Merits, how pretious so ever, God hath now joyn'd with me necessarily, in the good or evil report of this doctrine which I leave with you. It was writt'n to a religious King of this Land; writt'n earnestly, as a main matter wherein this Kingdom needed a reform, if it purpos'd to be the Kingdom of Christ: Writt'n by him, who if any since the days of *Luther*, merits to be counted the Apostle of our Church; whose unwearied pains and watching for our sakes, as they spent him quickly here among us, so did they, during the shortnes of his Life, incredibly promote the Gospel throughout this Realm. The Authority, the Learning, the Godlines of this Man consulted with, is able to out-balance all that the lightnes of a vulgar opposition can bring to counterpoise. I leave him also as my complete Surety and Testimonial, if Truth be not the best wimes to it self, that what I formerly presented to your reading on this subject, was good, and just, and honest, not licentious. Not that I have now more condence by the addition of these great Authois to my party; for what I wrote was not my opinion, but my Knowledge; ev'n then when I could trace no footstep in the way I went: nor that I think to win upon your apprehensions with Numbers and with Names, rather then with Reasons, yet certainly the worst of my detractors will not except against so good a bail of my integrity and judgment, as now appears for me. They must els put in the Fame of *Bucer* and of *Fagius*, as my Accomplices and Confederats into the same Inditement; they must dig up the good Name of these prime Worthies (if their Names could be ever buried) they must dig them up and brand them as the Papists did their Bodies; and those their pure unblamable Spirits, which live not only in Heaven, but in their Writings, they must attaint with new Attaintures which no Protestant ever before aspers'd them with. Or if perhaps we may obtain to get our Appreachment new drawn, a Writ of Error, not of Libertism, that those two principal Leaders of Reformation may not now come to be su'd in a Bill of Licence, to the scandal of our Church; the brief result will be, that for the Error, if their own Works be not thought sufficient to defend them, there livs yet who will be ready, in a fair and christianly discussive way, to debate and list this matter to the utmost ounce of Learning and Religion, in him that shall lay it as an error, either upon *Martin Bucer*, or any other of his Opinion. If this be not enough to qualifie my Traducers, and that they think it more for the Wisdom of thir Virulence, not to recant the Injuries they have bespoken me, I shall not for much more disturbance then they can bring me, intermit the prosecution of those Thoughts which may render me best serviceable, either to this Age, or if it so happ'n, to Posterity; following the fair path which your illustrious Exploits, Honour'd Lords and Commons, against the brest of Tyranny have open'd; and depending so on your happy successes in the hopes that I have conceiv'd either of my self, or of the Nation, as must needs conclude me who most affectionately wishes and awaits the prosperous issue of your noble and valorous Counsels.

T H E
JUDGMENT of MARTIN BUCER
T O U C H I N G
D I V O R C E.

Taken out of the Second Book entitl'd *Of the Kingdom of Christ*; writt'n by MARTIN BUCER to EDWARD the Sixth, King of *England*.

C H A P. XV.

The 7th Law of the sanctifying and ordering of Marriage.

BEsides these things, Christ our King, and his Churches require from your Sacred Majesty, that you would take upon you the just care of Marriages. For it is unspeakable how many good Consciences are hereby entangl'd, afflicted, and in danger, because there are no just Laws, no speedy way constituted according to God's Word, touching this holy Society and Fountain of Mankind. For seeing Matrimony is a civil thing, Men, that they may rightly contract, inviolably keep, and not without extreme necessity dissolve Marriage, are not only to be taught by the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, but also are to be acquitted, aided, and compell'd by Laws and Judicature of the Common-wealth. Which thing pious Emperours acknowledging, and therin framing themselves to the Law of Nations, gave Laws both of contracting and preserving, and also where an unhappy need requir'd, of divorcing Marriages. As may be seen in the Code of *Justinian*, the 5th Book, from the beginning through 24 Titles. And in the Authentic of *Justinian* the 22d, and some others.

But the Antichrists of *Rome*, to get the Imperial Power into thir own hands, first by fraudulent persuation, afterwards by force drew to themselves the whole authority of determining and judging as well in matrimonial causes, as in most other matters. Therefore it hath bin long believ'd, that the care and government thereof doth not belong to the Civil Magistrate. Yet where the Gospel of Christ is receiv'd, the Laws of Antichrist should be rejected. If therefore Kings and Governours take not this care, by the power of Law and Justice to provide that Marriages be piously contracted, religiously kept, and lawfully dissolv'd, if need require, who sees not what confusion and trouble is brought upon this holy Society; and what a rack is prepar'd, ev'n for many of the best Consciences, while they have no certain Laws to follow, no Justice to implore, if any intolerable thing happen. And how much it concerns the honour and safety of the Common-wealth, that Marriages, according to the Will of Christ, be made, maintain'd, and not without just cause dissolv'd, who understands not? For unless that first and holiest Society of Man and Woman be purely constituted, that household Discipline may be upheld by them according to God's Law, how can we expect a Race of good Men? Let your Majesty therefore know that this is your duty, and in the first place, to reassume to your self the just ordering of Matrimony, and by firm Laws to establish and defend the Religion of this first and divine Society among Men, as all wise Law-givers of old, and Christian Emperours have carefully done.

The two next Chapters, because they chiefly treat about the Degrees of Consanguinity and Affinity, I omit; only setting down a passage or two concerning the Judicial Laws of Moles, how fit they be for Christians to imitate rather than any other.

C H A P. XVII. toward the end.

I Confess that we being free in Christ, are not bound to the Civil Laws of *Moses* in every circumstance; yet seeing no Laws can be more honest, just, and wholsom, then those which God himself gave, who is eternal Wisdom and Goodness, I see not why Christians, in things which no less appertain to them, ought not to follow the Laws of God, rather then of any Men. We are not to use Circumcision, Sacrifice, and those bodily Washings prescrib'd to the *Jews*; yet by these things we may rightly learn, with what purity and devotion both Baptism and the Lord's Supper should be administer'd and receiv'd. How much more is it our duty to observe diligently what the Lord hath commanded, and taught by the Examples of his People concerning Marriage, wherof we have the use no less then they?

And because this same worthy Author hath another passage to this purpose in his Comment upon Matthew, Chap. 5. 19. I here insert it from p. 46.

Since we have need of Civil Laws and the power of punishing, it will be wisest not to condemn those giv'n by *Moses*; but seriously rather to consider what the meaning of God was in them, what he chiefly requir'd, and how much it might be to the good of every Nation, if they would borrow thence thir manner of governing the Common-wealth; yet freely all things and with the Spirit of Christ. For what *Solon*, or *Plato*, or *Aristotle*, what Lawyers or *Cæsars* could make better Laws then God? And it is no light argument, that many Magistrates at this day do not enough acknowledg the Kingdom of Christ, though they would seem most Christian, in that they govern their States by Laws so divers from those of *Moses*.

The 18th Chapter I only mention as determining a thing not here in question, that Marriage without consent of Parents ought not to be held good; yet with this qualification fit to be known.

That if Parents admit not the honest desires of thir Children, but shall persist to abuse the power they have over them; they are to be mollifi'd by Admonitions, Entreaties, and Persuasions, first of their Friends and Kindred, next of the Church-Elders. Whom if still the hard Parents refuse to hear, then ought the Magistrate to interpose his Power: lest any by the evil mind of thir Parents be detain'd from Marriage longer then is meet, or forc'd to an unworthy match: in which case the *Roman* Laws also provided. *C. de nupt. l. 11, 13, 26.*

C H A P. XIX.

Whether it may be permitted to revoke the Promise of Marriage.

HERE ariseth another Question concerning Contracts, when they ought to be unchangeable? for religious Emperours decreed that the Contract was not indissoluble, until the Spouse were brought home, and the Solemnities perform'd. They thought it a thing unworthy of divine and human Equity, and the due consideration of man's infirmity in deliberating and determining, when space is giv'n to renounce other contracts of much less moment, which are not yet confirm'd before the Magistrate, to deny that to the most weighty contract of Marriage, which requires the greatest care and consultation. Yet lest such a Covenant should be brok'n for no just cause, and to the injury of that person to whom Marriage was promis'd, they decreed a Fine, that he who deni'd Marriage to whom he had promis'd, and for some cause not approv'd by the Judges, should pay the double of that pledg which was giv'n at making sure, or as much as the Judg should pronounce might satisfie the damage, or the hinderance of either party. It being most certain, that oft-times after contract, just and honest causes of departing from promise, come to be known and found out, it cannot be other then the duty of pious Princes to give men the same liberty of unpromising in these cases, as pious Emperours granted: especially where there is only a promise, and not carnal knowledg. And as there is no true Marriage between them, who agree not in true consent of mind; so it will be the part of godly Magistrates to procure that no Matrimony be among thir Subjects, but what is knit with love and consent. And though your Majesty be not bound to the Imperial Laws, yet it is the duty of a Christian King to embrace and follow whatever he knows to be any-where piously and justly constituted, and to be honest, just, and well-pleasing to his People.

But

But why in God's Law and the Examples of his Saints, nothing hereof is read? no marvel, seeing his antient People had power, yea a precept, that whoso could not bend his mind to the true love of his Wife, should give her a Bill of Divorce, and send her from him, though after carnal knowledg and long dwelling together. This is enough to authorize a godly Prince in that indulgence which he gives to the changing of a Contract; both because it is certainly the invention of Antichrist, that the promise of Marriage *de presenti*, as they call it, should be indissoluble, and because it should be a Prince's care that Matrimony be so joyn'd, as God ordain'd; which is, that every one should love his Wife with such a love as *Adam* exprest to *Eve*: So as we may hope that they who marry may become one flesh, and one also in the Lord.

C H A P. XX.

Concerns only the Celebration of Marriage.

C H A P. XXI.

The means of preserving Marriage holy and pure.

NOW since there ought not to be less care that Marriage be religiously kept, then that it be piously and deliberately contracted, it will be meet that to every Church be ordain'd certain grave and godly Men, who may have this care upon them, to observe whether the Husband bear himself wisely toward the Wife, loving, and inciting her to all Piety, and the other duties of this life; and whether the Wife be subject to her Husband, and study to be truly a meet help to him, as first to all Godliness, so to every other use of life. And if they shall find each to other failing of their duty, or the one long absent from the other without just and urgent cause, or giving suspicion of irreligious and impure life, or of living in manifest Wickedness, let it be admonisht them in time. And if their authority be contemn'd, let the names of such contemnners be brought to the Magistrate, who may use punishment to compel such Violaters of Marriage to their duty, that they may abstain from all probable suspicion of transgressing; and if they admit of suspected company, the Magistrate is to forbid them; whom they not therein obeying, are to be punisht as Adulterers, according to the Law of *Justinian*, *Authent.* 117. For if holy Wedlock, the fountain and seminary of good Subjects, be not vigilantly preserv'd from all blots and disturbances, what can be hop'd, as I said before, of the springing up of good Men, and a right Reformation of the Common-wealth? We know it is not enough for Christians to abstain from foul deeds, but from the appearance and suspicion thereof.

C H A P. XXII.

Of lawful Divorce, what the ancient Churches have thought.

NOW we shall speak about that dissolving of Matrimony which may be approv'd in the sight of God, if any grievous necessity require. In which thing the Roman Antichrists have knit many a pernicious entanglement to distressed Consciences: for that they might here also exalt themselves above God, as if they would be wiser and chaster then God himself is, for no cause, honest or necessary, will they permit a final Divorce; in the mean while Whoredoms and Adulteries, and worse things then these, not only tolerating in themselves and others, but cherishing and throwing Men headlong into these evils. For although they also disjoyn married persons from Board and Bed, that is, from all conjugal Society and Communion, and this not only for Adultery, but for ill usage, and matrimonial Duties deni'd; yet they forbid those thus parted, to joyn in Wedlock with others, but, as I said before, any dishonest associating they permit. And they pronounce the Bond of Marriage to remain between those whom they have thus separate. As if the Bond of Marriage, God so teaching and pronouncing, were not such a league as binds the married couple to all society of life, and communion in divine and humane things; and so associated keeps them. Something indeed out of the later Fathers they may pretend for this their Tyranny, especially out of *Austin* and some others, who were much tak'n with a preposterous admiration of single life; yet though these Fathers, from the words of

Christ not rightly understood, taught that it was unlawful to marry again, while the former Wife liv'd, whatever cause there had bin either of Desertion or Divorce, yet if we mark the custom of the Church, and the common judgment which both in thix times and afterward prevail'd, we shall perceive that neither these Fathers did ever cast out of the Church any one for marrying after a Divorce, approv'd by the Imperial Laws.

Nor only the first Christian Emperours, but the latter also, ev'n to *Justinian*, and after him, did grant for certain Causes approv'd by Judges, to make a true Divorce; which made and confirm'd by Law, it might be lawful to marry again: which if it could not have bin done without displeasing Christ and his Church, surely it would not have been granted by Christian Emperours, nor had the Fathers then winkt at those doings in the Emperours. Hence ye may see that *Jerom* also, though zealous of single life more then enough, and such a condemner of second Marriage, though after the death of either party, yet forc'd by plain equity, defended *Fabiola*, a noble Matron of *Rome*, who having refus'd her Husband for just Causes, was married to another. For that the sending of a Divorce to her Husband was not blame-worthy, he affirms, because the man was hainously vitious; and that if an adulterous Wife may be discarded, an adulterous Husband is not to be kept. But that she married again, while yet her Husband was alive; he defends in that the Apostle hath said, *It is better to marry then to burn*, and that young Widows should marry, for such was *Fabiola*, and could not remain in Widowhood.

But some one will object that *Jerom* there adds, *Neither did she know the vigor of the Gospel, wherein all cause of marrying is debarr'd from Women, while their Husbands live; and again, while she avoided many wounds of Satan, she receiv'd one ere she was aware.* But let the equal Reader mind also what went before; *Because*, saith he soon after the beginning, *there is a rock and storm of slanderers oppos'd against her, I will not praise her converted, unless I first absolve her guilty.* For why does he call them slanderers who accus'd *Fabiola* of marrying again, if he did not judge it a matter of Christian Equity and Charity, to pass by and pardon that fact, though in his own opinion he held it a fault? And what can this mean? *I will not praise her, unless I first absolve her.* For how could he absolve her, but by proving that *Fabiola* neither in rejecting her vitious Husband, nor in marrying another, had committed such a sin, as could be justly condemn'd? Nay, he proves both by evident reason, and clear testimonies of Scripture, that she avoided sin.

This also is hence understood, that *Jerom* by the vigour of the Gospel, meant that height and perfection of our Saviours precept, which might be remitted to those that burn; for he adds, *But if she be accus'd in that she remain'd not unmarried, I shall confess the fault, so I may relate the necessity.* If then he acknowledg'd a necessity, as he did, because she was young, and could not live in Widowhood, certainly he could not impute her second Marriage to her much blame: but when he excuses her out of the Word of God, does he not openly declare his thoughts, that the second Marriage of *Fabiola* was permitted her by the Holy Ghost himself for the necessity which he suffer'd, and to shun the danger of fornication, though she went somewhat aside from the vigour of the Gospel? But if any urge that *Fabiola* did public penance for her second Marriage, which was not impos'd but for great faults: 'Tis answer'd, she was not enjoyn'd to this penance, but did it of her own accord, *and not till after her second Husbands Death.* As in the time of *Cyprian* we read that many were wont to do voluntary penance for small faults, which were not liable to excommunication.

C H A P. XXIII.

That Marriage was granted by the ancient Fathers, ev'n after the Vow of single life.

I omit his Testimonies out of Cyprian, Gelasius, Epiphanius, contented only to relate what he thence collects to the present purpose.

SOME will say perhaps, Wherefore all this concerning Marriage after vow of single life, when as the question was of Marriage after Divorce? For this reason, that they whom it so much moves, because some of the Fathers thought Marriage after any kind of Divorce, to be condemn'd of our Saviour, may see that this conclusion follows not. The Fathers thought all Marriage after Divorce to be forbid'n of our Saviour,

Saviour, therefore they thought such Marriage was not to be tolerated in a Christian. For the same Fathers judg'd it forbid'n to marry after vow; yet such Marriages they neither dissolv'd nor excommunicated. For these words of our Saviour, and of the holy Ghost, stood in their way; *All cannot receive this saying, but they to whom it is giv'n. Every one hath his proper gift from God, one after this manner, another after that. It is better to marry than to burn. I will that younger Widows marry, and the like.*

So there are many Canons and Laws extant, wherby Priests, if they married, were remov'd from their office, yet is it not read that their Marriage was dissolv'd, as the Papists now-a-days do, or that they were excommunicated, nay expressly they might communicate as Laymen. If the consideration of human infirmity, and those testimonies of divine Scripture which grant Marriage to every one that wants it, persuaded those Fathers to bear themselves so humanly toward them who had married with breach of vow to God, as they believ'd, and with Divorce of that Marriage wherein they were in a manner joyn'd to God, who doubts but that the same Fathers held the like humanity was to be afforded to those who after Divorce and Faith broken with men, as they thought, enter'd into a second Marriage? for among such are also found no less weak, and no less burning.

C H A P. XXIV.

Who of the ancient Fathers have granted Marriage after Divorce?

THis is clear both by what hath bin said, and by that which *Origen* relates of certain Bishops in his time, *Homil. 7. in Matth. I know some, saith he, which are over Churches, who without Scripture have permitted the Wife to marry while her former Husband liv'd. And did this against Scripture, which saith, The Wife is bound to her Husband so long as he lives; and she shall be call'd an adulteress, if, her Husband living, she take another Man; yet did they not permit this without cause, perhaps for the infirmity of such as had not continence, they permitted evil to avoid worse. Ye see Origen and the Doctors of his Age, not without all cause, permitted Women after Divorce to marry, though their former Husbands were living; yet writes that they permitted against Scripture. But what cause could they have to do so, unless they thought our Saviour in his precepts of Divorce had so forbid'n, as willing to remit such perfection to his weaker ones, cast into danger of worse faults?*

The same thought *Leo*, Bishop of *Rome*, *Ep. 85. to the African Bishops of Mauritania Casariensis*, wherein complaining of a certain Priest who divorcing his Wife, or being divorc'd by her, as other copies have it, had married another, neither dissolves the Matrimony, nor excommunicates him, only unpriests him. The Fathers therefore, as we see, did not simply and wholly condemn Marriage after Divorce.

But as for me, this remitting of our Saviour's precepts, which these Ancients allow to the infirm in marrying after Vow and Divorce, I can in no ways admit; for what so ever plainly consents not with the Commandment, cannot, I am certain, be permitted, or suffer'd in any Christian: for heav'n and earth shall pass away, but not a tittle from the Commands of God among them who expect life eternal. Let us therefore consider, and weigh the words of our Lord concerning Marriage and Divorce, which he pronounc't both by himself, and by his Apostle, and let us compare them with other Oracles of God; for whatsoever is contrary to these, I shall not persuade the least tolerating thereof. But if it can be taught to agree with the Word of God, yea to be commanded that most men may have permission giv'n them to divorce and marry again, I must prefer the Authority of God's Word before the Opinion of Fathers and Doctors, as they themselves teach.

C H A P. XXV.

The words of our Lord, and of the Holy Ghost, by the Apostle Paul concerning Divorce, are explain'd.

BUT the words of our Lord and of the Holy Ghost, out of which *Austin* and some others of the Fathers think it concluded that our Saviour forbids Marriage after any Divorce, are these; *Mat. 5. 31, 32. It hath bin said, &c. And Mat. 19. 7. They say unto him, why did Moses then command? &c. And Mark 10. and Luke 16. Rom. 7. 1, 2, 3. 1 Cor. 7. 10, 11.* Hence therefore they conclude that all Marriage after Divorce is call'd Adultery; which to commit, being no ways to be tolerated in any Christian, they think it follows that second marriage is in no case to be permitted either to the Divorcer, or to the Divorced.

The 1. axiom that Christ could not condemn of Adultery that which he once commanded.

But that it may be more fully and plainly perceiv'd what force is in this kind of reasoning, it will be the best cours to lay down certain grounds wherof no Christian can doubt the truth. First, it is a wickednes to suspect that our Saviour branded that for Adultery, which himself, in his own Law which he came to fulfil and not to dissolve, did not only permit, but also command; for by him the only Mediator, was the whole Law of God giv'n. But that by this Law of God Marriage was permitted after any divorce, is certain by *Deut. 24. 1.*

C H A P. XXVI.

That God in his Law did not only grant, but also command Divorce to certain men.

DEUT. 24. 1. *When a man hath taken a wife, &c. But in Mal. 2. 15, 16. is read the Lord's command to put her away whom a man hates, in these words: Take heed to your spirit, and let none deal injuriously against the wife of his youth. If he hate, let him put away, saith the Lord God of Israel. And he shall hide thy violence with his garment, that marries her divorc't by thee, saith the Lord of hosts; but take heed to your spirit, and do no injury.* By these Testimonies of the divine Law, we see that the Lord did not only permit, but also expressly and earnestly commanded his people, by whom he would that all holiness and faith of Marriage-covenant should be observed, that he who could not induce his mind to love his wife with a true conjugal love, might dismiss her that she might marry to another.

C H A P. XXVII.

That what the Lord permitted and commanded to his ancient people concerning Divorce, belongs also to Christians.

NOW what the Lord permitted to his first-born people, that certainly he could not forbid to his own among the Gentiles, whom he made coheirs and into one body with his people; nor could he ever permit, much less command ought that was not good for them, at least so us'd as he commanded. For being God, he is not chang'd as Man. Which thing who seriously considers, how can he imagine that God would make that wicked to them that believe, and serv him under Grace, which he granted and commanded to them that serv'd him under the Law? Whenas the same causes require the same permission. And who that knows but humane matters, and loves the truth, will deny that many Marriages hang as ill together now, as ever they did among the Jews? So that such Marriages are liker to torments than true Marriages. As therefore the Lord doth always succor and help the oppressed, so he would ever have it provided for injur'd husbands and wives, that under pretence of the marriage-bond, they be not sold to perpetual vexations, instead of the loving and comfortable marriage-duties. And lastly, as God doth always detest hypocrisie and fraud, so neither doth he approve that among his people, that should be counted marriage, wherein none of those duties remain, whereby the league of wedlock is chiefly preserv'd. What inconsiderate neglect then of God's Law is this, that I may not call

call it worse, to hold that Christ our Lord would not grant the same remedies both of divorce and second marriage to the weak, or to the evil, if they will needs have it so, but especially to the innocent and wronged, whenas the same urgent causes remain as before, when the discipline of the Church and Magistrate hath try'd what may be try'd.

C H A P. XXVIII.

That our Lord Christ intended not to make new Laws of Marriage and Divorce, or of any civil matters.

IT is agreed by all who determin of the Kingdom and Offices of Christ by the Axiom 2. holy Scriptures, as all godly men ought to do, that our Saviour upon earth took not on him either to give new Laws in civil affairs, or to change the old. But it is certain that Matrimony and Divorce are civil things. Which the Christian Emperors knowing, gave conjugal Laws, and reserv'd the administration of them to thir own Courts; which no true ancient Bishop ever condemn'd.

Our Saviour came to preach Repentance and Remission; seeing therefore those who put away thir wives without any just cause, were not toucht with conscience of the sin, through misunderstanding of the Law, he recall'd them to a right interpretation, and taught that the woman in the beginning was so joyn'd to the man, that there should be a perpetual union both in body and spirit: where this is not, the matrimony is already broke, before there be yet any divorce made or second marriage.

C H A P. XXIX.

That it is wicked to strain the words of Christ beyond thir purpose.

This is his third Axiom, wherof there needs no explication here.

C H A P. XXX.

That all places of Scripture about the same thing are to be joyn'd, Axiom 4. and compar'd, to avoid Contradictions.

This he demonstrates at large out of sundry places in the Gospel, and principally by that precept against swearing, which compar'd with many places of the Law and Mac. 5. 34. Prophets, is a flat contradiction of them all, if we follow superstitiously the letter. Then having repeated briefly his four Axioms, he thus proceeds.

These things thus preadmonisht, let us enquire what the undoubted meaning is of our Saviour's words, and enquire according to the rule which is observ'd by all learned and good men in thir expositions; that praying first to God, who is the only opener of our hearts, we may first with fear and reverence consider well the words of our Saviour touching this question. Next, that we may compare them with all other places of Scripture treating of this matter, to see how they consent with our Saviour's words, and those of his Apostle.

C H A P. XXXI.

This Chapter disputes against Austin and the Papists, who deny second marriage ev'n to them who divorce in case of Adultery; which because it is not controverted among true Protestants, but that the innocent person is easily allow'd to marry, I spare the translating.

C H A P. XXXII.

That a manifest Adulteress ought to be divorc't, and cannot lawfully be retain'd in marriage by any true Christian.

This though he prove sufficiently, yet I let pass, because this question was not handled in the Doctrin and Disciplin of Divorce; to which book I bring so much of this Treatise as runs parallel.

C H A P. XXXIII.

That Adultery is to be punisht by death.

This Chapter also I omit for the reason last alleg'd.

C H A P. XXXIV.

That it is lawful for a Wife to leave an Adulterer, and to marry another Husband.

This is generally granted, and therefore excuses me the writing out.

C H A P. XXXV.

Places in the Writings of the Apostle Paul touching Divorce explain'd.

LET us consider the answers of the Lord giv'n by the Apostle severally. Concerning the first, which is *Rom. 7 1. Know ye not, brethren, for I speak to them that know the law, &c. Ver. 2. The woman is bound by the law to her husband so long as he liveth.* Here it is certain that the Holy Ghost had no purpose to determine ought of marriage, or divorce, but only to bring an example from the common and ordinary law of Wedloc, to shew that as no covenant holds either party being dead, so now that we are not bound to the law, but to Christ our Lord, seeing that through him we are dead to sin, and to the law; and so joyn'd to Christ that we may bring forth fruit in him from a willing godlines, and not by the compulsion of law, whereby our sins are more excited, and become more violent. What therefore the holy Spirit here speaks of matrimony, cannot be extended beyond the general rule.

Besides it is manifest, that the Apostle did allege the law of Wedloc, as it was deliver'd to the *Jews*; for, saith he, I speak to them that know the law. They knew no law of God but that of *Moses*, which plainly grants divorce for several reasons. It cannot therefore be said that the Apostle cited this general example out of the law, to abolish the several exceptions of that law, which God himself granted by giving authority to divorce.

Next, when the Apostle brings an example out of God's law concerning man and wife, it must be necessary that we understand such for man and wife, as are so indeed according to the same law of God; that is, who are so dispos'd as that they are both willing and able to perform the necessary duties of marriage; not those who under a false title of marriage, keep themselves mutually bound to injuries and disgraces; for such twain are nothing less than lawful man and wife.

The like answer is to be giv'n to all the other places both of the Gospel and the Apostle, that whatever exception may be prov'd out of God's law, be not excluded from those places. For the Spirit of God doth not condemn things formerly granted and allowed, where there is like cause and reason. Hence *Ambrose* upon that place, *1 Cor. 7. 15. A brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases,* thus expounds; *The reverence of marriage is not due to him who abhors the author of marriage; nor is that marriage ratify'd which is without devotion to God: he sins not therefore who is put away for God's cause, though he joyn himself to another. For the dishonour of the Creator dissolves the right of matrimony to him who is deserted, that he be not accus'd, though marrying to another. The faith of wedloc is not to be kept with him who departs; that he might not hear the God of Christians to be the author of wedloc. For if Ezra caus'd the misbelieving wives and husbands to be divorc't, that God might be appeas'd, and not offended, though they took others of thir own faith, how much*
more

more shall it be free, if the misbeliever depart to marry one of our own Religion. For this is not to be counted matrimony which is against the law of God.

Two things are here to be observ'd toward the following discourse, which truth it self, and the force of Gods word hath drawn from this holy man. For those words are very large, *Matrimony is not satisfy'd without devotion to God. And the dishonour of the Creator dissolves the right of matrimony.* For devotion is far off, and dishonour is done to God by all who persist in any wickednes and hainous crime.

C H A P. XXXVI.

That although it seem in the Gospel, as if our Saviour granted Divorce only for Adultery, yet in very deed he granted it for other causes also.

NOW is to be dealt with this question, Whether it be lawful to divorce and marry again for other causes besides adultery, since our Saviour exprest that only? To this question, if we retain our principles already laid, and must acknowledg it to be a cursed blasphemy, if we say that the words of God do contradict one another, of necessity we must confels that our Lord did grant divorce, and marriage after that, for other causes besides adultery, notwithstanding what he said in *Matthew*. For first, they who consider but only that place, *1 Cor. 7.* which treats of believers and misbelievers matcht together, must of force confels, That our Lord granted just divorce, and second marriage in the cause of desertion, which is other than the cause of fornication. And if there be one other cause found lawful, then is it most true that divorce was granted not only for fornication.

Next, it cannot be doubted, as I shew'd before, by them to whom it is giv'n to know God and his judgments out of his own word, but that, what means of peace and safety God ever granted and ordain'd to his elected people, the same he grants and ordains to men of all ages who have equally need of the same remedies. And who, that is but a knowing man, dares say there be not husbands and wives now to be found in such a hardness of heart, that they will not perform either conjugal affection, or any requisite duty thereof, though it be most deserv'd at thir hands?

Neither can any one defer to confess, but that God whose property it is to judge the cause of them that suffer injury, hath provided for innocent and honest persons wedded, how they might free themselves by lawful means of Divorce, from the bondage and iniquity of those who are falsly term'd thir husbands or thir wives. This is cleer out of *Dent. 24. 1. Malach. 2. Matth. 19. 1 Cor. 7.* and out of those principles which the Scripture every where teaches, That God changes not his mind, dissents not from himself, is no acceptor of persons; but allows the same remedies to all men oppress'd with the same necessities and infirmities; yea, requires that we should use them. This he will easily perceive, who considers these things in the Spirit of the Lord.

Lastly, it is most certain, that the Lord hath commanded us to obey the civil Laws every one of his own Commonwealth, if they be not against the Laws of God.

C H A P. XXXVII.

For what causes Divorce is permitted by the civil Law ex l. Consensu Codic. de repudiis.

IT is also manifest that the Law of *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*, which begins *Consensu*, &c. touching Divorce, and many other decrees of pious Emperours agreeing herewith, are not contrary to the word of God; and therefore may be recall'd into use by any Christian Prince or Commonwealth, nay ought to be with due respect had to every nation. For whatsoever is equal and just, that in every thing is to be sought and us'd by Christians. Hence it is plain that Divorce is granted by divine approbation, both to husbands and to wives, if either party can convict the other of these following offences before the Magistrate.

If the husband can prove the wife to be an Adulteress, a Witch, a Murtheress, to have bought or sold to slavery any one free born, to have violated Sepulchers, committed sacrilege, favor'd thevs and robbers, desirous of feasting with strangers, the husband not knowing, or not willing, if she lodg forth without a just and probable cause, or

frequent theaters and fights, he forbidding, if she be privie with those that plot against the State, or if she deal falsly, or offer blows. And if the wife can prove her husband guilty of any those forenamed crimes, and frequent the company of lewd women in her sight; or if he beat her, she had the like liberty to quit her self; with this difference, that the man after Divorce might forthwith marry again; the woman not till a year after, lest she might chance to have conceav'd.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

An exposition of those places wherein God declares the nature of holy Wedloc.

NO W to the end it may be seen that this agrees with the divine law, the first institution of Marriage is to be consider'd, and those texts in which God establisheth the joyning of male and female, and describ'd the duties of them both. When God had determin'd to make woman, and give her as a wife to man, he spake thus, *Gen. 2. 18. It is not good for man to be alone, I will make him a help meet for him. And Adam said, but in the Spirit of God, v. 23, 24. This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh. Therefore shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they shall be one flesh.*

To this first institution did Christ recal his own; when answering the Pharisees, he condemn'd the licence of unlawful Divorce. He taught therefore by his example, that we, according to this first institution, and what God hath spok'n thereof, ought to determine what kind of cov'nant Marriage is, how to be kept, and how far; and lastly, for what causes to be dissolv'd. To which decrees of God these also are to be joyn'd, which the holy Ghost hath taught by his Apostle, that neither the Husband nor the Wife hath power of thir own body, but mutually each of others. That the husband shall love the wife as his own body, yea as Christ loves his Church; and that the wife ought to be subject to her husband, as the Church is to Christ.

By these things the nature of holy Wedloc is certainly known; wherof if only one be wanting in both or either party, and that either by obstinate malevolence, or too deep inbred weaknes of mind, or lastly, through incurable impotence of Body, it cannot then be said that the cov'nant of matrimony holds good between such; if we mean that cov'nant which God instituted and call'd Marriage, and that wherof only it must be understood that our Saviour said, *Those whom God hath joyn'd, let no man separate.*

And hence is concluded, that matrimony requires continual cohabitation and living together, unless the calling of God be otherwise evident; which union if the parties themselves disjoyn either by mutual consent, or one against the others will depart, the Marriage is then brok'n. Wherin the Papists, as in other things, oppose themselves against God; while they separate for many causes from bed and board, and yet will have the bond of matrimony remain, as if this cov'nant could be other then the conjunction and communion not only of bed and board, but of all other loving and helpful duties. This we may see in these words; *I will make him a help meet for him; bone of his bones, and flesh of his flesh: for this cause shall he leave father and mother, and cleave to his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh.* By which words who discerns not, that God requires of them both so to live together, and to be united not only in body but in mind also, with such an affection as none may be dearer and more ardent among all the relations of Mankind, nor of more efficacy to the mutual offices of love, and loyalty. They must communicate and consent in all things both divine and human, which have any moment to well and happy living. The wife must honour and obey her husband, as the Church honours and obeys Christ her head. The husband must love and cherish his wife, as Christ his Church. Thus they must be to each other, if they will be true man and wife in the sight of God, whom certainly the Churches ought to follow in thir judgment. Now the proper and ultimate end of Marriage is not copulation, or children, for then there was not true matrimony between *Joseph* and *Mary* the mother of Christ, nor between many holy persons more; but the full and proper and main end of Marriage, is the communicating of all duties, both divine and human, each to other with utmost benevolence and affection.

C H A P. XXXIX.

The properties of a true and Christian Marriage more distinctly repeated.

BY which definition we may know that God esteems and reckons upon these four necessary properties to be in every true Marriage. 1. That they should live together, unless the calling of God require otherwise for a time. 2. That they should love one another to the height of dearness, and that in the Lord, and in the communion of true Religion. 3. That the husband bear himself as the head and preserver of his wife, instructing her to all godliness and integrity of life; that the wife also be to her husband a help, according to her place, especially furluring him in the true worship of God, and next in all the occasions of civil life. And 4. That they defraud not each other of conjugal benevolence, as the Apostle commands, 1 Cor. 7. Hence it follows, according to the sentence of God, which all Christians ought to be rul'd by, that between those who either through obstinacy, or helples inability, cannot or will not perform these repeated duties, between those there can be no true matrimony, nor ought they to be counted man and wife.

C H A P. XL.

Whether those Crimes recited Chap. 37. out of the Civil Law, dissolv Matrimony in God's account.

NOW if a husband or wife be found guilty of any these crimes, which by the Law *consensu* are made causes of Divorce, 'tis manifest that such a man cannot be the head and preserver of his wife, nor such a woman be a meet help to her husband, as the divine Law in true Wedloc requires; for these faults are punisht either by death, or deportation, or extream infamy, which are directly oppolite to the cov'nant of Marriage. If they deserve death, as Adultery and the like, doubtless God would not that any should live in Wedloc with them whom he would not have to live at all. Or if it be not death, but the incurring of notorious infamy, certain it is neither just, nor expedient, nor meet that an honest man should be coupled with an infamous woman, nor an honest matron with an infamous man. The wise Roman Princes had so great regard to the equal honour of either wedded person, that they counted those Marriages of no force which were made between the one of good repute, and the other of evil note. How much more will all honest regard of Christian expedience and comelines bescem and concern those who are set free and dignify'd in Christ, then it could the Roman Senate, or their sons, for whom that Law was provided?

And this all godly men will soon apprehend, that he who ought to be the head and preserver not only of his wife, but also of his children and family, as Christ is of his Church, had need be one of honest name: so likewise the wife, which is to be the meet help of an honest and good man, the mother of an honest off-spring and family. The glory of the man, ev'n as the man is the glory of Christ, should not be tainted with ignominy; as neither of them can avoid to be, having bin justly appeacht of those forenamed crimes; and therefore cannot be worthy to hold thir place in a Christian family: yea they themselves turn out themselves and dissolv that holy covenant. And they who are true brethren and sisters in the Lord, are no more in bondage to such violaters of Marriage.

But heer the patrons of wickedness and dissolvers of Christian disciplin will object, that it is the part of man and wife to bear one anothers cross, whether in calamity, or infamy, that they might gain each other, if not to a good name, yet to repentance and amendment. But they who thus object, seek the impunity of wickedness, and the favour of wicked men, not the duties of true charity; which prefers public honesty before private interest, and had rather the remedies of wholsom punishment appointed by God should be in use, then that by remissness, the licence of evil doing should encrease. For if they who by committing such offences, have made void the holy knot of Marriage, be capable of repentance, they will be sooner mov'd when due punishment is executed on them, then when it is remitted.

We must ever beware, lest in contriving what will be best for the souls health of Delinquents, we make our selvs wiser and discreeter than God. He that religiously

waighs his Oracles concerning Marriage, cannot doubt that they who have committed the foresaid transgressions, have lost the right of Matrimony, and are unworthy to hold thir dignity in an honest and Christian family.

But if any husband or wife see such signs of repentance in thir transgressor, as that they doubt not to regain them by continuing with them, and partaking of thir miseries and attainures, they may be left to thir own hopes, and thir own mind, saving ever the right of Church and Commonwealth, that it receive no scandal by the neglect of due severity, and thir children no harm by this invitation to licence, and want of good education.

From all these considerations, if they be thought on, as in the presence of God, and out of his word, any one may perceave, who desires to determine of these things by the Scripture, that those causes of lawful divorce, which the most religious Emperors *Theodosius* and *Valentinian* set forth in the forecited place, are according to the law of God, and the prime institution of Marriage. *And were still more and more straitn'd, as the Church and State of the Empire still more and more corrupted and degenerated.* Therefore pious Princes and Commonwealths both may and ought establish them again, if they have a mind to restore the honour, sanctity, and religion of holy wedlock to thir people, and disentangle many consciences from a miserable and perilous condition, to a chaste and honest life.

To those recited causes wherefore a wife might send a divorce to her husband, *Justinian* added four more, *Constit. 117.* And four more, for which a man might put away his wife. Three other causes were added in the *Code de repudiis*, l. *Jubemus*. All which causes are so clearly contrary to the first intent of marriage, that they plainly dissolve it. *I set them not down, being easie to be found in the body of the civil Law.*

It was permitted also by Christian Emperors, that they who would divorce by mutual consent, might without impediment. *Or if there were any difficulty at all in it, the law expresses the reason, that it was only in favour of the children; so that if there were none, the law of those godly Emperors made no other difficulty of a divorce by consent.* Or if any were minded without consent of the other to divorce, and without those causes which have been nam'd, the Christian Emperors laid no other punishment upon them, then that the Husband wrongfully divorcing his Wife, should give back her dowry, and the use of that which was call'd *Donatio propter nuptias*; or if there were no dowry nor no donation, that he should then give her the fourth part of his goods. The like penalty was inflicted on the wife departing without just cause. But that they who were once married, should be compell'd to remain so ever against thir wills, was not exacted. Wherein those pious Princes follow'd the Law of God in *Deut. 24. 1.* and his expresse charge by the Prophet *Malachy* to dismiss from him the wife whom he hates. For God never meant in marriage to give to man a perpetual torment instead of a meet help. Neither can God approve that to the violation of this holy league (which is violated as soon as true affection ceases and is lost) should be added murder, which is already committed by either of them who resolutely hates the other, as I shew'd out of *1 John 15. Who so hateth his brother, is a murderer.*

C H A P. -XLI.

Whether the Husband or Wife deserted may marry to another.

THE wifes desertion of her husband the Christian Emperors plainly decreed to be a just cause of divorce, whenas they granted him the right thereof, if she had but lain out one night against his will without probable cause. But of the man deserting his wife they did not so determin: Yet if we look into the word of God, we shall find, that he who though but for a year without just cause forsakes his wife, and neither provides for her maintenance, nor signifies his purpose of returning, and good will towards her, whenas he may, hath forfeited his right in her so forsak'n. For the Spirit of God speaks plainly, that both man and wife hath such power over one anothers person, as that they cannot deprive each other of living together, but by consent, and for a time.

Hither may be added that the holy Spirit grants desertion to be a cause of Divorce, in those answers giv'n to the *Corinthians* concerning a brother or sister deserted by a mis-believer. *If he depart, let him depart, a brother or a sister is not under bondage in*
such

such cases. In which words, who sees not that the Holy Ghost openly pronounc't, that the party without cause deserted, is not bound for anothers wilful desertion?

But som will say, that this is spok'n of a mis-beleever departing. But I beseech ye, doth not he reject the faith of Christ in his deeds, who rashly breaks the holy Covenant of Wedloc instituted by God? and besides this the holy Spirit does not make the mis-beleeving of him who departs, but the departing of him who mis-beleevs, to be the just cause of freedom to the brother or sister.

Since therefore it will be agreed among Christians, that they who depart from Wedloc without just cause, do not only deny the faith of matrimony, but of Christ also, what ever they profess with their mouths, it is but reason to conclude, that the party deserted is not bound in case of causeless desertion, but that he may lawfully seek another consort, if it be needful to him, toward a pure and blameles conversation.

C H A P. XLII.

That impotence of Body, Leprosie, Madnes, &c. are just causes of Divorce

OF this, because it was not disputed in the doctrine and disciplin of Divorce, him that would know farder I commend to the Latin original.

C H A P. XLIII.

That to grant Divorce for all the causes which have bin hitherto brought, disagrees not from the words of Christ naming only the cause of Adultery.

NOW we must see how these things can stand with the words of our Saviour, who seems directly to forbid all Divorce except it be for Adultery. To the understanding wherof, we must ever remember this: That in the words of our Saviour there can be no contrariety: That his words and answers are not to be stretcht beyond the question propos'd: That our Saviour did not there purpose to treat of all the causes for which it might be lawful to divorce and marry again; *for then that in the Corinthians of marrying again without guilt of adultery could not be added.* That it is not good for that man to be alone, who hath not the special gift from above. That it is good for every such one to be married, that he may shun Fornication.

With regard to these principles, let us see what our Lord answer'd to the tempting Pharisees about Divorce, and second Marriage, and how far his answer doth extend.

First, no man who is not very contentious will deny that the Pharisees askt our Lord whether it were lawful to put away such a wife, as was truly, and according to Gods law, to be counted a wife; that is, such a one as would dwell with her husband, and both would and could perform the necessary duties of Wedloc tolerably. But she who will not dwell with her husband, is not put away by him, but goes of her self: and she who denies to be a meet help, or to be so hath made her self unfit by open misdemeanours, or through incurable impotencies cannot be able, is not by the Law of God to be esteem'd a wife; as hath bin shewn both from the first institution, and other places of Scripture. Neither certainly would the Pharisees propound a question concerning such an unconjugal wife; *for thir depravation of the Law had brought them to that pass, as to think a man had right to put away his wife for any cause, though never so slight.* Since therefore it is manifest that Christ answer'd the Pharisees concerning a fit and meet Wife according to the Law of God, whom he forbid to divorce for any cause but Fornication: Who sees not that it is a wickedness so to wrest and extend that answer of his, as if it forbad to divorce her who hath already forsak'n, or hath lost the place and dignity of a Wife by deserved infamy, *or hath undertak'n to be that which she hath not natural ability to be?*

This truth is so powerful, that it hath mov'd the Papists to grant thir kind of Divorce for other causes besides adultery, as for ill usage, and the not performing of conjugal duty; and to separate from bed and board for these causes, which is as much Divorce, as they grant for Adultery.

But som perhaps will object, that though it be yielded that our Lord granted Divorce not only for Adultery, yet it is not certain that he permitted Marriage after Divorce,

Divorce, unless for that only cause. I answer, first, That the sentence of Divorce, and second Marriage, is one and the same. So that when the right of Divorce is evinc'd to belong not only to the cause of Fornication, the power of second Marriage is also prov'd to be not limited to that cause only; and that most evidently, when as the Holy Ghost, 1 Cor. 7. so frees the deserted party from Bondage, as that he may not only send a just Divorce in case of Desertion, but may seek another Marriage.

Lastly, Seeing God will not that any should live in danger of Fornication and utter ruin for the default of another, and hath commanded the Husband to send away with a Bill of Divorce her whom he could not love; it is impossible that the charge of Adultery should belong to him who for lawful causes divorces and marries, or to her who marries after she hath bin unjustly rejected, or to him who receives her without all fraud to the former wedloc. For this were a horrid blasphemy against God, so to interpret his words, as to make him dissent from himself; for who sees not a flat contradiction in this, to enthrall blameless men and women to miseries and injuries, under a false and soothing title of Marriage, and yet to declare by his Apostle that a brother or sister is not under bondage in such cases? No less do these two things conflict with themselves, to enforce the innocent and faultles to endure the pain and misery of anothers perversnes, or else to live in unavoidable temptation; and to affirm elsewhere that he lays on no man the burden of another mans sin, nor doth constrain any man to the endangering of his soul.

C H A P. XLIV.

That to those also who are justly divorc'd, second Marriage ought to be permitted.

THis although it be well prov'd, yet because it concerns only the Offendor, I leave him to search out his own Charter himself in the Author.

C H A P. XLV.

That som persons are so ordain'd to Marriage, as that they cannot obtain the gift of Continence, no not by earnest Prayer; and that therein every one is to be left to his own judgment and conscience, and not to have a burden laid upon him by any other.

C H A P. XLVI.

The Words of the Apostle concerning the praise of single life unfolded.

THese two Chapters not so immediatly debating the right of Divorce, I chose rather not to insert.

C H A P. XLVII.

The Conclusion of this Treatise.

THese things, most renowned King, I have brought together, both to explain for what causes the unhappy, but sometimes most necessary help of Divorce ought to be granted, according to God's Word, by Princes and Rulers: as also to explain how the words of Christ do consent with such a grant. I have bin large indeed both in handling those Oracles of God, and in laying down those certain principles, which he who will know what the mind of God is in this matter, must ever think on and remember. But if we consider what mist and obscurity hath bin pour'd out by Antichrist upon this question, and how deep this pernicious contempt of Wedloc, and admiration of single life, ev'n in those who are not call'd therto, hath sunk into many mens persuasions, I fear lest all that hath bin said, be hardly enough to persuade such that they would cease at length to make themselves wiser and holier then God himself,

himself, in being so severe to grant lawful Marriage, and so easie to connive at all, not only whordoms, but deslowrings, and adulteries. When as among the people of God, no whordom was to be tolerated.

Our Lord Jesus Christ, who came to destroy the works of Satan, send down his Spirit upon all Christians, and principally upon Christian Governours both in Church and Commonwealth (for of the clear judgment of your Royal Majesty I nothing doubt, revolving the Scripture so often as ye do) that they may acknowledg how much they provoke the anger of God against us, when as all kind of unchastity is tolerated, fornications and adulteries wink at: But holy and honourable Wedloc is oft withheld by the meer persuation of Antichrist, from such as without this remedy, cannot preserve themselves from damnation! For none who hath but a spark of honesty will deny that Princes and States ought to use diligence toward the maintaining of pure and honest life among all men, without which all Justice, all fear of God, and true Religion decays.

And who knows not that chastity and purenes of life can never be restor'd, or continu'd in the Common-wealth, unless it be first establish'd in private houses, from whence the whole breed of men is to come forth? To effect this, no wise man can doubt that it is necessary for Princes and Magistrates first with severity to punish Whordom and Adultery; next to see that Marriages be lawfully contracted, and in the Lord, then that they be faithfully kept; and lastly, when that unhappines urges, that they be lawfully dissolv'd, and other Marriage granted, according as the law of God, and of nature, and Constitutions of pious Princes have decreed; as I have shewn both by evident authorities of Scripture, together with the writings of the ancient Fathers, and other testimonies. Only the Lord grant that we may learn to prefer his ever just and saving Word, before the Comments of Antichrist, too deeply rooted in many, and the false and blasphemous exposition of our Saviour's words. *Amen.*

A POSTSCRIPT.

THUS far *Martin Bucer*: Whom where I might without injury to either part of the cause, I deny not to have *epitomiz'd*; in the rest observing a well-warranted rule, not to give an Inventory of so many words, but to weigh thir force. I could have added that eloquent and right Christian discours, writt'n by *Erasmus* on this Argument, not disagreeing in effect from *Bucer*. But this, I hope, will be enough to excuse me with the meer *Englishman*, to be no forger of new and loose opinions. Others may read him in his own phrase on the first to the *Corinthians*, and ease me who never could delight in long citations, much less in whole translations; Whether it be natural disposition or education in me, or that my mother bore me a speaker of what God made mine own, and not a translator. There be others also whom I could reck'n up, of no mean account in the Church (and *Peter Martyr* among the first) who are more then half our own in this controversy. But this is a providence not to be slighted, that as *Bucer* wrote this tractat of Divorce in *England* and for *England*, so *Erasmus* professes he begun here among us the same subject, especially out of compassion, for the need he saw this Nation had of some charitable redress herin; and seriously exhorts others to use thir best industry in the clearing of this point, wherein custom hath a greater sway then verity. That therefore which came into the mind of these two admired strangers to do for *England*, and in a touch of highest prudence which they took to be not yet recover'd from monastic superstition, if I a native am found to have done for mine own Country, altogether suitably and conformly to thir so large and clear understanding, yet without the least help of thirs, I suppose that hence-forward among conscionable and judicious persons, it will no more be thought to my discredit, or at all to this Nations dishonour. And if these thir Books, the one shall be printed often with best allowance in most religious Cities, the other with expresse authority of *Leo* the tenth a Pope, shall for the propagating of truth be publish'd and republish'd, though against the receiv'd opinion of that Church, and mine containing but the same thing, shall in a time of reformation, a time of free speaking, free writing, not find a permission to the Press; I refer me to wisest men, whether truth be suffer'd to be truth, or liberty to be liberty now among us, and be not again in danger of new fetters

setters and captivity after all our hopes and labours lost: and whether Learning be not (which our enemies too profetically fear'd) in the way to be trodd'n down again by ignorance. Wherof while time is, out of the faith owing to God and my Country, I bid this Kingdom beware; and doubt not but God who hath dignify'd this Parliament already to so many glorious degrees, will also give them (which is a singular blessing) to inform themselves rightly in the midst of an unprincip'l'd age; and to prevent this working mystery of ignorance and ecclesiastical thralldom, which under new shapes and disguises begins afresh to grow upon us.

Cola-

Colasterion :

A R E P L Y to a Nameless A N S W E R against the Doctrin and Disciplin of D I V O R C E.

Wherin the trivial Author of that Answer is discover'd,
the Licenser conferr'd with, and the Opinion which
they traduce, defended.

Prov. XXVI. 5.

Answer a fool according to his folly, lest he be wise in his own conceit.

AFTER many Rumours of Confutations and Convictions, forth-coming against the Doctrin and Disciplin of Divorce, and now and then a by-blow from the Pulpit, feather'd with a censure strict indeed, but how true, more beholding to the Authority of that devout place which it borrowed to be utter'd in, then to any sound reason which it could oracle; while I still hoped as for a blessing to see some piece of diligence, or learned discretion come from them, it was my hap at length, lighting on a certain parcel of Queries, that seek and find not, to find not seeking, at the tail of *Anabaptistical, Antinomian, Heretical, Atheistical* Epithets, a jolly Slander, called *Divorce at pleasure*: I stood awhile and wondered, what we might do to a Man's heart, or what Anatomy use, to find in it sincerity; for all our wonted Marks every day fail us, and where we thought it was, we see it is not, for alter and change residence it cannot sure. And yet I see no good of Body or of Mind secure to a man for all his past labours without perpetual watchfulness, and perseverance. Whenas one above others, who hath suffer'd much and long in the defence of Truth, shall after all this, give her cause to leave him so destitute and so vacant of her defence, as to yield his mouth to be the common road of Truth and Falsehood, and such falsehood as is joyned with a rash and heedless Calumny of his Neighbour. For what Book hath he ever met with, as his complaint is, *Printed in the City*, maintaining either in the title, or in the whole pursuance, *Divorce at pleasure*? 'Tis true, that to divorce upon extream necessity, when through the perverseness, or the apparent unfitness of either, the continuance can be to both no good at all, but an intolerable injury and temptation to the wrong'd and the defrauded, to divorce then there is a Book that writes it lawful. And that this Law is a pure and wholesome national Law, not to be with-held from Good Men, because others likely enough may abuse it to thir pleasure, cannot be charged upon that Book, but must be entred a bold and impious Accusation against God himself; who did not for this abuse with-hold it from his own people. It will be just therefore, and best for the reputation of him who in his Subitane hath thus censured, to recal his sentence. And if, out of the abundance of his Volumes, and the readines of his Quill, and the vastness of his other Employments, especially in the great Audit for Accounts, he can spare us ought to the better understanding of this point, he shall be thank't in publick; and what hath offended in the Book, shall willingly submit to his correction. Provided he be sure not to come with these old and stale Suppositions, unless he can take away clearly what that Discourse hath urged against them, by one who will expect other Arguments to be perswaded the good health of a sound Answer, then the Gout and Droplie of a big Margent, litter'd and overlaid with crude and huddl'd Quotations. But as I still was waiting, when these light-armed Refuters would have done pelting at thir three Lines uttered with a sage delivery of no Reason, but an impotent and worse then *Bonner*-like Censure, to burn that which provokes them to a fair dispute; at length a Book was brought to my hands intitl'd, *An Answer to the Doctrin and Disciplin of Divorce*.

Gladly I receiv'd it, and very attentively compos'd my self to read; hoping that now some good Man had vouchsafed the pains to instruct me better, then I could yet learn out of all the Volumes which for this purpose I had visit'd. Only this I marvel'd, and other men have since, when as I, in a subject so new to this Age, and so hazardous to please, conceal'd not my Name, why this Author, defending that part which is so creeded by the People, would conceal his. But ere I could enter three leaves into the Pamphlet, (for I defer the pleasant rudeness which by the Licencer's leave I met with afterwards) my satisfaction came in abundantly, that it could be nothing why he durst not name himself, but the guilt of his own wretchedness. For first, not to speak of his abrupt and bald beginning, his very first Page notoriously bewraies him an illiterate and arrogant presumer in that which he understands not, bearing us in hand as if he knew both Greek and Hebrew, and is not able to spell it; which had he been, it had been either written as it ought, or scor'd upon the Printer. If it be excus'd as the carelessness of his deputy, be it known, the learned Author himself is inventoried, and summ'd up to the utmost value of his Livery-Cloak. Whoever he be, though this to some may seem a slight Contest, I shall yet continue to think that Man full of other-secret injustice, and deceitful pride, who shall offer in publick to assume the skill, though it be but of a Tongue which he hath not, and would catch his readers to believe of his ability, that which is not in him. The Licenser indeed, as his Authority now stands, may license much; but if these Greek Orthographies were of his Licensing, the Boys at School might reckon with him at his Grammar. Nor did I find this his want of the pretended Languages alone, but accompanied with such a low and home-spun Expression of his Mother-English all along, without joyn't or frame, as made me ere I knew further of him, often stop and conclude, that this Author could for certain be no other then some Mechanic. Nor was the stile flat and rude, and the matter grave and solid, for then there had been pardon; but so shallow and so unwary was that also, as gave sufficiently the character of a gross and sluggish, yet a contentious and overweening pretender. For first, it behoving him to shew, as he promises, what Divorce is, and what the true Doctrin and Disciplin therof, and this being to do by such principles and proofs as are received on both sides, he performs neither of these; but shews it first from the Judaical practice, which he himself disallows, and next from the practice of Canon-Law, which the Book he would confute utterly rejects, and all Laws depending thereon; which this puny Clark calls the *Laws of England*, and yet pronounceth them by an Ecclesiastical Judg: as if that were to be accounted the Law of *England*, which dependeth on the Popery of *England*; or if it were, this Parliament he might know hath now damn'd that Judicature. So that whether his meaning were to inform his own Party, or to confute his Adversary, instead of shewing us the true Doctrin and Disciplin of Divorce, he shews us nothing but his own contemptible Ignorance. For what is the Mosaic Law to his Opinion? and what is the Canon, utterly now antiquated, either to that, or to mine? Ye see already what a faithful Definer we have him. From such a wind Egg of definition as this, they who expect any of his other Arguments to be well hatcht, let them enjoy the virtue of thir worthy Champion. But one thing more I observ'd, a singular note of his stupidity, and that his Trade is not to meddle with Books, much less with Confutations; whenas the Doctrin of Divorce had now a whole Year been published the second time, with many Arguments added, and the former ones bettered and confirmed, this idle Pamphlet comes reeling forth against the first Edition only, as may appear to any by the Pages quoted. Which put me in mind of what by chance I had notice of to this purpose the last Summer, as nothing so serious but happens oft-times to be attended with a ridiculous accident; it was then told me that the Doctrin of Divorce was answer'd, and the Answer half printed against the first Edition, not by one, but by a pack of Heads; of whom the chief, by circumstance, was intimated to me, and since ratified to be no other, if any can hold laughter, and I am sure none will guess him lower than an actual Serving-man. This Creature, for the story must on, (and what though he be the lowest person of an Interlude, he may deserve a canva'sing) transplanted himself, and to the improvement of his Wages, and your better notice of his Capacity, turned Soliciter. And having conversed much with a stripling Divine or two of these newly-fledg Probationers, that usually come scouting from the University, and lie here no lame Legers to pop into the *Bethesda* of some Knights Chaplainship, where they bring Grace to his good Cheer, but no Peace or Benediction else to his House; these made the Cham-party, he contributed the Law, and both joyned in the Divinity. Which made me intend, following the advice also of friends, to lay aside the

the thoughts of mispending a Reply to the Buz of such a Drone's nest. But finding that it lay, whatever was the matter, half a year after unfinished in the Press, and hearing for certain that a Divine of note, out of his good-will to the Opinion, had taken it into his Revise, and something had put out, something put in, and struck it here and there with a claw of his own Calligraphy to keep it from tainting: And farther, when I saw the Stuff, though very coarse and thredbare, garnisht and trimly faced with the commendations of a Licenser, I resolved, so soon as leisure granted me the recreation, that my Man of Law should not altogether lose his Soliciting. Although I impute a share of the making to him whose Name I find in the Approbation, who may take, as his mind serves him, this Reply. In the mean-while it shall be seen, I refuse no Occasion, and avoid no Adversary, either to maintain what I have begun, or to give it up for better reason.

To begin then with the Licenser and his Censure. For a Licenser is not contented now to give his single *Imprimatur*, but brings his Chair into the Title leaf; there sits and judges up, or judges down what Book he pleases: if this be suffered, what worthless Author; or what cunning Printer will not be ambitious of such a stale to put off the heaviest gear; which may in time bring in round fees to the Licenser, and wretched misleading to the People? But to the matter: he approves the publishing of this Book, to preserve the strength and honour of Marriage against those sad breaches and dangerous abuses of it. Belike then the wrongful suffering of all those sad breaches and abuses in Marriage to a remediless thralldom, is the strength and honour of Marriage; a boisterous and bestial Strength, a dishonourable Honour, an insatuated Doctrine, worse then the *Salvo jure* of tyranizing, which we all fight against. Next he saith, that common Discontents make these Breaches in untaid Minds, and Men given to change. His words may be apprehended, as if they disallowed only to divorce for common Discontents, in untaid minds, having no cause, but a desire of change, and then we agree. But if he takes all Discontents on this side Adultery, to be common, that is to say, not difficult to endure, and to affect only untaid Minds, it might administer just cause to think him the unfittest man that could be, to offer at a * Comment * *Mr. Cary*. upon *Job*; as seeming by this to have no more true sence of a good man in his afflictions, then these Edomitish friends had, of whom *Job* complains, and against whom God testifies his anger. Shall a man of your own Coat, who hath espoused his Flock, and represents Christ more, in being the true Husband of his Congregation, then an ordinary man doth in being the Husband of his Wife, and yet this representation is thought a chief cause why Marriage must be inseparable; shall this spiritual Man ordinarily for the increase of his maintenance, or any slight cause, forsake that wedded Cure of Souls, that should be dearest to him, and marry another, and another? and shall not a person wrongfully afflicted, and persecuted even to extremity, forsake an unfit, injurious and pestilent Mate, tied only by a civil and fleshly Covenant? If you be a man so much hating Change, hate that other Change; if your self be not guilty, counsel your Brethren to hate it; and leave to be the supercilious Judge of other mens Miseries and Changes, that your own be not judged. The reasons of your licens'd Pamphlet, you say are good; they must be better then your own then, I shall wonder else how such a trivial fellow was accepted and commended, to be the confuter of so dangerous an Opinion as ye give out mine.

Now therefore to your Attorney, since no worthier an Adversary makes his Appearance, nor this neither his Appearance, but lurking under the safety of his nameless obscurity; such as ye turn him forth at the Postern, I must accept him, and in a better temper then *Ajax*, do mean to scourge this Ram for ye till I meet with his *Ulysses*.

He begins with Law, and we have it of him as good, cheap as any Huckster at Law, newly set up, can possibly afford, and as impertinent; but for that he hath receiv'd his hanfel. He presumes also to cite the Civil Law, which I perceive by his citing never came within his Dormitory; yet what he cites, makes but against himself.

His second thing therefore is to refute the adverse Position, and very methodically, three Pages before he sets it down; and sets his own in the place, That disagreement of mind or disposition, though shewing it self in much sharpness, is not by the Law of God or Man a just cause of Divorce.

To this Position I answer; That it lays no battery against mine, no nor so much as faces it, but tacks about long ere it comes near, like a harmless and respectful Con-
futement. For I confess that disagreement of mind or disposition, though in much
G g g 2 sharpness,

sharpness, is not always a just cause of Divorce; for much may be endured. But what if the sharpness be much more than his much? To that point it is our mishap we have not here his grave decision. He that will contradict the Position which I alledged, must hold that no disagreement of Mind or Disposition can divorce, though shewn in most sharpness; otherwise he leaves a place for Equity to appoint limits, and so his following Arguments will either not prove his own Position, or not disprove mine.

His first Argument, all but what hobbles to no purpose, is this; Where the Scripture commands a thing to be done, it appoints when, how, and for what, as in the case of Death, or Excommunication. But the Scripture directs not what measure of disagreement or contrariety may divorce; Therefore the Scripture allows not any Divorce for disagreement.

Answer. First I deny your Major; the Scripture appoints many things, and yet leaves the circumstance to Man's discretion, particularly, in your own Examples; Excommunication is not taught when, and for what to be, but left to the Church. How could the Licenser let pass this childish ignorance, and call it good? Next, in matters of Death, the Laws of *England*, wherof you have intruded to be an opinionistrous Sub-advocate, and are bound to defend them, conceive it not enjoined in Scripture, when or for what cause they shall put to death, as in Adultery, Theft, and the like. Your Minor also is false, for the Scripture plainly sets down for what measure of disagreement a Man may divorce, *Deut. 24. 1.* Learn better what that phrase means, *If she find no favour in his eyes.*

Your second Argument, without more tedious fumbling, is briefly thus. If Diversity in Religion, which breeds a greater dislike then any natural disagreement, may not cause a Divorce, then may not the lesser disagreement: But diversity of Religion may not; *Ergo.*

Answer. First, I deny in the Major, that diversity of Religion breeds a greater dislike to Marriage-duties, than natural Disagreement. For between *Israelite*, or Christian and Infidel, more often hath been seen to much love: but between them who perpetually clash in natural Contrarieties, it is repugnant that there should be ever any married Love or Concord. Next I deny your Minor, that it is commanded not to divorce in diversity of Religion, if the Infidel will stay: for that place in *St. Paul* commands nothing, as that Book at large affirmed, though you over-skip it.

Secondly, If it do command, it is but with condition that the Infidel be content, and well-pleased to stay, which cuts off the supposal of any great hatred or disquiet between them, seeing the Infidel hath liberty to depart at pleasure; and so this comparison avails nothing.

Your third Argument is from *Deut. 22.* If a man hate his Wife, and raise an ill report, that he found her no Virgin: if this were false, he might not put her away, though hated never so much.

Answer. This was a malicious hatred, bent against her Life, or to send her out of doors without her Portion. Such a Hater loses by due punishment that privilege, *Deut. 24. 1.* to divorce for a natural Dislike; which though it could not love conjugally, yet sent away civilly, and with just conditions. But doubtless the Wife in that former case had liberty to depart from her false Accuser, lest his hatred should prove mortal; else the Law peculiarly made to right the Woman, had turned to her greatest mischief.

Your fourth Argument; One Christian ought to bear the infirmities of another, but chiefly of his Wife.

Answer. I grant infirmities, but not outrages, not perpetual defraudments of truest conjugal society, not injuries and vexations as importunate as fire. Yet to endure very much, might do well at Exhortation, but not a compulsive Law. For the Spirit of God himself, by *Solomon*, declares that such a Consort the Earth cannot bear, and better dwell in a corner of the House-top, or in the Wilderness. Burdens may be born, but still with consideration to the strength of an honest Man complaining. Charity indeed bids us forgive our Enemies, yet doth not force us to continue friendship and familiarity with those friends who have been false or unworthy towards us; but is contented in our peace with them, at a fair distance. Charity commands not the Husband to receive again into his Bosom the adulterous Wife, but thinks it enough, if he dismiss her with a beneficent and peaceful Dismission. No more doth Charity command; nor can her Rule compel, to retain in nearest Union of Wedlock, one whose other grossest faults, or disabilities to perform what was covenanted, are the just Causes

ses of as much grievance and dissention in a Family, as the private Act of Adultery. Let not therefore, under the name of fulfilling Charity, such an unmerciful and more than legal Yoke, be padlockt upon the Neck of any Christian.

Your fifth Argument : If the Husband ought to love his Wife, as Christ his Church, then ought she not to be put away for contrariety of Mind.

Answer. This Similitude turns against him : For if the Husband must be as Christ to the Wife, then must the Wife be as the Church to her Husband. If there be a perpetual contrariety of Mind in the Church toward Christ, Christ himself threatens to divorce such a Spouse, and hath often done it. If they urge this was no true Church, I urge again that was no true Wife.

His sixth Argument is from *Matth. 5. 32.* which he expounds after the old fashion, and never takes notice of what I brought against that Exposition ; let him therefore seek his Answer there. Yet can he not leave this Argument, but he must needs first shew us a curvet of his madness, holding out an Objection, and running himself upon the point. For, saith he, if Christ except no Cause but Adultery, then all other Causes, as Frigidity, incestuous Marriage, &c. are no Causes of Divorce ; and answers, That the Speech of Christ holds universally, as he intended it ; namely, to condemn such Divorce as was groundlessly practised among the Jews, for every Cause which they thought sufficient, not checking the Law of Consanguinities or Affinities, or forbidding other Cause which makes Marriage void *ipso facto*.

Answer. Look to it now you be not found taking Fees on both sides ; for if you once bring Limitations to the universal Words of Christ, another will do as much with as good Authority ; and affirm, that neither did he check the Law, *Deut. 24. 1.* nor forbid the Causes that make Marriage void actually ; which if any thing in the World doth, Unfitness doth, and Contrariety of Mind ; yea, more than Adultery, for that makes not the Marriage void, not much more unfit, but for the time, if the offended Party forgive. But Unfitness and Contrariety frustrates and nullifies for ever, unless it be a rare chance, all the good and peace of wedded Conversation ; and leaves nothing between them enjoyable, but a prone and savage Necessity, not worth the name of Marriage, unaccompanied with Love. Thus much his own Objection hath done against himself.

Argument 7th. He insists, that Man and Wife are one flesh, therefore must not separate. But must be sent to look again upon the * 35th Page of that Book, where he might read an Answer, which he stirs not. Yet can he not abstain but he must do us another pleasure ere he goes ; although I call the Common Pleas to witness, I have not hired his Tongue, whatever Men may think by his arguing. For besides Adultery, he excepts other Causes which dissolve the Union of being one flesh, either directly, or by consequence. If only Adultery be excepted by our Saviour, and he voluntarily can add other Exceptions that dissolve that Union both directly and by consequence, these Words of Christ, the main Obstacle of Divorce, are open to us by his own Invitation, to include whatever Causes dissolve that Union of Flesh, either directly or by consequence. Which, till he name other Causes more likely, I affirm to be done soonest by Unfitness and Contrariety of Mind ; for that induces Hatred, which is the greatest Dissolver both of spiritual and corporal Union, turning the Mind, and consequently the Body, to other Objects. Thus our doughty Adversary, either directly or by consequence, yields us the Question with his own mouth ; and the next thing he does, recants it again.

His 8th Argument shivers in the uttering, and he confesseth to be not over-confident of it ; but of the rest it may be sworn he is. *St. Paul, 1 Cor. 7.* saith, that the married have trouble in the flesh ; therefore we must bear it, though never so intolerable.

I answer. If this be a true Consequence, why are not all Troubles to be born alike ? why are we suffered to divorce Adulteries, Desertions, or Frigidities ? Who knows not that Trouble and Affliction is the Decree of God upon every state of life ? Follows it therefore, that though they grow excessive and insupportable, we must not avoid them ? If we may in all other Conditions, and not in Marriage, the doom of our suffering ties us not by the Trouble, but by the Bond of Marriage ; and that must be proved inseparable from other Reasons, not from this place. And his own Confession declares the weakness of this Argument, yet his ungovern'd Arrogance could not be dissuaded from venting it.

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His 5th Argument is, That a Husband must love his Wife as himself; therefore he may not divorce for any Disagreement, no more than he may separate his Soul from his Body.

I answer: If he love his Wife as himself, he must love her so far as he may preserve himself to her in a cheerful and comfortable manner, and not so as to ruin himself by anguish and sorrow, without any benefit to her. Next, if the Husband must love his Wife as himself, she must be understood a Wife in some reasonable measure, willing and sufficient to perform the chief Duties of her Covenant, else by the hold of this Argument it would be his great Sin to divorce either for Adultery or Desertion. The rest of this will run circuit with the Union of one Flesh, which was answered before. And that to divorce a Relative and Metaphorical Union of two Bodies into one Flesh, can't be likened in all things to the dividing of that natural Union of Soul and Body into one Person, is apparent of it self.

His last Argument he fetches from the inconvenience that would follow upon this freedom of Divorce, to the corrupting of mens Minds, and the overturning of all humane Society.

But for me, let God and *Moses* answer this Blasphemer, who dares bring in such a foul Indictment against the Divine Law. Why did God permit this to his people the Jews, but that the Right and Good which came directly thereby was more in his esteem, than the Wrong and Evil which came by accident? And for those weak Supposes of Infants that would be left in thir Mothers Belly (which must needs be good News for Chamber-maids to hear a Serving-man grown so provident for great Bel-lies) and Portions and Joyntures likely to incur imbezlement hereby, the antient Civil Law instructs us plentifully how to award, which our profound Opposite knew not, for it was not in his Tenures.

His Arguments are spun; now follows the Chaplain with his Antiquities, wiser if he had refrained, for his very touching ought that is learned, soils it, and lays him still more and more open, a conspicuous Gull. There being both Fathers and Coun-cels more antient, wherwith to have served his purpose better than with what he cites, how may we do to know the subtle drift that moved him to begin first with the twelfth Council of *Toledo*? I would not undervalue the depth of his Notion; but perhaps he had heard that the Men of *Toledo* had store of good blade Mettle, and were excellent at Cutting: Who can tell but it might be the reach of his policy, that these able Men of Decision would do best to have the prime stroak among his Testi-monies in deciding this Cause? But all this craft avails him not; for seeing they allow no cause of Divorce but Fornication, what do these keen Doctors here, but cut him over the Sinews with thir *Toledo's*, for holding in the precedent Page other Causes of Divorce besides, both directly and by consequence? As evil doth that *Saxon* Council, next quoted, bestead him. For if it allow Divorce precisely for no cause but Fornication, it thwarts his own Exposition: and if it understand Fornication largely, it sides with whom he would confute. However, the Authority of that Synod can be but small, being under *Theodorus*, the *Canterbury* Bishop, a *Grecian* Monk of *Tarsus*, revolted from his own Church to the Pope. What have we next? The Civil Law stufft in between two Councils, as if the Code had been some Synod; for that he understood himself in this Quotation, is incredible; where the Law, *Cod. l. 3. tit. 38. leg. 11.* speaks not of Divorce, but against the dividing of Possessions to di-vers Heirs, wherby the married Servants of a great Family were divided, perhaps in-to distant Countries and Colonies; Father from Son, Wife from Husband, fore against thir will. Somewhat lower he confesseth, that the Civil Law allows many Reasons of Divorce, but the Canon Law decrees otherwise; A fair credit to his Cause! And I amaze me, though the fancy of this Doubt be as obtuse and sad as any Mallet, how the Licenser could sleep out all this, and suffer him to uphold his Opinion by Canons and Gregorial Decretals; a Law which not only his Adversary, but the whole Refor-mation of this Church and State hath branded and rejected. As ignorantly, and too ignorantly to deceive any Reader but an unlearned, he talks of *Justin Martyr's* Apo-logy, not telling us which of the twain; for that passage in the beginning of his first, which I have cited elsewhere, plainly makes against him: So doth *Tertullian*, cited next, and next *Erasmus*, the one against *Marcion*, the other in his Annotations on *Matthew*, and to the *Corinthians*. And thus ye have the List of his choice Antiquities, as plea-santly chosen as ye would wish from a man of his handy Vocation, puffed up with no luck at all, above the stint of his capacity.

Now he comes to the Position, which I set down whole ; and like an able Text-man, flits it into four, that he may the better come at it with his Barber-Surgery, and his Sleeves turned up. Wherin first, he denies that any Disposition, Unfitness, or Contrariety of Mind, is unchangeable in Nature, but that by the help of Diet and Physick it may be alter'd.

I mean not to dispute Philosophy with this Pork, who never read any. But I appeal to all Experience, though there be many drugs to purge these redundant Humours and Circulations, that commonly impair Health, and are not natural, whether any man can with the safety of his life bring a healthy Constitution into Physick with this design, to alter his natural temperament and disposition of Mind. How much more vain and ridiculous would it be, by altering and rooting up the Grounds of Nature, which is most likely to produce Death or Madness, to hope the reducing of a Mind to this or that fitness, or two disagreeing Minds to a mutual Sympathy ? Suppose they might, and that with great danger of thir Lives and right Senses, alter one temperature, how can they know that the succeeding Disposition will not be as far from Fitness and Agreement ? They would perhaps change Melancholy into Sanguin ; but what if Fleam and Choler in as great a measure come instead, the Unfitness will be still as difficult and troublesome ? But lastly, Whether these things be changeable or not, Experience teaches us, and our Position supposes that they seldom do change in any time commensurable to the Necessities of Man, or convenient to the Ends of Marriage ; and if the fault be in the one, shall the other live all his days in Bondage and Misery for anothers perverseness, or immedicable disaffection ? To my Friends, of which may fewest be so unhappy, I have a Remedy, as they know, more wise and manly to prescribe ; but for his Friends and Followers (of which many may deserve justly to feel themselves the unhappiness which they consider not in others) I send them by his advice to sit upon the Stool and strain, till thir cross Dispositions and Contrarieties of Mind shall change to a better correspondence, and to a quicker apprehension of common sense, and thir own good.

His second Reason is as heedless ; because that Grace may change the Disposition, therefore no Indisposition may cause Divorce.

Ans. First, it will not be deniable that many persons, gracious both, may yet happen to be very unfitly married to the great disturbance of either. Secondly, What if one have Grace, the other not, and will not alter, as the Scriptures testify there be of those, in whom we may expect a change, when *the Blackamoor changes his colour, or the Leopard his spots*, Jer. 13. 23. Shall the gracious therefore dwell in Torment all his life for the ungracious ? We see that holiest Precepts, than which there can no better Physick be administred to the mind of Man, and set on with powerful Preaching, cannot work this cure, no not in the Family, not in the Wife of him that preaches Day and Night to her. What an unreasonable thing it is that Men, and Clergymen especially, should exact such wondrous Changes in another man's House, and are seen to work so little in thir own ?

To the second Point of the Position, That this Unfitness hinders the main Ends and Benefits of Marriage ; he answers, If I mean the Unfitness of Choler, or fullen Disposition, that *soft words*, according to *Solomon, pacify wrath*.

But I reply, That the Saying of *Solomon* is a Proverb frequently true, not universally, as both the Event shews, and many other Sentences written by the same Author, particularly of an evil Woman, *Prov.* 21. 9, 19. and in other Chapters, that she is better shunn'd than dwelt with, and a Desert is preferr'd before her Society. What need the Spirit of God put this choice into our heads, if soft words could always take effect with her ? How frivolous is not only this Disputer, but he that taught him thus, and let him come abroad ?

To his second Answer I return this, That although there be not easily found such an Antipathy, as to hate one another like a Toad or Poison ; yet that there is oft such a dislike in both, or either, to conjugal Love, as hinders all the comfort of Matrimony, scarce any can be so simple as not to apprehend. And what can be that favour, found or not found, in the eyes of the Husband, but a natural Liking or Disliking ; whereof the Law of God, *Dent.* 24. bears witness, as of an ordinary Accident, and determines wisely and divinely thereafter. And this disaffection hap'ning to be in the one, not without the unspeakable discomfort of the other, must he be left like a thing consecrated to Calamity, and despair without Redemption ?

Against the third Branch of the Position, he denies that Solace and Peace, which is contrary to Discord and Variance, is the main end of Marriage. What then? He will have it the Solace of Male and Female. Came this Doctrine out of some School or some Stie? Who but one forsaken of all Sense and civil Nature, and chiefly of Christianity, will deny that Peace, contrary to Discord, is the Calling and the general End of every Christian, and of all his Actions, and more especially of Marriage, which is the dearest League of Love, and the dearest Resemblance of that Love which in Christ is dearest to his Church? how then can Peace and Comfort, as it is contrary to Discord, which God hates to dwell with, not be the main end of Marriage? Discord then we ought to fly, and to pursue Peace, far above the observance of a civil Covenant already broken, and the breaking daily iterated on the other side. And what better Testimony than the words of the Institution it self, to prove that a conversing Solace and peaceful Society, is the prime end of Marriage, without which no other Help or Office can be mutual, becoming the Dignity of reasonable Creatures, that such as they should be coupled in the Rites of Nature by the meer compulsion of Lust, without Love or Peace, worse than wild Beasts? Nor was it half so wisely spoken as some deem, though *Austin* spake it, that if God had intended other than Copulation in Marriage, he would for *Adam* have created a Friend, rather than a Wife, to converse with, and our own Writers blame him for this opinion: for which and the like passages, concerning Marriage, he might be justly taxed of Rusticity in these affairs. For this cannot but be with ease conceived, that there is one Society of grave Friendship, and another amiable and attractive Society of conjugal Love, besides the deed of Procreation, which of it self soon cloyes, and is despised, unless it be cherished and re-incited with a pleasing Conversation. Which if ignoble and swainish Minds cannot apprehend, shall such merit therefore to be the Censurers of more generous and virtuous Spirits?

Against the last Point of the Position, to prove that Contrariety of Mind is not a greater cause of Divorce than corporal Frigidity, he enters into such a tedious and drawling tale of Burning, and Burning, and Lust and Burning, that the dull Argument it self burns too for want of stirring; and yet all this Burning is not able to expel the Frigidity of his Brain. So long therefore as that Cause in the Position shall be proved a sufficient cause of Divorce, rather than spend words with this steamy Clod of an Antagonist, more than of necessity and a little merriment, I will not now contend whether it be a greater Cause than Frigidity or no.

His next attempt is upon the Arguments which I brought to prove the Position. And for the first, not finding it of that structure as to be scaled with his short Ladder, he retreats with a Bravado, that it deserves no Answer. And I as much wonder what the whole Book deserved, to be thus troubled and solicited by such a paltry Solicitor. I would he had not cast the gracious Eye of his Duncery upon the small Deserts of a Pamphlet, whose every Line meddled with, uncases him to scorn and laughter.

That which he takes for the second Argument, if he look better, is no Argument, but an Induction to those that follow. Then he stumbles that I should say, the gentlest ends of Marriage, confessing that he understands it not. And I believe him heartily: For how should he, a Serving-man both by Nature and by Function, an Idiot by Breeding, and a Solicitor by Presumption, ever come to know or feel within himself what the meaning is of *gentle*? He blames it for a neat Phrase, for nothing angers him more than his own proper Contrary. Yet altogether without Art sure he is not; for who could have devised to give us more briefly a better description of his own Servility?

But what will become now of the business I know not; for the Man is suddenly taken with a Lunacy of Law, and speaks Revelations out of the Attorneys Academy only from a lying spirit: For he says, that where a thing is void, *ipso facto*, there needs no legal Proceeding to make it void: which is false, for Marriage is void by Adultery or Frigidity, yet not made void without legal Proceeding. Then asks my Opinion of *John-a-Noaks* and *John-a-Stiles*: and I answer him, that I, for my part, think *John Dory* was a better Man than both of them; for certainly they were the greatest Wranglers that ever lived, and have fill'd all our Law-books with the obtunding Story of their Suits and Tryals.

After this he tells a miraculous piece of Antiquity, how two Romans, *Titus* and *Sempronius*, made Feoffments, at *Rome* sure, and levied Forces by the Common Law. But now his fit of Law past, yet hardly come to himself, he maintains, that if Marriage be void, as being neither of God nor Nature, there needs no legal proceeding to
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part it, and I tell him that offends not me; Then, quoth he, this is nothing to your Book, being the Doctrin and Disciplin of Divorce. But that I deny him; for all Disciplin is not Legal, that is to say Juridical, but som is Personal, som Economical, and som Ecclesiastical.

Lattly, If I prove that contrary Dispositions are joyned neither of God nor Nature, and so the Marriage void, he will give me the Controverſie. I have prov'd it in that Book to any wiſe Man, and without more ado the Inſtitution proves it.

Where I answer an objection usually made, that the Disposition ought to be known before Marriage, and shew how difficult it is to choose a fit Consort, and how easy to mistake; the Servitor would know what I mean by Conversation, declaring his Capacity nothing refined since his Law-puddering, but still the same it was in the Pantry and at the Dresser. Shall I argue of Conversation with this Hoyd'n, to go and practise at his opportunities in the Larder? To men of Quality I have said enough; and Experience confirms by daily Example that wisest, soberest, justest Men are sometimes miserably mistaken in their choice. Whom to leave thus without remedy, tost and tempest in a most unquiet Sea of Afflictions and Temptations, I say is most unchristianly.

But he goes on to untruss my Arguments, imagining them his masters Points. Only in the passage following, I cannot but admire the ripeness, and the pregnancy of his native treachery, endeavouring to be more a Fox than his wit will suffer him. Whereas I briefly mentioned certain Heads of discourse, which I referr'd to a place more proper according to my Method, to be treated ther at full with all their Reasons about them, this Brain-worm against all the Laws of dispute, will needs deal with them here. And as a Country Hind, sometimes ambitious to shew his betters that he is not so simple as you take him, and that he knows his advantages, will teach us a new trick to confute by. And would you think to what a pride he swells in the Contemplation of his rare stratagem, offering to carp at the Language of a Book, which yet he confesses to be generally commended; while himself will be acknowledged by all that read him, the basest and the hungriest indighter, that could take the boldness to look abroad. Observe now the Arrogance of a Groom, how it will mount. I had written that common Adultery is a thing which the rankeſt politician would think it shame and disworſhip, that his Law should countenance. First, it offends him, that *rankeſt* should signifie ought but his own smell; who that knows English, would not understand me, when I say a rank Serving-man, a rank Pettifogger, to mean a meer Serving-man, a meer and arrant Pettifogger, who lately was so hardy, as to lay aside his Buckram-wallet, and make himself a fool in Print, with confuting Books which are above him? Next the word *Politician* is not used to his Maw, and therupon he plays the most notorious Hobby-horse, jetting and frisking in the Luxury of his Nonſence with such poor fetches to cog a laughter from us, that no antic Hobnail at a Morris, but is more handsomly facetious.

Concerning that place *Deut. 24. 1.* which he saith to be the main Pillar of my Opinion, though I rely more on the Institution than on that: These two Pillars I do indeed confess are to me as those two in the Porch of the Temple, *Jachin* and *Boaz*, which names import Establishment and Strength; nor do I fear who can shake them. The Exposition of *Deut.* which I brought, is the received Exposition, both antient and modern, by all Learned Men, unless it be a Monkish Papist here and there: and the Gloſs which he and his obscure Assistant would persuade us to, is meerly new and absurd, presuming out of his utter ignorance in the Hebrew, to interpret these words of the Text, first, in a mistaken sense of uncleanness, against all approved Writers. Secondly, in a limited sense, whenas the Original speaks without limitation, som uncleanness or any: and it had been a wise Law indeed to mean it self particular, and not to expreſs the case which this acute *Rabbi* hath all this while been hooking for; wherby they who are most partial to him may guess that something is in this Doctrin which I alledg, that forces the Adversary to such a new and strained Exposition: Wherin he does nothing for above four Pages, but founder himself to and fro in his own Objections; one while denying that Divorce was permitted, another while affirming that it was permitted for the Wives sake, and after all, distrusts himself. And for his surest retirement, betakes him to those old Suppositions, that Christ abolisht the Mosaic Law of Divorce; that the Jews had not sufficient knowledg in this point; through the darkness of the Dispensation of heavenly things; that under the plenteous Grace of the Gospel, we are tied by cruellest compulsion to live in Marriage till death; with the wickedest, the worst, the most persecuting Mate. These ignorant and dotting

furnishes he might have read confuted at large, even in the first Edition, but found it safer to pass that part over in silence. So that they who see not the sottishness of this his new and tedious Exposition, are worthy to love it dearly.

His Explanation don, he charges me with a wicked Gloss, and almost Blasphemy, for saying that Christ in teaching, meant not always to be taken word for word; but like a wise Physician, administering one Excess against another, to reduce us to a perfect mean. Certainly to teach thus, were no dishonest method: Christ himself hath often used Hyperboles in his teaching; and gravest Authors, both *Aristotle* in the second of his *Ethics* to *Nicomachus*, and *Seneca* in his seventh *de Beneficiis*, advise us to stretch out the Line of Precept oft-times beyond measure, that while we tend further, the mean might be the easier attained. And whoever comments that 5th of *Matthew*, when he comes to the turning of Cheek after Cheek to blows, and the parting both with Cloak and Coat, if any please to be the riser, will be forced to recommend himself to the same Exposition, though this chattering Law-monger be bold to call it wicked. Now note another precious piece of him; Christ, saith he, *doth not say that an unchast look is Adultery, but the lusting after her*; as if the looking unchastly could be without lusting. This gear is licensed for good reason, *Impri-matur*.

Next he would prove that the Speech of Christ is not utter'd in excess against the Pharisees, first, Because he speaks it to his Disciples, *Matth. 5.* which is false, for he spake it to the Multitude, as by the first Verse is evident, among which in all likelihood were many Pharisees, but out of doubt, all of them Pharisean Disciples, and bred up in thir Doctrin; from which extreams of Error and Falsity, Christ throughout his whole Sermon labours to reclaim the People. Secondly, saith he, because Christ forbids not only putting away, but marrying her who is put away. Acutely, as if the Pharisees might not have offended as much in marrying the Divorc'd, as in divorcing the Married. The Precept may bind all, rightly understood; and yet the vehement manner of giving it, may be occasion'd only by the Pharisees.

Finally, he winds up his Text with much doubt and trepidation; for it may be his Trenchers were not scrap'd, and that which never yet afforded Corn of Savour to his Noddle, the Salt-seller was not rubb'd: and therefore in this haste easily granting, that his Answers fall foul upon each other, and praying, you would not think he writes, as a Prophet, but as a Man, he runs to the Black Jack, fills his Flagon, spreads the Table, and serves up Dinner.

After waiting and voiding, he thinks to void my second Argument, and the contradictions that will follow both in the Law and Gospel, if the Mosaic Law were abrogated by our Saviour, and a compulsive Prohibition fixt instead: and sings his old Song, that the Gospel counts unlawful that which the Law allow'd, instancing in Circumcision, Sacrifices, Washings. But what are these ceremonial things to the changing of a moral point in household Duty, equally belonging to Jew and Gentile? Divorce was then right, now wrong; then permitted in the rigorous time of Law, now forbid'n by Law, even to the most extreamly afflicted, in the favourable time of Grace and Freedom. But this is not for an unbutton'd fellow to discuss in the Garret at his Trefle, and dimension of Candle by the Snuff; which brought forth his cullionly Paraphrase on *St. Paul*, whom he brings in, discoursing such idle stuff to the Maids and Widows, as his own servile Inurbanity forbears not to put into the Apostle's mouth, of the Souls conversing: and this he presumes to do, being a Bayard, who never had the soul to know what conversing means, but as his Provender, and the familiarity of the Kitchen school'd his conceptions.

He passes to the third Argument, like a Boar in a Vineyard, doing naught else, but still as he goes champing and chewing over, what I could mean by this Chimera of a *fit conversing soul*, Notions and Words never made for these chops; but like a generous Wine, only by over-working the settled Mud of his fancy, to make him drunk, and disgorge his vileness the more openly. All persons of gentle Breeding (I say gentle, though this Barrow grunt at the word) I know will apprehend, and be satisfied in what I spake, how displeasing and discontenting the Society of Body must needs be between those whose Minds cannot be sociable. But what should a Man say more to a Snout in this pickle? what Language can be low and degenerate enough?

The fourth Argument which I had, was, That Marriage being a Covenant, the very being wherof consists in the Performance of unfained Love and Peace; if that wer not tolerably performed, the Cov'nant became broke and revocable. Which how can any, in whose mind the principles of right Reason and Justice are not cancell'd, deny?

deny? for how can a thing subsist, when the true Essence thereof is dissolved? Yet this he denies, and yet in such a manner as alters my assertion; for he puts in, though the main end be not attain'd in full measure: but my Position is, if it be not tolerably attained, as throughout the whole Discourse is apparent.

Now for his Reasons; *Heman* found not that Peace and Solace which is the main end of Communion with God, should he therefore break off that Communion?

I answer, That if *Heman* found it not, the fault was certainly his own: but in Marriage it happ'ns far otherwise: sometimes the fault is plainly not his who seeks Divorce: sometimes it cannot be discern'd whose fault it is; and therefore cannot in Reason or Enquiry be the matter of an absolute Prohibition.

His other instance declares, what a right Handicrafts-man he is of petty Cases; and how unfit to be ought else at highest, but a Hackney of the Law. I change Houses with a man; it is supposed I do it for my own ends; I attain them not in this House; I shall not therefore go from my Bargain. How without fear might the young *Charinks* in *Andria* now cry out, *What likeness can be here to a Marriage?* In this Bargain was no Capitulation, but the yielding of Possession to one another, wherein each of them had his several end apart? in Marriage there is a solemn Vow of Love and Fidelity each to other: this Bargain is fully accomplish'd in the change; in Marriage the Covenant still is in performing. If one of them perform nothing tolerably, but instead of Love, abound in Disaffection, Disobedience, Fraud and Hatred; what thing in the nature of a Covenant shall bind the other to such a perdurable mischief? Keep to your Problems of Ten groats, these matters are not for Pragmaticks, and Folk-mooters to babble in.

Concerning the place of *Paul*, that God hath called us to peace, 1 *Côr.* 7. And therefore certainly, if any-where in this World, we have a right to claim it reasonably in Marriage, it is plain enough in the sense which I gave, and confess by *Parents*, and other Orthodox Divines, to be a good sense, and this Answerer doth not weak'n it. The other place, that *he who hateth, may put away*, which, if I shew him, he promises to yield the whole Controversie, is, besides *Deut.* 24. 1. *Deut.* 21. 14. and before this, *Exod.* 21. 8. Of *Malachy* I have spoken more in another place; and say again, that the best Interpreters, all the Antient, and most of the Modern translate it, as I cite it, and very few otherwise, wherof perhaps *Junius* is the chief.

Another thing troubles him, that Marriage is called *the mystery of Joy*. Let it still trouble him; for what hath he to do either with joy or with mystery? He thinks it frantick Divinity to say, it is not the outward continuance of Marriage that keeps the Covenant of Marriage whole; but whosoever doth most according to peace and love; whether in Marriage or Divorce, he breaks Marriage least. If I shall spell it to him; he breaks Marriage least, is to say, he dishonours not Marriage; for least is taken in the Bible, and other good Authors, for, not at all. And a particular Marriage a Man may break, if for a lawful Cause, and yet not break, that is, not violate; or dishonour the Ordinance of Marriage. Hence these two Questions that follow, are left ridiculous; and the Maids at *Algate*, whom he flouts, are likely to have more Wit than the Serving-man at *Addle-gate*.

Wheras he taxes me of adding to the Scripture, in that I said Love only is the fulfilling of every Commandment, I cited no particular Scripture, but spake a general sense; which might be collected from many places. For seeing Love includes Faith, what is there that can fulfil every Commandment but only Love? and I meant, as any intelligent Reader might apprehend, every positive and civil Commandment, wherof Christ hath taught us that Man is the Lord. It is not the formal Duty of Worship; or the sitting still, that keeps the holy Rest of Sabbath; but whosoever doth most according to Charity, whether he works or works not, he breaks the holy Rest of Sabbath least. So Marriage being a Civil Ordinance, made for Man, not Man for it; he who doth that which most accords with Charity, first to himself, next to whom he next owes it, whether in Marriage or Divorce, he breaks the Ordinance of Marriage least. And what in religious Prudence can be Charity to himself, and what to his Wife, either in continuing, or in dissolving the Marriage-knot, hath been already oft enough discoursed. So that what *St. Paul* saith of Circumcision, the same I stick not to say of a Civil Ordinance, made to the good and comfort of Man, not to his ruin; Marriage is nothing, and Divorce is nothing, but Faith which worketh by Love. And this I trust none can mistake.

Against the fifth Argument, That a Christian in a higher Order of Priesthood than that Levitical, is a person dedicate to Joy and Peace; and therefore needs not in subjection to a Civil Ordinance, made to no other end but for his good, (when without his fault he finds it impossible to be decently or tolerably observed) to plunge himself into immeasurable Distractions and Temptations, above his strength; against this he proves nothing, but gads into silly conjectures of what Abuses would follow, and with as good reason might declaim against the best things that are.

Against the sixth Argument, That to force the Continuance of Marriage between Minds found utterly unfit and disproportional, is against Nature, and seems forbid under that allegorical Precept of *Moses*, not to sow a Field with divers Seeds, lest both be defiled; not to plough with an Ox and an Ass together, which I deduced by the pattern of *St. Paul's* reasoning what was meant by not muzzling the Ox; he rambles over a long Narration, to tell us that by the Oxen are meant the Preachers: which is not doubted. Then he demands if this my reasoning be like *St. Paul's*? and I answer him, Yes: He replies, that sure *St. Paul* would be ashamed to reason thus. And I tell him, No. He grants that place which I alledged, 2 *Cor.* 6. of unequal yoking, may allude to that of *Moses*, but says, I cannot prove it makes to my purpose, and shews not first how he can disprove it. Waigh, Gentlemen, and consider, whether my Affirmations, backt with Reason, may hold ballance against the bare Denials of this ponderous Confuter, elected by his ghostly Patrons to be my Copesmate.

Proceeding on to speak of mysterious things in Nature, I had occasion to fit the Language thereafter, matters not; for the reading of this odious Fool, who thus ever when he meets with ought above the cogitation of his Breeding, leaves the noisom stench of his rude Slot behind him, maligning that any thing should be spoke or understood above his own genuineness; and gives sentence that his confuting hath been employed about a frothy, immeritous and undeserving Discourse. Who could have believed so much Insolence durst vent it self from out the Hide of a Varlet, as thus to censure that which Men of mature judgment have applauded to be writ with good Reason? But this contents him not, he falls now to rave in his barbarous abusiveness; and why? a reason befitting such an Artificer, because he saith the Book is contrary to all human Learning; whereas the World knows, that all, both Human and Divine Learning, till the Canon-Law, allow'd Divorce by consent, and for many Causes without consent. Next he dooms it as contrary to Truth; whereas it hath been disputable among Learned Men ever since it was prohibited: and is by *Peter Martyr* thought an Opinion not impious, but hard to be refuted; and by *Erasmus* deem'd a Doctrine so charitable and pious, as, if it cannot be used, were to be withheld it could; but is by *Martin Bucer*, a man of dearest and most religious Memory in the Church, taught and maintained to be either most lawfully used, or most lawfully permitted. And for this, for I affirm no more than *Bucer*, what censure do you think, Readers, he hath condemned the Book to? To a death no less impious than to be burnt by the Hangman. Mr. Licenser, for I deal not now with this Caitiff, never worth my Earnest, and now not seasonable for my Jest, you are reputed a Man discreet enough, religious enough, honest enough, that is, to an ordinary competence in all these. But now your turn is, to hear what your own hand hath earned ye; that when you suffered this nameless Hangman to cast into publick such a despitel Contumely upon a Name and Person, deserving of the Church and State equally to your self, and one who hath done more to the present advancement of your own Tribe, than you or many of them have done for themselves; you forgot to be either honest, religious, or discreet. Whatever the State might do concerning it, suppos'd a matter to expect Evil from, I should not doubt to meet among them with wise, and honourable, and knowing Men. But as to this brute Libel, so much the more impudent and lawless for the abused Authority which it bears; I say again, that I abominate the Censure of Rascals and thir Licensers.

With difficulty I return to what remains of this ignoble Task, for the disdain I have to change a period more with the filth and venom of this Gourmand, swell'd into a Confuter; yet, for the satisfaction of others, I endure all this.

Against the seventh Argument, That if the Canon-Law and Divines allow Divorce for Conspiracy of Death, they may as well allow it to avoid the same consequence from the likelihood of natural Causes:

First, he denies that the Canon so decrees.

I answer, That it decrees for danger of Life, as much as for Adultery. *Decret. Gregor. l. 4. tit. 19.* and in other places: And the best Civilians who cite the Canon-Law, so collect, as *Schneidewin in Institut. tit. 10. p. 4. de Divort.* And indeed, who would have denied it, but one of a reprobate Ignorance in all he meddles with?

Secondly, He saith, the case alters; for there the Offender, who seeks the Life, doth implicitly at least act a Divorce.

And I answer, That here Nature, though no Offender, doth the same. But if an Offender by acting a Divorce, shall release the offended, this is an ample grant against himself. He saith, Nature teaches to save life from one who seeks it. And I say, she teaches no less to save it from any other Cause that endangers it: He saith, that here they are both Actors. Admit they were, it would not be uncharitable to part them; yet sometimes they are not both Actors, but the one of them most lamentedly passive. So he concludes, We must not take advantage of our own Faults and Corruptions to release us from our Duties. But shall we take no advantage to save our selves from the faults of another, who hath annull'd his right to our Duty? No, saith he, let them die of the Sullens, and try who will pity them. *Barbarian, the shame of all honest Attorneys*, why do they not hoise him over the Bar, and blanket him?

Against the eighth Argument, That they who are destitute of all marriageable Gifts, except a Body not plainly unfit, have not the calling to marry, and consequently married and so found, may be divorced: this, he saith, is nothing to the purpose, and not fit to be answer'd. I leave it therefore to the judgment of his Masters.

Against the ninth Argument, That Marriage is a human Society, and so chiefly seated in Agreement and Unity of Mind: If therefore the Mind cannot have that due Society by Marriage, that it may reasonably and humanly desire, it can be no human Society, and so not without reason divorcible: here he fallies, and turns what the Position required of a reasonable Agreement in the main matters of Society into an Agreement in all things, which makes the Opinion not mine, and so he leaves it.

At last and in good hour, we are come to his farewell, which is to be a concluding taste of his Jabberment in Law, the flashiest and fustiest that ever corrupted in such an unswill'd Hogshhead.

Against my tenth Argument, as he calls it, but as I intended it, my other Position, That Divorce is not a thing determinable by a compulsive Law, for that all Law is for some good that may be frequently attained without the admixture of a worse inconvenience: But the Law forbidding Divorce, never attains to any good end of such Prohibition, but rather multiplies Evil; therefore the Prohibition of Divorce is no good Law. Now for his Attorneys prise: but first, like a right cunning and sturdy Logician, he denies my Argument, not mattering whether in the *major* or *minor*; and saith there are many Laws made for Good, and yet that Good is not attained, through the defaults of the Party, but a greater inconvenience follows.

But I reply, That this Answer builds upon a shallow foundation, and most unjustly supposes every one in default, who seeks Divorce from the most injurious Wedloc. The default therefore will be found in the Law itself; which is neither able to punish the Offender, but the Innocent must withal suffer; nor can right the Innocent in what is chiefly sought, the obtainment of Love or Quietness. His Instances out of the Common Law are all so quite beside the matter which he would prove, as may be a Warning to all Clients how they venture thir business with such a cockbrain'd Solicitor. For being to shew some Law of *England*, attaining to no good end, and yet through no default of the party, who is thereby debar'd all remedy, he shews us only how some do lose the benefit of good Laws through thir own default. His first Example saith, it is a just Law that every one shall peaceably enjoy his Estate in Lands or otherwise. Does this Law attain to no good end? the Bar will blush at this most incogitant Woodcock. But see if a draft of *Littleton* will recover him to his Senses. If this man having Fee-simple in his Lands, yet will take a Lease of his own Lands from another, this shall be an Estopple to him in an Assize from the recovering of his own Land.

Mark now and register him! How many are there of ten thousand who have such a Fee-simple in thir Sconse, as to take a Lease of thir own Lands from another? So that this inconvenience lights upon scarce one in an Age, and by his own default; and the Law of enjoying each Man his own, is good to all others. But on the contrary, this Prohibition of Divorce is good to none, and brings inconvenience to Numbers, who lie under intolerable Grievances without thir own default, through the wicked-

wickedness or folly of another ; and all this iniquity the Law remedies not, but in a manner maintains. His other Cases are directly to the same purpose, and might have been spared, but that he is a Tradesman of the Law, and must be born with at his first setting up, to lay forth his best Ware, which is only gibberish.

I have now don that, which for many Causes I might have thought, could not likely have been my fortune, to be put to this under-work of scowring and unrubbing the low and fordid Ignorance of such a presumptuous Lozel. Yet *Hercules* had the labour once imposed upon him to carry Dung out of the *Augean* Stable. At any hand I would be rid of him : for I had rather, since the life of Man is likened to a Scene, that all my Entrances and Exits might mix with such persons only, whose Worth effects them and thir Actions to a grave and tragic Deportment, and not to have to do with Clowns and Vices. But if a man cannot peaceably walk into the World, but must be infested ; sometimes at his face with Dorrs and Horse-flies, sometimes beneath with bawling Whippets and Shin-barkers, and these to be set on by Plot and Consultation with a Junto of Clergymen and Licensers, commended also and rejoiced in by those whose partiality cannot yet forgo old papistical Principles ; have I not cause to be in such a manner defensive, as may procure me freedom to pass more unmolested hereafter by those Incumbrances, not so much regarded for themselves, as for those who incite them ? And what defence can properly be used in such a despicable Encounter as this, but either the Slap or the Spurn ? If they can afford me none but a ridiculous Adversary, the blame belongs not to me, though the whole Dispute be strew'd and scatter'd with Ridiculous ? And if he have such an ambition to know no better who are his Mates, but among these needy Thoughts, which, though his two Faculties of Serving-man and Solicitor should compound into one Mongrel, would be but thin and meagre, if in this penury of Soul he can be possible to have the lustiness to think of Fame, let him but send me how he calls himself, and I may chance not fail to indorse him on the backside of Posterity, not a golden, but a brazen Ass. Since my fate extorts from me a Talent of Sport, which I had thought to hide in a Napkin, he shall be my *Batrachomomachia*, my *Bavius*, my *Calandrino*, the common Adagy of ignorance and overweening : Nay perhaps, as the provocation may be, I may be driven to curl up this gliding Prose into a rough Sotadic, that shall rime him into such a condition, as instead of judging good Books to be burnt by the Executioner, he shall be readier to be his own Hangman. Thus much to this Nuisance.

But as for the Subject itself which I have writ and now defend, according as the opposition bears ; if any man equal to the matter, shall think it appertains him to take in hand this Controversy, either excepting against ought written, or perswaded he can shew better how this Question of such moment, to be thoroughly known, may receive a true determination, not leaning on the old and rott'n Suggeltions wheron it yet leans ; if his Intents be sincere to the publick, and shall carry him on without bitterness to the opinion, or to the person dissenting, let him not, I entreat him, guess by the handling, which meritoriously hath been bestowed on this object of contempt and laughter, that I account it any displeasure don me to be contradicted in Print : But as it leads to the attainment of any thing more true, shall esteem it a benefit ; and shall know how to return his Civility and fair Argument in such a sort, as he shall confess that to do so is my Choice, and to have don thus was my Chance.

Areopagitica :

A SPEECH for the Liberty of Unlicens'd PRINTING,

To the PARLIAMENT of ENGLAND.

Τῷ Λέυθρον δ' ἐκείνο, εἴ τις ἔλπει πόλει
χρυσὸν πρὸ βέλεμι' εἰς μέσον φέρειν, ἔχων.
καὶ ταῦθ' ὁ χρήζων, λαμπρὸς ἔσθ', ὃ μὴ δέλωι,
σιγᾷ, τί τῶτων ἐστὶν ἰσαίτερον πόλει;

Euripid. Hicetid.

*This is true Liberty, when free-born Men,
Having to advise the Public, may speak free,
Which he who can, and will, deserves high praise;
Who neither can nor will, may hold his peace;
What can be juster in a State then this?*

Euripid. Hicetid.

They, who to States and Governours of the Commonwealth direct their Speech, High Court of Parliament, or wanting such access in a private condition, write that which they foresee may advance the publick good; I suppose them as at the beginning of no mean endeavour, not a little alter'd and mov'd inwardly in their minds: Some with doubt of what will be the success, others with fear of what will be the censure; some with hope, others with confidence of what they have to speak. And me perhaps each of these dispositions, as the subject was whereon I enter'd, may have at other times variously affected; and likely might in these foremost expressions, now also disclose which of them sway'd most, but that the very attempt of this Address thus made, and the thought of whom it hath recourse to, hath got the power within me to a passion, far more welcom then incidental to a Preface. Which though I stay not to confess ere any ask, I shall be blameless, if it be no other, then the joy and gratulation which it brings to all who wish and promote their Countries Liberty; whereof this whole Discourse propos'd will be a certain Testimony, if not a Trophy. For this is not the Liberty which we can hope, that no grievance ever should arise in the Commonwealth, that let no man in this World expect; but when complaints are freely heard, deeply consider'd, and speedily reform'd, then is the utmost bound of civil Liberty attain'd, that wise men look for. To which if I now manifest, by the very sound of this which I shall utter, that we are already in good part arriv'd, and yet from such a steep disadvantage of tyranny and superstition groundred into our principles, as was beyond the manhood of a Roman recovery, it will be attributed first, as is most due, to the strong assistance of God, our Deliverer, next to your faithful guidance and undaunted Wisdom, Lords and Commons of England. Neither is it in God's esteem, the diminution of his glory, when honourable things are spoken of good men, and worthy Magistrates; which if I now first should begin to do, after so fair a progress of your laudable deeds, and such a long obligation upon the whole Realm to your indefatigable vertues, I might be justly reckon'd among the tardiest, and the unwillingest of them that praise ye. Nevertheless there being three principal things, without which all praising is but courtship and flattery, First, when that only is prais'd which is solidly worth praise; next when greatest likelihoods are brought, that such things are truly and really in those persons, to whom they are ascrib'd; the other, when he who praises, by shewing that such his actual perswasion is of whom he writes, can demonstrate that he flatters not: the former two of these I have heretofore endeavour'd, rescuing the employment from him who went about to impair your merits, with a trivial and malignant *Encōmium*; the latter as belong-

ing chiefly to mine own acquittal, that whom I so extoll'd I did not flatter, hath been reserv'd opportunely to this occasion. For he who freely magnifies what hath been nobly don, and fears not to declare as freely what might be don better, gives ye the best covenant of his fidelity; and that hisloyalest affection and his hope waits on your proceedings. His highest praising is not flattery, and his plainest advice is a kind of praising; for tho I should affirm and hold by argument, that it would fare better with Truth, with Learning, and the Commonwealth, if one of your publisht Orders which I should name, were call'd in, yet at the same time it could not but much redound to the lustre of your mild and equal Government, whenas private persons are hereby animated to think ye better pleas'd with public advice, then other Statists have been delighted heretofore with public flattery. And men will then see what difference there is between the magnanimity of a triennial Parliament, and that jealous hautiness of Prelats and cabin Counsellors that usurpt of late, whenas they shall observe ye in the midtt of your Victories and Successes more gently brooking writ'n exceptions against a voted Order, then other Courts, which had produc'd nothing worth memory but the weak ostentation of wealth, would have endur'd the least signin'd dislike at any sudden Proclamation. If I should thus far presume upon the meek demeanour of your civil and gentle greatness, Lords and Commons, as what your publisht Order hath directly said, that to gainsay, I might defend my self with ease, if any should accuse me of being new or insolent, did they but know how much better I find ye esteem it to imitate the old and elegant humanity of *Greece*, then the barbaric pride of a *Hunnish* and *Norwegian* statelines. And out of those ages, to whose polite wisdom and letters we ow that we are not yet *Goths* and *Jutlanders*, I could name him who from his private house wrote that discourse to the Parliament of *Athens*, that perswades them to change the form of *Democracy* which was then establisht. Such honour was done in those days to men who profess the study of Wisdom and Eloquence, not only in thir own Country, but in other Lands, that Cities and Sinories heard them gladly, and with great respect, if they had ought in public to admonish the State. Thus did *Dion Prusæus*, a stranger, and a private Orator, counsel the *Rhodians* against a former Edict: and I abound with other like examples, which to set heer would be superfluous. But if from the industry of a life wholly dedicated to studious labours, and those natural endowments haply not the worst for two and fifty degrees of northern latitude, so much must be derogated, as'to count me not equal to any of those who had this privilege, I would obtain to be thought not so inferior, as your selves are superior to the most of them who receiv'd thir counsel: and how far you excel them, be assur'd, Lords and Commons, there can no greater testimony appear, then when your prudent spirit acknowledges and obeys the voice of reason, from what quarter soever it be heard speaking; and renders ye as willing to repeal any Act of your own setting forth, as any set forth by your Predecessors.

If ye be thus resolv'd, as it were injury to think ye were not, I know not what should withhold me from presenting ye with a fit instance wherein to shew both that love of truth which ye eminently profess, and that uprightness of your judgment which is not wont to be partial to your selves; by judging over again that Order which ye have ordain'd to regulate Printing: *That no Book, Pamphlet, or Paper shall be henceforth printed, unless the same be first approv'd and licenc'd by such, or at least one of such as shall be therto appointed.* For that part which preserves justly every mans Copy to himself, or provides for the poor, I touch not, only wish they be not made pretences to abuse and persecute honest and painful Men, who offend not in either of these particulars. But that other clause of Licencing Books, which we thought had dy'd with his brother *quadragesimal* and *matrimonial* when the Prelats expir'd, I shall now attend with such a Homily, as shall lay before ye, first the Inventors of it to be those whom ye will be loth to own; next what is to be thought in general of reading, whatever sort the Books be; and that this Order avails nothing to the suppressing of scandalous, seditious, and libellous Books, which were mainly intended to be suppress. Last, that it will be primely to the discouragement of all Learning, and the stop of Truth, not only by disexercising and blunting our abilities, in what we know already, but by hindring and cropping the discovery that might be yet further made, both in religious and civil Wisdom.

I deny not, but that it is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth, to have a vigilant eye how Books demean themselves as well as Men; and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors: For Books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potencie of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are; nay they do preserve as in a viol
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the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them. I know they are as lively, and as vigorously productive, as those fabulous Dragons teeth; and being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed Men. And yet on the other hand; unless wariness be us'd, as good almost kill a Man as kill a good Book: who kills a Man kills a reasonable Creature, God's Image; but he who destroys a good Book, kills Reason it self, kills the Image of God, as it were in the eye. Many a man lives a burden to the Earth; but a good Book is the pretious life-blood of a master spirit, imbalm'd and treasur'd up on purpose to a life beyond life. 'Tis true, no age can restore a life, wherof perhaps there is no great loss; and revolutions of ages do not oft recover the loss of a rejected Truth, for the want of which whole Nations fare the worse. We should be wary therefore what Persecution we raise against the living Labours of publick men, how we spill that season'd life of Man, preserv'd and stor'd up in Books; since we see a kind of Homicide may be thus committed; sometimes a Martyrdom; and if it extend to the whole impression, a kind of massacre, wherof the execution ends not in the slaying of an elemental life, but strikes at that ethereal and fift essence, the breath of Reason it self, slays an immortality rather than a life. But lest I should be condemn'd of introducing Licenſe, while I oppose Licenſing, I refuse not the pains to be so much historical, as will serve to shew what hath been don by ancient and famous Commonwealths, against this disorder, till the very time that this project of Licenſing crept out of the *Inquisition*, was caught up by our Prelats, and hath caught some of our Presbyters.

In *Athens*, where Books and Wits were ever busier then in any other part of *Greece*, I find but only two sorts of Writings which the Magistrate car'd to take notice of; those either Blasphemous and Atheistical, or Libellous. Thus the Books of *Protagoras* were by the Judges of *Areopagus*, commanded to be burnt, and himself banisht the Territory for a discourse, begun with his confessing not to know, *whether there were gods, or whether not*. And against Defaming, it was decreed that none should be traduc'd by name, as was the manner of *Vetus Comædia*, wherby we may guess how they censur'd Libelling: And this course was quick enough, as *Cicero* writes, to quell both the desperate Wits of other Atheists, and the open way of Defaming, as the event shew'd. Of other Sects and Opinions, though tending to Voluptuousness, and the denying of divine Providence, they took no heed. Therefore we do not read that either *Epicurus*, or that Libertine School of *Cyrene*, or what the *Cynick* impudence utter'd, was ever question'd by the Laws. Neither is it recorded, that the Writings of those old Comedians were suppress'd, though the acting of them were forbid; and that *Plato* commended the reading of *Aristophanes*, the loosest of them all, to his Royal Scholar *Dionysius*, is commonly known, and may be excus'd, if holy *Chrysostom*, as is reported, nightly studied so much the same Author, and had the Art to cleanse a scurrilous Vehemence, into the stile of a rousing Sermon. That other leading City of *Greece*, *Lacedæmon*, considering that *Lycurgus* thir Law-giver was so addicted to elegant Learning, as to have been the first that brought out of *Ionia* the scatter'd Works of *Homer*, and sent the Poet *Thales* from *Crete* to prepare and mollifie the *Spartan* furliness with his smooth Songs and Odes, the better to plant among them Law and Civility, it is to be wonder'd how muleless and unbookish they were, minding nought but the fears of War. There needed no Licenſing of Books among them, for they dislike'd all but thir own *Laconick Apothegms*, and took a slight occasion to chase *Archilochus* out of thir City, perhaps for composing in a higher strain then their own souldierly Ballats and Roundels could reach to: Or if it were for his broad Verses, they were not therein so cautious, but they were as dissolute in thir promiscuous conversing; whence *Euripides* affirms in *Andromache*, that thir Women were all unchaste. Thus much may give us light after what sort Books were prohibited among the Greeks. The Romans also, for many Ages train'd up only to a military roughness, resembling most the *Lacedæmonian* guise, knew of Learning little but what thir twelve Tables, and the Pontific College with thir *Augurs* and *Flamins* taught them in Religion and Law, so unacquainted with other Learning, that when *Carneades* and *Critolaus*, with the *Stoick Diogenes* coming Embassadors to *Rome*, took thereby occasion to give the City a taste of thir Philosophy, they were suspected for Seducers by no less a man then *Cato* the Cenſor, who mov'd it in the Senat to dismiss them speedily, and to banish all such *Attic* Bablers out of *Italy*. But *Scipio* and others of the noblest Senators withstood him and his old *Sabin* austerity; honour'd and admir'd the Men; and the Cenſor himself at last in his old age fell to the study of that wherof before he was so scrupulous. And yet at the same time, *Nævius* and *Plautus*, the first Latin Comedians

had fill'd the City with all the borrow'd Scenes of *Menander* and *Philemon*. Then began to be consider'd there also what was to be done to libellous Books and Authors; for *Nevius* was quickly cast into Prison for his unbridl'd Pen, and releas'd by the *Tribunes* upon his Recantation: We read also that Libels were burnt, and the makers punish'd by *Augustus*. The like severity, no doubt, was us'd, if ought were impiously writt'n against thir esteem'd gods. Except in these two points, how the World went in Books, the Magistrat kept no reck'ning. And therefore *Lucretius*, without impeachment, versifies his Epicurism to *Memmius*, and had the honour to be set forth the second time by *Cicero*, so great a Father of the Commonwealth; although himself disputes against that Opinion in his own Writings. Nor was the Satyrical sharpness, or naked plainness of *Lucilius*, or *Catullus*, or *Flaccus*, by any Order prohibited. And for matters of State, the story of *Titus Livius*, though it extoll'd that part which *Pompey* held, was not therefore suppress'd by *Octavius Caesar*, of the other Faction. But that *Naso* was by him banisht in his Old age, for the wanton Poems of his Youth, was but a meer covert of State over some secret Cause: and besides, the Books were neither banisht nor call'd in. From hence we shall meet with little else but Tyranny in the Roman Empire, that we may not marvel, if not so often bad, as good Books were silenc'd. I shall therefore deem to have bin large enough, in producing what among the Ancients was punishable to write, save only which, all other Arguments were free to treat on.

By this time the Emperors were becom Christians, whose disciplin in this point I do not find to have bin more severe then what was formerly in practice. The Books of those whom they took to be grand Heretics were examin'd, refuted, and condemn'd in the general Councils; and not till then were prohibited, or burnt by authority of the Emperor. As for the Writings of Heathen Authors, unless they were plain invectives against Christianity, as those of *Porphyrius* and *Proclus*, they met with no interdict that can be cited, till about the Year 400, in a *Carthaginian* Council, wherein Bishops themselves were forbid to read the Books of Gentiles, but Heresies they might read: while others long before them on the contrary scrupl'd more the Books of Heretics, then of Gentiles. And that the primitive Councils and Bishops were wont only to declare what Books were not commendable, passing no further, but leaving it to each ones conscience to read or to lay by, till after the Year 800, is observ'd already by *Padre Paolo* the great unmasker of the *Trentine* Council. After which time the Popes of *Rome* engrossing what they pleas'd of Political rule into thir own hands, extended thir dominion over mens eyes, as they had before over thir judgments, burning and prohibiting to be read what they fancies not; yet sparing in thir censures, and the Books not many which they so dealt with: till *Martin* the 5th by his Bull not only prohibited, but was the first that excommunicated the reading of heretical Books; for about that time *Wicklef* and *Husse* growing terrible, were they who first drove the Papal Court to a stricter policy of prohibiting. Which cours *Leo* the 10th, and his Successors follow'd, until the Council of *Trent*, and the Spanish Inquisition engendring together, brought forth, or perseted those Catalogues, and expurgung Indexes that rake through the entrals of many an old good Author, with a violation wors then any could be offer'd to his Tomb. Nor did they stay in matters Heretical, but any subject that was not to their palat, they either condemn'd in a Prohibition, or had it strait into the new Purgatory of an Index. To fill up the measure of encroachment, thir last invention was to ordain that no Book, Pamphlet or Paper, should be printed (as if *S. Peter* had bequeath'd them the Keys of the Press also, as well as of Paradise) unless it were approv'd and licens'd under the Hands of two or three gluttonous Friars. For example:

Let the Chancellor *Cini* be pleas'd to see if in this present Work be contain'd ought that may withstand the Printing,

Vincent Rabbata, Vicar of *Florence*.

I have seen this present Work, and find nothing athwart the Catholic Faith and Good Manners: In witness wherof I have given, &c.

Nicolò Cini, Chancellor of *Florence*.

Attending the precedent Relation, it is allow'd that this present Work of *Davan-*
zati may be Printed,

Vincent Rabatta, &c.

It may be Printed, July 15.

Friar *Simon Mompei d'Amelia* Chancellor of the holy Office in *Florence*.

Sure they have a conceit, if he of the bottomless pit had not long since broke prison, that this quadruple Exorcism would bar him down. I fear this next design will be to get into thir custody the Licensing of that which they say * *Claudius* * Quo veniam daret flatum crepitumque ventris in convivio emittendi. *Sueton. in Claudio.*

Imprimatur, If it seem good to the Reverend Master of the holy Palace,

Belcastro Vicegerent.

Imprimatur

Friar *Nicolò Rodolphi* Master of the holy Palace.

Sometimes five *Imprimaturs* are seen together dialogue-wise in the Piazza of one Title-page, complementing and ducking each to other with thir thav'n reverences, whether the Author, who stands by in perplexity at the foot of his Epistle, thall to the Press or to the Sponge. These are the pretty Responseries, these are the dear Antiphonies that so bewicht of late our Prelats, and thir Chaplains with the goodly Echo they made; and besotted us to the gay imitation of a lordly *Imprimatur*, one from *Lambeth*-house, another from the West-end of *Pauls*; so apishly Romanizing, that the word of Command still was set down in Latin; as if the learned Grammatical Pen that wrote it, would cast no Ink without Latin: or perhaps, as they thought, because no vulgar tongue was worthy to expresse the pure conceit of an *Imprimatur*; but rather, as I hope, for that our English, the language of Men ever famous, and foremost in the achievements of Liberty, will not easily find servile Letters anow to spell such a dictatory presumption english. And thus ye have the Inventors and the Original of Book-licensing ript up, and drawn as lineally as any Pedigree. We have it not, that can be heard of, from any ancient State, or Polity, or Church, nor by any Statute left us by our Ancestors elder or later; nor from the modern Custom of any reformed City, or Church abroad; but from the most Antichristian Council, and the most tyrannous Inquisition that ever inquir'd. Till then Books were ever as freely admitted into the World as any other birth; the issue of the Brain was no more stiff'd then the issue of the Womb: no envious *Juno* fate cross-leg'd over the nativity of any man's intellectual off-spring; but if it prov'd a Monster, who denies, but that it was justly burnt, or sunk into the Sea. But that a Book in wors condition then a peccant Soul, should be to stand before a Jury ere it be born to the World, and undergo yet in darkness the judgment of *Radamanth* and his Collegues, ere it can pass the ferry backward into light, was never heard before, till that mysterious Iniquity, provokt and troubl'd at the first entrance of Reformation, sought out new Limbo's and new Hells wherein they might include our Books also within the number of thir damned. And this was the rare morsel so officiously snatcht up, and so ilfavourly imitated by our inquisitourient Bishops, and the attendant Minorites thir Chaplains. That ye like not now these most certain Authors of this Licensing Order, and that all sinister intention was far distant from your thoughts, when ye were importun'd the passing it, all men who know the integrity of your actions, and how ye honour Truth, will clear ye readily.

But som will say, What though the Inventors were bad, the thing for all that may be good? It may so; yet if that thing be no such deep invention, but obvious, and easie for any man to light on, and yet best and wisest Commonwealths through all ages and occasions have forborn to use it, and falsest seducers and oppressors of men were the first who took it up, and to no other purpose but to obstruct and hinder the first approach of Reformation; I am of those who believe, it will be a harder Alchymy then *Lullius* ever knew, to sublimat any good use out of such an Invention. Yet this only is what I request to gain from this reason, that it may be held a dangerous and suspicious fruit, as certainly it deserves, for the tree that bore it, until I can dissect one by one the properties it has. But I have first to finish, as was propounded, what is to be thought in general of reading Books, whatever sort they be, and whether be more the benefit, or the harm that thence proceeds?

Not to insist upon the examples of *Moses*, *Daniel* and *Paul*, who were skilful in all the learning of the Egyptians, Caldeans, and Greeks, which could not probably be without reading thir Books of all sorts, in *Paul* especially, who thought it no dehlement to insert into holy Scripture the sentences of three Greek Poets, and one of them a Tragedian, the question was notwithstanding sometimes controverted among the Primitive Doctors, but with great odds on that side which affirm'd it both lawful and profitable, as was then evidently perceiv'd, when *Julian* the Apostat, and sottleest enemy to our faith, made a decree forbidding Christians the study of heathen learning: for, said he, they wound us with our own weapons, and with our own arts and sciences they overcome us. And indeed the Christians were put so to thir shifts by this crafty means, and so much in danger to decline into all ignorance, that the two *Apollinarii* were fain, as a man may say, to coin all the seven liberal Sciences out of the Bible, reducing it into divers forms of Orations, Poems, Dialogues, ev'n to the calculating of a new Christian Grammar. But saith the Historian *Socrates*, The providence of God provided better then the indutlry of *Apollinarius* and his son, by taking away that illiterat Law with the life of him who devis'd it. So great an injury they then held it to be depriv'd of *Hellenic* learning; and thought it a persecution more undermining, and secretly decaying the Church, then the open cruelty of *Decius* or *Dioclesian*. And perhaps it was the same politic dritt that the Devil whipt St: *Jerom* in a lenten dream, for reading *Cicero*; or else it was a fantasim, bred by the fever which had then seisd him. For had an Angel bin his discipliner, unless it were for dwelling too much upon Ciceronianisms, and had chastiz'd the reading, not the vanity, it had bin plainly partial; first to correct him for grave *Cicero*, and not for scurril *Plautus*, whom he confesses to have bin reading not long before; next to correct him only, and let so many more ancient Fathers wax old in those pleasant and florid studies without the lash of such a tutoring apparition; inso-much that *Basil* teaches how some good use may be made of *Margites* a sportful Poem, not now extant, writ by *Homer*; and why not then of *Morgante* an Italian Romance much to the same purpose? But if it be agreed we shall be try'd by visions, there is a vision recorded by *Eusebius* far ancienter then this tale of *Jerom*, to the Nun *Eustochium*, and besides has nothing of a fever in it. *Dionysius Alexandrinus* was about the year 240, a person of great name in the Church for piety and learning, who had wont to avail himself much against Heretics by being conversant in thir Books; until a certain Presbyter laid it scrupulously to his conscience, how he durst venture himself among those defiling volumes. The worthy man loth to give offence, fell into a new debate with himself what was to be thought; when suddenly a Vision sent from God, it is his own Epistle that so avers it, confirm'd him in these words: "Read
" any Books whatever com to thy hands, for thou art sufficient both to judg
" aright, and to examin each matter. To this Revelation he assented the sooner, as he confesses, because it was answerable to that of the Apostle to the Thessalonians, *Prove all things, hold fast that which is good*. And he might have added another remarkable saying of the same Author; *To the pure, all things are pure*, not only meats and drinks, but all kind of knowledg whether of good or evil; the Knowledg cannot defile, nor consequently the Books, if the Will and Conscience be not defild. For Books are as Meats and Viands are; some of good, some of evil substance; and yet God in that unapocryphal vision, said without exception, *Rise Peter, kill and eat*, leaving the choice to each mans discretion. Wholefom meats to a vitiated stomac differ little or nothing from unwholefom; and best Books to a naughty mind are not unappliable to occasions of evil. Bad meats will scarce breed good nourishment in the healthiest concoction; but herein the difference is of bad Books, that they to a discreet and judicious Reader serve in many respects to discover, to confute, to forewarn, and to illustrate. Whereof what better witnes can ye expect I should produce, then one of your own now sitting in Parliament, the chief of learned men reputed in this Land, Mr. *Selden*, whose volume of natural and national Laws proves, not only by great authorities brought together, but by exquisit reasons and theorems almost mathematically demonstrative, that all opinions, yea errors, known, read and collated, are of main service and assistance toward the speedy attainment of what is truest. I conceive therefore, that when God did enlarge the universal diet of mans body, saving ever the rules of temperance, he then also, as before, left arbitrary the dyeting and repasting of our minds; as wherein every mature man might have to exercise his own leading capacity. How great a vertue is Temperance, how much of moment through the whole life of man? yet God commits the managing so great a trust, without particu-
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lar Law or prescription, wholly to the demeanour of every grown man. And therefore when he himself tabl'd the Jews from heaven, that Omer which was every mans daily portion of Manna, is computed to have bin more then might have well suffic'd the heartiest feeder thrice as many meals. For those actions which enter into a man, rather then issue out of him, and therefore defile not, God uses not to captivat under a perpetual childhood of prescription, but trusts him with the gift of Reason to be his own chuser; there were but little work left for Preaching, if Law and Compulsion should grow so fast upon those things which hertofore were govern'd only by exhortation. *Salomon* informs us that much reading is a wearines to the flesh; but neither he, nor other inspir'd author tells us that such, or such reading is unlawful: yet certainly had God thought good to limit us herein, it had been much more expedient to have told us what was unlawful, then what was wearisom. As for the burning of those Ephesian Books by *St. Paul's* converts, 'tis reply'd, the Books were magic, the Syriac so renders them. It was a private act, a voluntary act, and leaves us to a voluntary imitation: the men in remorse burnt those Books which were thir own; the Magistrat by this example is not appointed: these men practiz'd the Books, another might perhaps have read them in some sort usefully. Good and evil we know in the field of this World grow up together almost inseparably; and the knowledg of good is so involv'd and interwoven with the knowledg of evil, and in so many cunning resemblances hardly to be discern'd, that those confused seeds which were impos'd on *Psyche* as an incessant labour to cull out, and sort asunder, were not more intermixt. It was from out the rind of one apple tasted, that the knowledg of good and evil, as two twins cleaving together, leapt forth into the World. And perhaps this is that doom which *Adam* fell into of knowing good and evil, that is to say of knowing good by evil. As therefore the state of man now is; what wisdom can there be to choose, what continence to forbear without the knowledg of evil? He that can apprehend and consider vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true way-faring Christian. I cannot praise a fugitive and cloister'd virtue, unexercis'd and unbreath'd, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortal Garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat. Affuredly we bring not innocence into the world, we bring impurity much rather: that which purifies us is trial, and trial is by what is contrary. That virtue therefore which is but a youngling in the contemplation of evil, and knows not the utmost that vice promises to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank virtue, not a pure; her whiteness is but an excremental whiteness: Which was the reason why our sage and serious Poet *Spencer*, whom I dare be known to think a better teacher then *Scotus* or *Aquinas*, describing true temperance under the person of *Gnion*, brings him in with his palmer through the cave of Mammon, and the bowr of earthly bliss, that he might see and know, and yet abstain. Since therefore the knowledg and survey of Vice is in this world so necessary to the constituting of human Vertue, and the scanning of error to the confirmation of truth, how can we more safely, and with less danger scout into the regions of sin and falsity then by reading all manner of Tractats, and hearing all manner of Reason? And this is the benefit which may be had of Books promiscuously read. But of the harm that may result hence three kinds are usually reckon'd. First, is fear'd the infection that may spread; but therit all human learning and controversie in religious points must remove out of the world, yea the Bible it self; for that oftentimes relates blasphemy not nicely, it describes the carnal sense of wicked men not unelegantly, it brings in holiest men passionately murmuring against Providence through all the arguments of *Epicurus*: in other great disputes it answers dubiously and darkly to the common reader: And ask a Talmudist what ails the modesty of his marginal Keri, that *Moses* and all the Prophets cannot perswade him to pronounce the textual Chetiv. For these causes we all know, the Bible it self put by the Papist, into the first rank of prohibited books. The ancientest Fathers must be next remov'd, as *Clement of Alexandria*, and that *Eusebian* Book of Evangelic preparation, transmitting our ears through a hoard of heathenish Obscenities to receive the Gospel. Who finds not that *Irenaeus*, *Epiphanius*, *Jerom*, and others discover more heresies then they well confute, and that oft for heresie which is the truer opinion? Nor boots it to say for these, and all the heathen Writers of greatest infection, if it must be thought so, with whom is bound up the life of human learning, that they writ in an unknown tongue, so long as we are sure those languages are known as well to the worst of men, who are both most able, and most diligent to instil the poison they suck,

suck, first into the Courts of Princes, acquainting them with the choicest delights, and criticisms of sin. As perhaps did that *Petronius* whom *Nero* call'd his *Arbiter*, the Master of his Revels; and that notorious ribald of *Arezzo*, dreaded, and yet dear to the Italian Courtiers. I name not him for posterities sake, whom *Harry* the 8th nam'd in merriment his Vicar of Hell. By which compendious way all the contagion that foreign Books can infuse, will find a passage to the people far ealier and shorter then an Indian voyage, though it could be sail'd either by the North of *Cataio* Eastward, or of *Canada* Westward, while our Spanish licensing gags the English Press never so severely. But on the other side that infection which is from Books of controvertie in Religion, is more doubtful and dangerous to the learned, then to the ignorant; and yet those Books must be permitted untoucht by the Licenser. It will be hard to instance where any ignorant man hath bin ever seduc'd by any Papistical Book in English, unless it were commended and expounded to him by some of that Clergy: and indeed all such tractats whether false or true, are as the Prophesie of *Isaiah* was to the *Eunuch*, not to be understood without a guide. But of our Priests and Doctors how many have bin corrupted by studying the comments of Jesuits and *Sorbonists*, and how fast they could transfuse that corruption into the people, our experience is both late and sad. It is not forgot, since the acute and distinct *Arminius* was perverted meerly by the perusing of a nameless discours writt'n at *Delf*, which at first he took in hand to confute. Seeing therefore that those Books, and those in great abundance which are likeliest to taint both life and doctrin, cannot be suppress'd without the fall of Learning, and of all ability in disputation, and that these Books of either sort are most and soonest catching to the learned, from whom to the common people whatever is heretical or dissolute may quickly be convey'd, and that evil manners are as perfectly learnt without Books a thousand other ways which cannot be stoppt, and evil doctrin not with Books can propagate, except a teacher guide, which he might also do without writing, and so beyond prohibiting, I am not able to unfold, how this cautelous enterprize of Licensing can be exempted from the number of vain and impossible attempts. And he who were pleasantly dispos'd, could not well avoid to lik'n it to the exploit of that gallant man who thought to pound up the crows by shutting his Parkgate. Besides another inconvenience, if learned men be the first receivers out of Books, and dispredders both of vice and error, how shall the Licensers themselves be confided in, unless we can confer upon them, or they assume to themselves above all others in the Land, the grace of infallibility, and uncorruptedness? And again, if it be true, that a wise man, like a good refiner, can gather gold out of the drossiest volume, and that a fool will be a fool with the best Book, yea or without Book, there is no reason that we should deprive a wise Man of any advantage to his wisdom, while we seek to restrain from a fool, that which being restrain'd will be no hindrance to his folly. For if there should be so much exactness always us'd to keep that from him which is unfit for his reading, we should in the judgment of *Aristotle* not only, but of *Salomon*, and of our Saviour, not voutsafe him good precepts, and by consequence not willingly admit him to good Books; as being certain that a wise man will make better use of an idle pamphlet, then a fool will do of sacred Scripture.

'Tis next alledg'd we must not expose our selves to temptations without necessity, and next to that, not imploy our time in vain things. To both these objections one answer will serve, out of the grounds already laid, that to all men such Books are not temptations, nor vanities; but useful drugs and materials wherewith to temper and compose effective and strong med'cins, which man's life cannot want. The rest, as children and childish men, who have not the art to qualifie and prepare these working Minerals, well may be exhorted to forbear, but hinder'd forcibly they cannot be by all the licensing that Sainted Inquisition could ever yet contrive; which is what I promis'd to deliver next, That this Order of Licensing conduces nothing to the end for which it was fram'd; and hath almost prevented me by being clear already while thus much hath bin explaining. See the ingenuity of Truth, who when she gets a free and willing hand, opens her self faster then the pace of method and discours can overtake her. It was the task which I began with, To shew that no Nation, or well instituted State, if they valu'd Books at all, did ever use this way of Licensing; and it might be answer'd, that this is a piece of prudence lately discover'd. To which I return, That as it was a thing slight and obvious to think on, so if it had bin difficult to find out, there wanted not among them long since, who suggested such a cours; which they not following, leave us a pattern of thir judgment, that it was not the not knowing, but the not approving, which was the cause of thir not using it. *Plato*, a man of high
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authority indeed, but least of all for his Commonwealth, in the book of his Laws, which no City ever yet receiv'd, fed his fancy with making many Edicts to his ayrie Burgomasters, which they who otherwise admire him, with had bin rather buried and excus'd in the genial cups of an *Academic* night-sitting. By which Laws he seems to tolerat no kind of Learning, but by unalterable Decree, consisting most of practical Traditions, to the attainment wherof a Library of smaller bulk then his own Dialogues would be abundant. And there also enacts, that no Poet should so much as read to any privat man what he had writt'n, until the Judges and Law-keepers had seen it, and allow'd it: But that *Plato* meant this Law peculiarly to that Commonwealth which he had imagin'd, and to no other, is evident. Why was he not else a Law-giver to himself, but a Transgressor, and to be expel'd by his own Magistrats, both for the wanton Epigrams and Dialogues which he made, and his perpetual reading of *Sophron*, *Mimus*, and *Aristophanes*, Books of grossest infamy, and also for commending the latter of them, though he were the malicious Libeller of his chief friends, to be read by the Tyrant *Dionysius*, who had little need of such trash to spend his time on? But that he knew this Licenling of Poems had reference and dependence to many other proviso's there set down in his fancied Republic, which in this world could have no place: and so neither he himself, nor any Magistrat or City ever imitated that cours, which tak'n apart from those other collateral Injunctions, must needs be vain and fruitless. For if they fell upon one kind of strictness, unless thir care were equal to regulat all other things of like aptnes to corrupt the mind; that single endeavour they knew would be but a fond labour; to shut and fortifie one gate against corruption, and be necessitated to leave others round about wide open. If we think to regulat Printing, therby to rectifie Manners, we must regulat all Recreations and Pastimes, all that is delightful to Man. No Music must be heard, no Song be set or sung, but what is grave and *Doric*. There must be licenling Dancers, that no gesture, motion, or deportment be taught our Youth but what by thir allowance shall be thought honest; for such *Plato* was provided of: It will ask more then the work of twenty Licensers to examin all the Lutes, the Violins, and the Chittarrs in every house; they must not be suffer'd to prattle as they do, but must be licens'd what they may say. And who shall silence all the Airs and Madrigals that whisper softnes in Chambers? The Windows also, and the Balconeys must be thought on; there are shrewd Books, with dangerous Frontispieces, set to sale; who shall prohibit them, shall twenty Licensers? The Villages also must have their visitors to enquire what Lectures the Bagpipe, and the Rebbeck reads, ev'n to the Ballatry and the Gam-muth of every *municipal* Fidler, for these are the Countrymans *Arcadia's* and his *Monte Mayors*. Next, what more National corruption, for which *England* hears ill abroad, then household gluttony; who shall be the rectors of our daily rioting? and what shall be done to inhibit the multitudes that frequent those houses where drunk'nes is sold and harbour'd? Our garments also should be referr'd to the licenling of some more sober work-masters, to see them cut into a less wanton garb. Who shall regulat all the mixt conversation of our youth, male and female together, as is the fashion of this Country? who shall still appoint what shall be discours'd, what presum'd, and no furdur? Lastly, who shall forbid and separat all idle resort, all evil company? These things will be, and must be; but how they shall be least hurtful, how least enticing, herein consists the grave and governing Wisdom of a State. To sequester out of the World into *Atlantic* and *Eutopian* Polities, which never can be drawn into use, will not mend our condition; but to ordain wisely as in this World of evil, in the midst wherof God hath plac'd us unavoidably. Nor is it *Plato's* Licenling of Books will do this, which necessarily pulls along with it so many other kinds of Licenling, as will make us all both ridiculous and weary, and yet frustrat; but those unwritt'n, or at least unconstraining Laws of vertuous education, religious and civil nurture, which *Plato* there mentions, as the bonds and ligaments of the Commonwealth, the pillars and the sustainers of every writt'n Statute; these they be which will bear chief sway in such matters as these, when all Licenling will be easily eluded. Impunity and remifsnes for certain are the bane of a Commonwealth; but here the great art lies to discern in what the Law is to bid restraint and punishment, and in what things perswasion only is to work. If every action which is good or evil in Man at ripe years, were to be under pittance, and prescription, and compulsion, what were Vertue but a name, what praise could be then due to well-doing, what gramma-mercy to be sober, just or continent? Many there be that complain of divine Providence for suffering *Adam* to transgress. Foolish tongues! when God gave him reason,

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he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing; he had bin else a meer artificial *Adam*, such an *Adam* as he is in the motions. We our selves esteem not of that obedience, or love, or gift, which is of force: God therefore left him free, set before him a provoking object, ever almost in his eyes; herein consisted his merit, herein the right of his reward, the praise of his abstinence. Wherefore did he creat passions within us, pleasures round about us, but that these rightly temper'd are the very ingredients of vertue? They are not skilful considerers of human things, who imagin to remove sin by removing the matter of sin; for, besides that it is a huge heap increasing under the very act of diminishing, though som part of it may for a time be withdrawn from som persons, it cannot from all, in such a universal thing as Books are; and when this is don, yet the sin remains entire. Though ye take from a covetous man all his treasure, he has yet one jewel left, ye cannot bereave him of his Covetousness. Banish all objects of lust, shut up all youth into the severest disciplin that can be exercis'd in any hermitage, ye cannot make them chaste, that came not thither so: such great care and wisdom is requir'd to the right managing of this point. Suppose we could expel sin by this means; look how much we thus expel of sin, so much we expel of vertue: for the matter of them both is the same; remove that, and ye remove them both alike. This justifies the high Providence of God, who though he commands us Temperance, Justice, Continence, yet pours out before us ev'n to a profusenes all desirable things, and gives us minds that can wander beyond all limit and satiety. Why should we then affect a rigor contrary to the manner of God and of nature, by abridging or scanting those means, which Books, freely permitted, are, both to the trial of Vertue, and the exercise of Truth? It would be better done to learn that the Law must needs be frivolous which goes to restrain things, uncertainly and yet equally working to good, and to evil. And were I the chooser, a dram of well-doing should be preferr'd before many times as much the forcible hindrance of evil-doing. For God sure esteems the growth and compleating of one vertuous person, more then the restraint of ten vitious. And albeit whatever thing we hear or see, sitting, walking, travelling, or conversing, may be fitly call'd our Book, and is of the same effect that Writings are; yet grant the thing to be prohibited were only Books, it appears that this Order hitherto is far insufficient to the end which it intends. Do we not see, not once or oftner, but weekly, that continu'd Court-libel against the Parliament and City, printed, as the wet sheets can witnes, and dispers'd among us, for all that Licencing can do? Yet this is the priue service a man would think, wherein this Order should give proof of it self. If it were executed, you'l say. But certain, if execution be remis or blindfold now, and in this particular, what will it be hereafter, and in other Books? If then the Order shall not be vain and frustrat, behold a new labour, Lords and Commons, ye must repeal and proscribe all scandalous and unlicens'd Books already printed and divulg'd; after ye have drawn them up into a List, that all may know which are condemn'd, and which not; and ordain that no forein Books be deliver'd out of custody, till they have bin read over. This office will require the whole time of not a few Overseers, and those no vulgar men. There be also Books which are partly useful and excellent, partly culpable and pernicious; this work will ask as many more Officials, to make expurgations and expunctions, that the Commonwealth of Learning be not damnify'd. In fine, when the multitude of Books encrease upon thir hands, ye must be fain to catalogue all those Printers who are found frequently offending, and forbid the Importation of thir whole suspected *Typography*. In a word, that this your Order may be exact, and not deficient, ye must reform it perfectly according to the model of *Trent* and *Sevil*, which I know ye abhor to do. Yet though ye should condescend to this, which God forbid, the Order still would be but fruitless and defective to that end wherto ye meant it. If to prevent Sects and Schisms, who is so unread or so uncatechis'd in story, that hath not heard of many Sects refusing Books as a hindrance, and preserving thir Doctrin unmixt for many Ages, only by unwritt'n Traditions? The Christian Faith, for that was once a Schism, is not unknown to have spread all over *Asia*, ere any Gospel or Epistle was seen in writing. If the amendment of manners be aim'd at, look into *Italy* and *Spain*, whether those places be one scruple the better, the honester, the wiser, the chatter, since all the inquisitional rigor that hath bin executed upon Books.

Another reason, wherby to make it plain that this Order will miss the end it seeks, consider by the quality which ought to be in every Licenser. It cannot be deny'd but that he who is made judg to sit upon the birth, or death of Books, whether they may

be wasted into this world, or not, had need to be a man above the common measure, both studious, learned, and judicious; there may be else no mean mistakes in the censure of what is passable or not; which is also no mean injury. If he be of such worth as behooves him, there cannot be a more tedious and unpleasing Journey-work, a greater loss of time levied upon his head, then to be made the perpetual reader of unchosen Books and Pamphlets, oftentimes huge Volumes. There is no Book that is acceptable, unless at certain seasons; but to be enjoyn'd the reading of that at all times, and in a hand scarce legible, wherof three pages would not down at any time in the fairest Print, is an imposition which I cannot beleieve how he that values time, and his own studies, or is but of a sensible nostril should be able to endure. In this one thing I crave leave of the present Licensers to be pardon'd for so thinking: who doubtless took this office up, looking on it through thir obedience to the Parliament, whose command perhaps made all things seem easie and unlaborious to them; but that this short trial hath wearied them out already, thir own expressions and excuses to them who make so many journeys to sollicite thir license, are testimony enough. Seeing therefore those who now possess the imployment, by all evident signs with themselves well rid of it, and that no man of worth, none that is not a plain unthrif of his own hours, is ever likely to succeed them, except he mean to put himself to the salary of a Press-corrector, we may easily foresee what kind of Licensers we are to expect hereafter, either ignorant, imperious, and remiss, or basely pecuniary. This is what I had to shew, wherein this order cannot conduce to that end, wherof it bears the intention.

I lastly proceed from the no good it can do, to the manifest hurt it causes, in being first the greatest discouragement and affront that can be offer'd to Learning and to learned Men. It was the complaint and lamentation of Prelats, upon every least breath of a motion to remove Pluralities, and distribute more equally Church revenues, that then all Learning would be for ever dashed and discourag'd. But as for that opinion, I never found cause to think that the tenth part of learning stood or fell with the Clergy: nor could I ever but hold it for a sordid and unworthy speech of any Churchman, who had a competency left him. If therefore ye be loth to dishearten utterly and discontent, not the mercenary crew of false pretenders to learning, but the free and ingenious sort of such as evidently were born to study and love Learning for it self, not for lucre, or any other end, but the service of God and of Truth, and perhaps that lasting fame and perpetuity of praise which God and good men have consented shall be the reward of those whose publisht Labours advance the good of mankind, then know, that so far to distrust the judgment and the honesty of one who hath but a common repute in Learning, and never yet offended, as not to count him fit to print his mind without a tutor and examiner, lest he should drop a scism, or something of corruption, is the greatest displeasure and indignity to a free and knowing spirit that can be put upon him. What advantage is it to be a Man over it is to be a Boy at School, if we have only scapt the Ferular, to come under the fescu of an *Imprimatur*? if serious and elaborat Writings, as if they were no more then the theam of a Grammar-lad under his Pedagogue, must not be utter'd without the cursory eyes of a temporizing and extemporizing licenser? He who is not trusted with his own actions, his drift not being known to be evil, and standing to the hazard of Law and Penalty, has no great argument to think himself reputed in the Commonwealth wherein he was born, for other then a fool or a foreiner. When a man writes to the world, he summons up all his reason and deliberation to assist him; he searches, meditates, is industrious, and likely consults and confers with his judicious friends; after all which don he takes himself to be inform'd in what he writes, as well as any that writ before him; if in this the most consummat act of his fidelity and ripeness, no years, no industry, no former proof of his abilities can bring him to that state of maturity, as not to be still mistrusted and suspected, unless he carry all his considerat diligence, all his midnight watchings, and expence of *Palladian* oil, to the view of an unleasur'd licenser, perhaps much his younger, perhaps far his inferior in judgment, perhaps one who never knew the labour of Book-writing, and if he be not repulst, or slighted, must appear in print like a Puny with his Guardian, and his Censors hand on the back of his title to be his bayl and surety, that he is no Idiot, or Seducer, it cannot be but a dishonor and derogation to the Author, to the Book, to the privilege and dignity of Learning. And what if the author shall be one so copious of fancy, as to have many things well worth the adding, come into his mind after licensing, while the Book is yet under the Press, which not seldom happ'ns to the best and diligentest writers; and that perhaps a dozen times in one Book: The Printer dare

not go beyond his licens't copy; so often then must the Author trudge to his leav-giver, that those his new insertions may be view'd; and many a jaunt will be made, ere that licenser, for it must be the same man, can either be found, or found at leisure; meanwhile either the Press must stand still, which is no small damage, or the author lose his accuratest thoughts, and send the Book forth wors then he had made it, which to a diligent writer is the greatest melancholy and vexation that can befall. And how can a man teach with authority, which is the life of teaching; how can he be a Doctor in his Book as he ought to be, or else had better be silent, whenas all he teaches, all he delivers, is but under the tuition, under the correction of his patriarchal licenser to blot or alter what precisely accords not with the hidebound humor which he calls his judgment? When every acute reader upon the first sight of a pedantic license, will be ready with these like words to ding the Book a coits distance from him, I hate a pupil teacher, I endure not an instructor that comes to me under the wardship of an overseeing fist. I know nothing of the licenser, but that I have his own hand here for his arrogance; who shall warrant me his judgment? The State Sir, replies the Stationer, but has a quick return, The State shall be my Governours, but not my Critics; they may be mistak'n in the choice of a licenser, as easily as this licenser may be mistak'n in an author. This is som common stuff; and he might add from Sir *Francis Bacon*, That *such authoriz'd Books are but the language of the times*. For though a licenser should happ'n to be judicious more then ordinary, which will be a great jeopardy of the next succession, yet his very office, and his commission enjoins him to let pass nothing but what is vulgarly receiv'd already. Nay, which is more lamentable, if the work of any deceased author, though never so famous in his life-time, and even to this day, comes to thir hands for license to be printed, or reprinted, if there be found in his Book one sentence of a ventrous edg, utter'd in the height of zeal, and who knows whether it might not be the dictat of a divine Spirit, yet not suting with every low decrepit humor of thir own, though it were *Knox* himself, the Reformer of a Kingdom that spake it, they will not pardon him thir dash: the sense of that great Man shall to all posterity be lost, for the fearfulness, or the presumptuous rashness of a perfunctory Licenser. And to what an Author this violence hath bin lately done, and in what Book of greatest consequence to be faithfully publisht, I could now instance, but shall forbear till a more convenient season. Yet if these things be not resented seriously and timely by them who have the remedy in thir power, but that such iron moulds as these shall have authority to knaw out the choicest periods of exquisitest Books, and to commit such a treacherous fraud against the orphan remainders of worthiest men after death, the more sorrow will belong to that haples race of men, whose misfortune it is to have understanding. Henceforth let no man care to learn, or care to be more then worldly wise; for certainly in higher matters to be ignorant and slothful, to be a common stedfast dunce, will be the only pleasant life, and only in request.

And as it is a particular disesteem of every knowing person alive, and most injurious to the writt'n labours and monuments of the dead, so to me it seems an undervaluing and vilifying of the whole Nation. I cannot set so light by all the invention, the art, the wit, the grave and solid judgment which is in *England*, as that it can be comprehended in any twenty capacities how good soever, much less that it should not pass except thir Superintendence be over it, except it be sifted and strain'd with thir strainers, that it should be uncurrant without thir manual stamp. Truth and Understanding are not such wares as to be monopoliz'd and traded in by tickets and statutes, and standards. We must not think to make a staple commodity of all the knowledg in the Land, to mark and license it like our broad cloth, and our woolpacks. What is it but a servitude like that impos'd by the Philistims, not to be allow'd the sharpening of our own taxes and coulter, but we must repair from all quarters to twenty licensing forges? Had any one writt'n and divulg'd erroneous things and scandalous to honest life, misusing and forfeiting the esteem had of his reason among men, if after conviction this only censure were adjudg'd him, that he should never henceforth write, but what were first examin'd by an appointed Officer, whose hand should be annext to pass his credit for him, that now he might be safely read, it could not be apprehended less then a disgraceful punishment. Whence to include the whole Nation, and those that never yet thus offended, under such a diffident and suspectful prohibition, may plainly be understood what a disparagement it is. So much the more when as dettors and delinquents may walk abroad without a keeper, but unoffensive Books must stir forth without a visible jaylor in thir title. Nor is it to the common people less then a reproach; for if we be so jealous over them, as that we dare
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not trust them with an English pamphlet, what do we but censure them for a giddy, vitious, and ungrounded people; in such a sick and weak estate of faith and discretion, as to be able to take nothing down but through the pipe of a Licenser? That this is care or love of them, we cannot pretend, whenas in those Popish places where the Laity are most hated and despis'd, the same strictness is us'd over them. Wisdom we cannot call it, because it stops but one breach of license, nor that neither: whenas those corruptions which it seeks to prevent, break in faster at other dores which cannot be shut.

And in conclusion it reflects to the disrepute of our Ministers also, of whose labours we should hope better, and of the proficiency which thir flock reaps by them, then that after all this light of the Gospel which is, and is to be, and all this continual preaching, they should be still frequented with such an unprincipi'd, unedify'd, and laick rabble, as that the whiff of every new pamphlet should stagger them out of thir Catechism, and Christian walking. This may have much reason to discourage the Ministers when such a low conceit is had of all thir exhortations, and the benighting of thir hearers, as that they are not thought fit to be turn'd loose to three sheets of paper without a Licenser; that all the Sermons, all the Lectures preach'd, printed, vented in such numbers, and such volumes, as have now well-nigh made all other Books unsalable, should not be armor enough against one single *Enchiridon*, without the Castle *St. Angelo* of an *Imprimatur*.

And lest some should perswade ye, Lords and Commons, that these arguments of learned mens discouragement at this your Order, are meer flourishes, and not real, I could recount what I have seen and heard in other Countries, where this kind of inquisition tyrannizes; when I have sat among thir learned men, for that honour I had; and bin counted happy to be born in such a place of *Philosophic* freedom, as they suppos'd *England* was, while themselves did nothing but bemoan the servil condition into which Learning amongst them was brought; that this was it which had damp't the glory of Italian wits; that nothing had bin there writt'n now these many years but flattery and suttian. There it was that I found, and visited the famous *Galileo* grown old, a prisoner to the Inquisition, for thinking in Astronomy otherwise then the Franciscan and Dominican licensers thought. And though I knew that *England* then was groaning loudest under the Prelatical yoke, nevertheless I took it as a pledg of future happines, that other Nations were so perswaded of her liberty. Yet was it beyond my hope, that those Worthies were then breathing in her air, who should be her leaders to such a deliverance, as shall never be forgott'n by any revolution of time that this world hath to finish. When that was once begun, it was as little in my fear, that what words of complaint I heard among learned men of other parts utter'd against the Inquisition, the same I should hear by as learned men at home utter'd in time of Parliament against an Order of Licensing; and that so generally, that when I had disclos'd my self a companion of thir discontent, I might say, if without envy, that he whom an honest *questorship* had indear'd to the *Sicilians*, was not more by them importun'd against *Verres*, then the favourable opinion which I had among many who honour ye, and are known and respected by ye, loaded me with entreaties and perswasions, that I would not despair to lay together that which just reason should bring into my mind, toward the removal of an undeserved thralldom upon Learning. That this is not therefore the disburdning of a particular fancy, but the common grievance of all those who had prepar'd thir minds and studies above the vulgar pitch to advance truth in others, and from others to entertain it, thus much may satisfie. And in thir name I shall for neither friend nor foe, conceal what the general murmur is; that if it com to inquisitioning again, and licensing, and that we are so timorous of our selves, and so suspicious of all men, as to fear each Book, and the shaking of every leaf, before we know what the contents are; if some who but of late were little better then silenc't from preaching, shall com now to silence us from reading, except what they please, it cannot be guess't what is intended by some but a second tyranny over Learning: and will soon put it out of controversie that Bishops and Presbyters are the same to us both name and thing. That those evils of Prelaty which before from five or six and twenty Sees were distributively charged upon the whole people, will now light wholly upon Learning, is not obscure to us: whenas now the Pastor of a small unlearned Parish, on the sudden shall be exalted Archbishop over a large dioces of Books, and yet not remove, but keep his other Cure too, a mystical Pluralist. He who but of late cry'd down the sole ordination of every novice Batchelor of Art, and deny'd sole jurisdiction over the simplest Parishioner, shall now at home in his privat chair assume

both these over worthiest and excellentest Books, and ablest Authors that write them. This is not, ye Cov'nants and Protestations that we have made; this is not to put down Prelaty; this is but to chop an Episcopacy; this is but to translate the Palace *Metropolitan* from one kind of dominion into another; this is but an old canonical slight of *commuting* our penance. To startle thus betimes at a meer unlicens'd Pamphlet, will, after a while, be afraid of every Conventicle, and a while after will make a Conventicle of every Christian meeting. But I am certain that a State govern'd by the rules of Justice and Fortitude, or a Church built and founded upon the Rock of Faith and true Knowledge, cannot be so pusillanimous. While things are yet not constituted in Religion, that freedom of Writing should be restrain'd by a disciplin imitated from the Prelats, and learnt by them from the Inquisition to shut us up all again into the breast of a Licenser, must needs give cause of doubt and discouragement to all learned and religious Men. Who cannot but discern the finenes of this politic drift, and who are the contrivers; that while Bishops were to be baited down, then all Presses might be open; it was the peoples birth-right and privilege in time of Parliament, it was the breaking forth of light. But now the Bishops abrogated and voided out of the Church, as if our Reformation sought no more, but to make room for others into thir Seats under another name; the Episcopal Arts begin to bud again; the cruise of Truth must run no more Oyl; liberty of Printing must be enthrall'd again under a Prelatical Commission of twenty; the privilege of the People nullify'd; and which is worse, the freedom of Learning must groan again, and to her old setters: all this the Parliament yet sitting. Although thir own late Arguments and Defences against the Prelats might remember them that this obstructing Violence meets for the most part with an event utterly opposit to the end which it drives at: instead of suppressing Sects and Schisms, it raises them and invests them with a reputation: *The punishing of Wits enhances thir authority*, saith the Vicount St. Albans; *and a forbidden writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth that flies up in the faces of them who seek to tread it out.* This Order therefore may prove a nursing Mother to Sects, but I shall easily shew how it will be a step-dame to Truth: and first by disabling us to the maintenance of what is known already.

Well knows he who uses to consider, that our Faith and Knowledg thrives by Exercise, as well as our Limbs and Complexion. Truth is compar'd in Scripture to a *streaming fountain*; if her waters flow not in a perpetual progression, they sick'n into a muddy pool of Conformity and Tradition. A man may be a Heretic in the truth; and if he believe things only because his Pastor says so, or the Assembly so determines, without knowing other reason, though his belief be true; yet the very truth he holds, becomes his heresie. There is not any burden that som would gladlier posit off to another, then the charge and care of thir Religion. There be, who knows not that there be of Protestants and Professors who live and die in as errant an implicit Faith, as any Lay-Papist of *Loretto*. A wealthy man, addicted to his pleasure and to his profits, finds Religion to be a traffic so entangl'd, and of so many piddling accounts, that of all mysteries he cannot skill to keep a stock going upon that trade. What should he do? saith he would have the name to be religious, saith he would bear up with his neighbours in that. What does he therefore, but resolves to give over toying, and to find himself out som Factor, to whose care and credit he may commit the whole managing of his religious affairs; som Divine of note and estimation that must be. To him he adheres, resigns the whole Warehouse of his Religion, with all the Locks and Keys into his custody; and indeed makes the very Person of that Man his Religion; esteems his associating with him a sufficient evidence and commendatory of his own Piety. So that a man may say his Religion is now no more within himself, but is becom a dividual movable, and goes and comes near him, according as that good man frequents the house. He entertains him, gives him gifts, feasts him, lodges him; his Religion comes home at night, prays, is liberally suppt, and sumptuously laid to sleep; rises, is saluted, and after the malmsey, or some well spic'd bruage, and better breakfasted, then he whose morning appetite would have gladly fed on green figs between *Beibany* and *Jerusalem*; his Religion walks abroad at eight, and leavs his kind entertainer in the shop trading all day without his Religion.

Another sort there be, who when they hear that all things shall be order'd, all things regulated and setl'd; nothing writt'n but what passes through the Custom-house of certain Publicans that have the tunnaging and poundaging of all free-spok'n Truth, will strait give themselves up into your hands, mak'em and cut'em out what Religion ye please; there be delights, there be recreations and jolly pastimes that will fetch the day

day about from Sun to Sun, and rock the tedious year as in a delightful dream. What need they torture thir heads with that which others have tak'n so strictly, and so unalterably into thir own purveying? These are the fruits which a dull ease and cessation of our knowledg will bring forth among the people. How goodly, and how to be wisht were such an obedient unanimity as this? what a fine conformity would it starch us all into? doubtles a stanch and solid piece of frame-work, as any *January* could freeze together.

Nor much better will be the consequence ev'n among the Clergy themselves; it is no new thing never heard of before, for a *Parochial* Minister, who has his reward, and is at his *Hercules* Pillars in a warm Benefice, to be easily inclinable, if he having nothing else that may rouse up his studies, to finish his circuit in an English Concordance and a *topic Folio*, the gatherings and savings of a sober Graduatship, a *Harmony* and a *Catena*, treading the constant round of certain common doctrinal Heads, attended with their Uses, Motives, Marks and Means; out of which, as out of an Alphabet or *Sol fa*, by forming and transforming, joyning and dis-joyning variously a little book-craft, and two hours meditation, might furnish him unspeakably to the performance of more then a weekly charge of sermoning: not to reck'n up the infinit helps of inter-linearics, breviaries, *synopses*, and other loitering gear. But as for the multitude of Sermons ready printed and pil'd up, on every text that is not difficult, our *London* trading *St. Thomas* in his Vestry, and add to boot *St. Martin* and *St. Hugh*, have not within thir hallow'd limits more vendible ware of all sorts ready made: so that penury he never need fear of Pulpit-provision, having where so plenteously to refresh his magazin. But if his rear and flanks be not impal'd, if his back-door be not secur'd by the rigid Licenser, but that a bold Book may now and then issue forth, and give the assault to some of his old Collections in thir Trenches, it will concern him then to keep waking, to stand in watch, to set good guards and sentinels about his receiv'd Opinions, to walk the round and counter-round with his fellow inspectors, fearing lest any of his flock be seduc'd, who also then would be better instructed, better exercis'd and disciplin'd. And God send that the fear of this diligence which must then be us'd, do not make us affect the lazines of a licensing Church.

For if we be sure we are in the right, and do not hold the truth guiltily, which becomes hot, if we our selves condemn not our own weak and frivolous teaching, and the people for an untaught and irreligious gadding rout, what can be more fair, then when a man judicious, learned, and of a conscience, for ought we know, as good as thirs that taught us what we know, shall not privily from house to house, which is more dangerous, but openly by writing publish to the World what his Opinion is, what his Reasons, and wherefore that which is now thought cannot be found. Christ urg'd it as wherewith to justify himself, that he preacht in public; yet writing is more public then preaching; and more easie to refutation, if need be, there being so many whose business and profession meerly it is to be the champions of Truth; which if they neglect, what can be imputed but thir sloth or inability?

Thus much we are hinder'd and dis-inur'd by this cours of licensing toward the true knowledg of what we seem to know. For how much it hurts and hinders the Licensers themselves in the calling of thir Ministry, more then any secular employment, if they will discharge that office as they ought, so that of necessity they must neglect either the one duty or the other; I insist not, because it is a particular, but leave it to thir own conscience, how they will decide it there.

There is yet behind of what I purpos'd to lay open, the incredible loss and detriment that this plot of Licensing puts us to, more then if some enemy at Sea should stop up all our Hav'ns, and Ports, and Creeks; it hinders and retards the Importation of our richest Merchandize, Truth: nay it was first establish'd and put in practice by Antichristian malice and mystery on set purpose to extinguish, if it were possible, the light of Reformation, and to settle falsehood; little differing from that policy wherewith the Turk upholds his *Alcoran*, by the prohibition of Printing. 'Tis not deny'd, but gladly confest, we are to send our Thanks and Vows, to Heav'n, louder then most of Nations, for that great measure of Truth which we enjoy, especially in those main Points between us and the Pope, with his appertinences the Prelats: but he who thinks we are to pitch our Tent here, and have attain'd the utmost prospect of Reformation, that the mortal glass wherin we contemplat can shew us, till we com to *beatific* Vision, that man by this very Opinion declares, that he is yet far short of the Truth.

Truth indeed came once into the world with her divine Master, and was a perfect shape most glorious to look on: but when he ascended, and his Apostles after him were laid asleep, then straight arose a wicked race of deceivers, who as that story goes of the *Egyptian Typhon* with his conspirators, how they dealt with the good *Osiris*, took the virgin Truth, hew'd her lovely form into a thousand pieces, and scatter'd them to the four winds. From that time ever since, the sad friends of Truth, such as durst appear, imitating the careful search that *Isis* made for the mangl'd body of *Osiris*, went up and down gathering up limb by limb still as they could find them. We have not yet found them all, Lords and Commons, nor ever shall do, till her Masters second coming; he shall bring together every joynt and member, and shall mould them into an immortal feature of loveliness and perfection. Suffer not these licensing prohibitions to stand at every place of opportunity forbidding and disturbing them that continue seeking, that continue to do our obsequies to the torn body of our martyr'd Saint. We boast our light; but if we look not wisely on the Sun it self, it smites us into darknes. Who can discern those planets that are oft *combust*, and those stars of brightest magnitude that rise and set with the Sun, until the opposit motion of thir orbs bring them to such a place in the firmament, where they may be seen evning or morning? The light which we have gain'd, was giv'n us, not to be ever staring on, but by it to discover onward things more remote from our knowledg. It is not the unfrocking of a Priest, the unmitring of a Bishop, and the removing him from off the *Presbyterian* shoulders, that will make us a happy Nation; no, if other things as great in the Church, and in the rule of life both economical and political be not lookt into and reform'd, we have lookt so long upon the blaze that *Zuinglius* and *Calvin* hath beacon'd up to us, that we are stark blind. There be who perpetually complain of schisms and sects, and make it such a calamity, that any man dissents from thir maxims. 'Tis thir own pride and ignorance which causes the disturbing, who neither will hear with meeknes, nor can convince, yet all must be suppress'd which is not found in thir *Syntagma*. They are the troublers, they are the dividers of unity, who neglect and permit not others to unite those dis sever'd pieces which are yet wanting to the body of Truth. To be still searching what we know not, by what we know, still closing up truth to truth as we find it (for all her body is *homogeneous*, and proportional) this is the golden rule in *Theology* as well as in *Arithmetic*, and makes up the best harmony in a Church; not the forc'd and outward union of cold, and neutral, and inwardly-divided minds.

Lords and Commons of *England*, consider what Nation it is wherof ye are, and wherof ye are the Governours: a Nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit, acute to invent, subtle and finewy to discours, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to. Therefore the studies of Learning in her deepest Sciences have bin so ancient, and so eminent among us, that Writers of good antiquity, and able judgment, have bin perswaded that ev'n the school of *Pythagoras*, and the *Persian* wisdom, took beginning from the old Philosophy of this Iland. And that wise and civil Roman, *Julius Agricola*, who govern'd once here for *Cesar*, preferr'd the natural Wits of *Britain*, before the labour'd studies of the *French*. Nor is it for nothing that the grave and frugal *Transilvanian* sends out yearly from as far as the mountainous borders of *Russia*, and beyond the *Hercynian* wildernesses, not thir youth, but thir stay'd men, to learn our language, and our *Theologic* arts. Yet that which is above all this, the favour and the love of Heav'n, we have great argument to think in a peculiar manner propitious and propending towards us. Why else was this Nation chos'n before any other, that out of her as out of *Sion* should be proclaim'd and sounded forth the first tidings and trumpet of Reformation to all *Europ*? And had it not bin the obstinat perversines of our Prelats against the divine and admirable spirit of *Wicklef*, to suppress him as a schismatic and innovator, perhaps neither the *Bohemian Hussite* and *Jerom*, no nor the name of *Luther*, or of *Calvin* had bin ever known: the glory of a reforming all our neighbours had bin completely ours. But now, as our obdurate Clergy have with violence demean'd the matter, we are become hitherto the latest and the backwardest Scholers, of whom God offer'd to have made us the Teachers. Now once again by all concurrence of signs, and by the general instinct of holy and devout men, as they daily and solemnly express thir thoughts, God is decreeing to begin some new and great period in his Church, ev'n to the reforming of Reformation it self; what does he then but reveal Himself to his servants, and as his manner is, first to his English-men? I say as his manner is, first to us, though we mark not the method of his counsels, and are unworthy. Behold now
this

this vast City; a City of refuge, the mansion-house of liberty, encompassed and surrounded with his protection; the shop of War hath not there more anvils and hammers waking, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed Justice in defence of beleaguere'd Truth, then there be pens and heads there, sitting by thir studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas wherewith to present as with thir homage and thir fealty the approaching Reformation: others as fast reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reason and convincement. What could a man require more from a Nation so pliant and so prone to seek after knowledg? What wants there to such a towardly and pregnant soil, but wise and faithful Labourers, to make a knowing People, a Nation of Prophets, of Sages, and of Worthies? We reck'n more then five months yet to harvest; there need not be five weeks, had we but eyes to lift up, the fields are white already. Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good men is but knowledg in the making. Under these fantastic terrors of sect and schism, we wrong the earnest and zealous thirst after knowledg and understanding which God hath stirr'd up in this City. What som lament of, we rather should rejoyce at, should rather praise this pious forwardnes among men, to reassume the ill reputed care of thir Religion into thir own hands again. A little generous prudence, a little forbearance of one another, and som grain of charity might win all these diligences to joyn, and unite into one general and brotherly search after Truth; could we but forgo this Prelatical tradition of crowding free Consciences and Christian Liberties into canons and precepts of men. I doubt not, if som great and worthy stranger should com among us, wise to discern the mould and temper of a people, and how to govern it, observing the high hopes and aims, the diligent alacrity of our extended thoughts and reasonings in the pursuance of truth and freedom, but that he would cry out as *Pirrhus* did, admiring the Roman docility and courage; if such were my *Epirots*, I would not despair the greatest design that could be attempted to make a Church or Kingdom happy. Yet these are the men cry'd out against for schismatics and sectaries, as if, while the Temple of the Lord was building, some cutting, some squaring the Marble, others hewing the Cedars, there should be a sort of irrational men who could not consider there must be many schisms and many dissections made in the quarry and in the timber, ere the House of God can be built. And when every stone is laid artfully together, it cannot be united into a continuity, it can but be contiguous in this world: neither can every piece of the Building be of one form; nay rather the perfection consists in this, that out of many moderat varieties and brotherly dissimilitudes that are not vastly disproportionall, arises the goodly and the graceful symmetry that commends the whole pile and structure. Let us therefore be more considerat Builders, more wise in spiritual Architecture, when great Reformation is expected. For now the time seems come, wherein *Moses* the great Prophet may sit in Heav'n rejoycing to see that memorable and glorious wish of his fulfill'd, when not only our sev'nty Elders, but all the Lords people are become Prophets. No marvel then though some men, and some good men too perhaps, but young in goodness, as *Joshua* then was, envy them. They fret, and out of thir own weaknes are in agony, lest these divisions and subdivisions will undo us. The adversary again applauds, and waits the hour, when they have brancht themselves out, saith he, small enough into parties and partitions, then will be our time. Fool! he sees not the firm root, out of which we all grow, though into branches; nor will beware until he see our small divided maniples cutting through at every angle of his ill united and unweildy brigade. And that we are to hope better of all these supposed sects and schisms, and that we shall not need that solicitude, honest perhaps, though over-timorous, of them that vex in this behalf, but shall laugh in the end at those malicious applauders of our differences, I have these reasons to perswade me.

First, when a City shall be at it were besieg'd and blockt about, her navigable river infested, inrodes and incursions round, defiance and battel oft rumor'd to be marching up ev'n to her walls and suburb trenches, that then the people, or the greater part, more then at other times, wholly tak'n up with the study of highest and most important matters to be reform'd, should be disputing, reasoning, reading, inventing, discourling, ev'n to a rarity, and admiration, things not before discourt or writt'n of, argues first a singular good will, contentedness and confidence in your prudent foresight, and safe government, Lords and Commons; and from thence derives it self to a gallant bravery and well grounded contempt of thir enemies, as if there were no small number of as great spirits among us, as his was, who when *Rome* was nigh besieg'd

besieg'd by *Hanibal*, being in the City, bought that piece of ground at no cheap rate, wheron *Hanibal* himself encampt his own regiment. Next it is a lively and cheerful preface of our happy success and victory. For as in a body, when the blood is fresh, the spirits pure and vigorous, not only to vital, but to rational faculties, and those in the acutest, and the pertest operations of wit and subtlety, it argues in what good plight and constitution the body is; so when the cheerfulness of the people is so sprightly up, as that it has not only wherewith to guard well its own freedom and safety, but to spare, and to bestow upon the solideest and sublimest points of controversie, and new invention, it betok'ns us not degenerated, nor drooping to a fatal decay, but casting off the old and wrincl'd skin of corruption to outlive these pangs, and wax young again, entring the glorious ways of Truth and prosperous Vertue, destin'd to become great and honourable in these latter ages. Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant Nation rousing her self like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks: Methinks I see her as an Eagle muing her mighty youth, and kindling her undaz'd eyes at the full mid-day beam; purging and unscaling her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heav'nly radiance; while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amaz'd at what she means, and in thir envious gabble would prognosticat a year of Sects and Schisms.

What should ye do then, should ye suppress all this flowry crop of knowledg and new light sprung up and yet springing daily in this City? should ye set an *Oligarchy* of twenty ingrossers over it, to bring a famine upon our minds again, when we shall know nothing but what is measur'd to us by thir bushel? Believe it, Lords and Commons, they who counsel ye to such a suppressing, do as good as bid ye suppress your selves; and I will soon shew how. If it be desir'd to know the immediat cause of all this free writing and free speaking, there cannot be assign'd a truer then your own mild, and free, and human government; it is the liberty, Lords and Commons, which your own valorous and happy Counsels have purchast us, Liberty which is the nurse of all great Wits: this is that which hath rarify'd and enlighen'd our spirits like the influence of Heav'n; this is that which hath enfranchis'd, enlarg'd and lifted up our apprehensions degrees above themselves. Ye cannot make us now less capable, less knowing, less eagerly pursuing of the truth, unless ye first make your selves, that made us so, less the lovers, less the founders of our true liberty. We can grow ignorant again, brutish, formal, and slavish, as ye found us; but you then must first become that which ye cannot be, oppressive, arbitrary, and tyrannous, as they were from whom ye have free'd us. That our hearts are now more capacious, our thoughts more erected to the search and expectation of greatest and exactest things, is the issue of your own vertu propagated in us; ye cannot suppress that, unless ye reinforce an abrogated and merciless Law, that Fathers may dispatch at will thir own Children. And who shall then stick closest to ye, and excite others? not he who takes up arms for Cote and Conduct, and his four nobles of Danegelt. Although I dispraise not the defence of just immunities, yet love my peace better, if that were all. Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties.

What would be best advis'd then, if it be found so hurtful and so unequal to suppress Opinions for the newnes, or the unfutableness to a customary acceptance, will not be my task to say; I only shall repeat what I have learnt from one of your own honourable number, a right noble and pious Lord, who had he not sacrific'd his life and fortunes to the Church and Commonwealth, we had not now mist and bewail'd a worthy and undoubted Patron of this argument. Ye know him I am sure; yet I for honours sake, and may it be eternal to him, shall name him, the Lord *Brook*. He writing of Episcopacy, and by the way treating of Sects and Schisms, left Ye his Vote, or rather now the last Words of his dying Charge, which I know will ever be of dear and honour'd regard with Ye, so full of Meeknes and breathing Charity, that next to his last Testament, who bequeath'd Love and Peace to his Disciples, I cannot call to mind where I have read or heard words more mild and peaceful. He there exhorts us to hear with patience and humility those, however they be miscall'd, that desire to live purely, in such a use of God's Ordinances, as the best guidance of thir conscience gives them, and to tolerat them, though in some disconformity to our selves. The Book it self will tell us more at large, being publisht to the World, and dedicated to the Parliament by him who both for his life and for his death deserves, that what advice he left, be not laid by without perusal.

And

And now the time in special is, by privilege to write and speak what may help to the further discussing of matters in agitation. The Temple of *Jannu*, with his two *controversal* faces, might now not unsignificantly be set open. And though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and Falshood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the worse, in a free and open encounter? Her confuting is the best and surest suppressing. He who hears what praying there is for light and clearer knowledge to be sent down among us, would think of other matters to be constituted beyond the discipline of *Geneva*, fram'd and fabric't already to our hands. Yet when the new light which we beg for, shines in upon us, there be who envy and oppose, if it com not first in at their casements. What a collusion is this, whenas we are exhorted by the wise man to use diligence, *to seek for wisdom as for hidd'n treasures* early and late, that another Order shall enjoin us, to know nothing but by statute? When a man hath bin labouring the hardest labour in the deep mines of Knowledge, hath furnisht out his findings in all their equipage, drawn forth his reasons as it were a battel rang'd, scatter'd and defeated all objections in his way, calls out his adversary into the plain, offers him the advantage of wind and sun, if he please, only that he may try the matter by dint of argument; for his opponents then to sculk, to lay ambushments, to keep a narrow bridg of licensing where the challenger should pass, though it be valour enough in souldiership, is but weaknes and cowardise in the wars of Truth. For who knows not that Truth is strong, next to the Almighty; she needs no policies, nor stratagems, nor licensings to make her victorious, those are the shifts and the defences that error uses against her power: give her but room, and do not bind her when she sleeps, for then she speaks not true, as the old *Protesus* did, who spake Oracles only when he was caught and bound, but then rather she turns her self into all shapes, except her own, and perhaps tunes her voice according to the time, as *Micaiah* did before *Ahab*, until she be adjur'd into her own likenes. Yet is it not impossible that she may have more shapes then one? What else is all that rank of things indifferent, wherein Truth may be on this side, or on the other, without being unlike her self? What but a vain shadow else is the abolition of *those ordinances, that hand-writing nail'd to the cross*? what great purchase is this Christian liberty which *Paul* so often boasts of. His doctrine is, that he who eats or eats not, regards a day or regards it not, may do either to the Lord. How many other things might be tolerated in peace, and left to conscience, had we but charity, and were it not the chief strong hold of our hypocrisy to be ever judging one another? I fear yet this iron yoke of outward conformity hath left a slavish print upon our necks; the ghost of a linen decency yet haunts us. We stumble and are impatient at the least dividing of one visible Congregation from another, though it be not in fundamentals; and through our forwardnes to suppress, and our backwardnes to recover any enthral'd piece of truth out of the gripe of custom, we care not to keep truth separated from truth, which is the fiercest rent and disunion of all. We do not see that while we still affect by all means a rigid external formality, we may as soon fall again into a gross conforming stupidity, a stark and dead congealment of *wood and hay and stubble* forc'd and frozen together, which is more to the sudden degenerating of a Church then many *subdichotomies* of petty schisms. Not that I can think well of every light separation; or that all in a Church is to be expected *gold and silver and precious stones*: it is not possible for man to sever the wheat from the tares, the good fish from the other fric; that must be the Angels ministry at the end of mortal things. Yet if all cannot be of one mind, as who looks they should be? this doubles is more wholsom, more prudent, and more christian, that many be tolerated, rather then all compel'd. I mean not tolerated Popery, and open Superstition, which as it extirpats all Religions and civil Supremacies, so it self should be extirpat, provided first that all charitable and compassionat means be us'd to win and regain the weak and the misled: that also which is impious or evil absolutely either against Faith or Manners, no Law can possibly permit, that intends not to unlaw it self: but those neighboring differences, or rather indifferences, are what I speak of, whether in some point of doctrine or of discipline, which though they may be many, yet need not interrupt *the unity of Spirit*, if we could but find among us *the bond of peace*. In the mean while if any one would write, and bring his helpful hand to the slow-moving Reformation which we labour under, if Truth have spok'n to him before others, or but seem'd at least to speak, who hath so bejesuitus'd us that we should trouble that man with asking licence to do so worthy a deed; and not consider this, that if it com to prohibiting, there is not ought more likely

likely to be prohibited then Truth itself: whose first appearance to our eyes, blear'd and dimin'd with prejudice and custom, is more unsightly and unplausible then many errors, ev'n as the person is of many a great man slight and contemptible to see to. And what do they tell us vainly of new opinions, when this very opinion of this, that none must be heard but whom they like, is the worst and newest opinion of all others; and is the chief cause why sects and schisms do so much abound, and true knowledg is kept at distance from us; besides yet a greater danger which is in it? For when God shakes a Kingdom, with strong and healthful commotions, to a general reforming, 'tis not untrue that many Sectaries and false Teachers are then busielt in seducing? but yet more true it is, that God then raises to his own work men of rare abilities, and more then common industry, not only to look back and revise what hath bin taught hertofore, but to gain furdur and go on, from new enlightn'd steps in the discovery of Truth. For such is the order of God's enlightning his Church, to dispense and deal out by degrees his beam, so as our earthly eyes may best sustain it. Neither is God appointed and confin'd, where and out of what place these his Chosen shall be first heard to speak; for he sees not as man sees, chooses not as man chooses, lett we should devote our selves again to set places, and assemblies, and outward callings of men; planting our faith one while in the old Convocation-house, and another while in the Chappel at *Westminster*; when all the faith and religion that shall be there canoniz'd, is not sufficient without plain convincement, and the charity of patient instruction to supple the least bruise of conscience, to edifie the meanest Christian, who desires to walk in the Spirit, and not in the letter of human trust, for all the number of voices that can be there made; no though *Harry* the 7th himself there, with all his leige toms about him, should lend them voices from the dead, to swell thir number. And if the men be erroneous who appear to be the leading Schismatics, what withholds us but our sloth, our self-will, and distrust in the right cause, that we do not give them gentle meetings and gentle dismissions, that we debate not and examin the matter throughly with liberal and frequent audience; if not for thir sakes, yet for our own? seeing no man who hath talied Learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world. And were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armory of Truth, ev'n for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away. But if they be of those whom God hath fitted for the special use of these times with eminent and ample gifts, and those perhaps neither among the Priests, nor among the Pharisees, and we in the haste of a precipitant zeal shall make no distinction, but resolve to stop thir mouths, because we fear they com with new and dangerous opinions, as we commonly fore-judg them ere we understand them, no lets then wo to us, while thinking thus to defend the Gospel, we are found the persecutors.

There have bin not a few since the beginning of this Parliament, both of the Presbytery and others, who by thir unlicens'd Books to the contempt of an *Imprimatur* first broke that triple ice clung about our hearts, and taught the people to see day: I hope that none of those were the perswaders to renew upon us this bondage which they themselves have wrought so much good by continuing. But if neither the check that *Moses* gave to young *Joshua*, nor the countermand which our Saviour gave to young *John*, who was so ready to prohibit those whom he thought unlicens'd, be not enough to admonish our Elders how unacceptable to God thir resty mood of prohibiting is; if neither thir own remembrance what evil hath abounded in the Church by this lett of licenling, and what good they themselves have begun by transgressing it, be not enough, but that they will perswade, and execute the most *Dominican* part of the Inquisition over us, and are already with one foot in the stirrup so active at suppressing, it would be no unequal distribution in the first place to suppress the suppressors themselves; whom the change of thir condition hath putt up, more then thir late experience of harder times hath made wise.

And as for regulating the Press, let no man think to have the honour of advising ye better then your selves have done in that Order publisht next before this, that no Book be printed, unless the Printers and the Authors name, or at least the Printers be register'd. Those which otherwise com forth, if they be found mischievous and libellous, the fire and the executioner will be the timeliest and the most effectual remedy that mans prevention can use. For this *authentic* Spanish policy of licenling Books, if I have said ought, will prove the most unlicens'd Book it self within a short while; and was the immediat image of a Star-chamber decree to that purpose made in

in those very times when that Court did the rest of those her pious works, for which she is now fall'n from the Stars with *Lucifer*. Wherby ye may guess what kind of State prudence, what love of the people, what care of Religion, or good manners there was at the contriving, although with singular hypocrisie it pretended to bind Books to thir good behaviour. And how it got the upper hand of your precedent Order so well constituted before, if we may believe those men whose profession gives them cause to enquire most, it may be doubted there was in it the fraud of some old *Patentees* and *Monopolizers* in the Trade of Book-selling; who under pretence of the poor in thir Company not to be defrauded, and the just retaining of each man his several copy, which God forbid should be gain'd, brought divers glossing colours to the House, which were indeed but colours, and serving to no end except it be to exercise a superiority over thir neighbours; Men who do not therefore labour in an honest profession to which Learning is indebted, that they should be made other mens vassals. Another end is thought was aim'd at by some of them in procuring by petition this Order, that having power in thir hands, malignant Books might the easier scape abroad, as the event shews. But of these *Sophisms* and *Elenchs* of marchandize I skill not: This I know, that errors in a good Government and in a bad are equally almost incident; for what Magistrate may not be mis-inform'd, and much the sooner, if liberty of Printing be reduc'd into the power of a few? but to redress willingly and speedily what hath bin err'd, and in highest authority to esteem a plain Advertisement more then others have done a sumptuous Bride, is a Vertue (honour'd Lords and Commons) answerable to Your highest Actions, and wherof none can participat, but greatest and wisest men.



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