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Bruce, Archibald, 1746-1816.
A critical account of the
life, character, and





CRITICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

L I F E,

CHARACTER, AND DISCOURSES

OF

MR. ALEXANDER MORUS,

A CELEBRATED

PREACHER, AND PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY, &c. IN GENEVA AND HOLLAND; AFTERWARDS MINISTER OF THE CHURCH OF PARIS.

IN WHICH

The attack made upon him in the WRITINGS of MILTON, is particularly considered.

CONTAINING ALSO

Incidental Notices of several DIVINES
And LITERARY CHARACTERS, and of some memorable transactions of that Age.

TO WHICH ARE SUBJOINED,

Specimens of his DISCOURSES, original and Translated.

BY ARCHIBALD BRUCE,

MINISTER, WHITBURN.

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E R R A T A.

Page 7, line 8, for de Lolme read *Peter Loumeau du Pont*. page 46, line 18, for orna read *ornament*. page 59, line 4, for was read *were*. page 60, line 16, delete they. page 84, line 19, for 1648 read 1649. page 91, line 1, for condemning the king, read *the execution of the king*. page 92, line 3 from the foot, for and read *at least* page 93, line 13, read *atrocitv*. page 94, line 6, read *protestant*. line 6 from the foot, for the read *they*. page 106, line 5, read *Preston*. page 114, line 3 from the foot, for and such, read *and of such*. page 115, line 11 from the foot, for who, read *two of whom*. page 133, line 18, blot out *be* before that. page 151, line 11, read *belluinum*. page 152, last line, for high or dignified, read *most excellent*. page 188, last line, after use add *of*. page 193, line 8, delete the mark of quotation. page 214, line 15, after full, add *of*. page 232, line 1, instead of before read *by a public letter to*. page 237, line 5 from the foot, read *respects*. page 270, last line, before the, read *of*. page 290, line 23, read *innocence* : line 26, read *contre*. page 318, line 6, and line 4, from the foot, in some copies, for 65, read 64, and for 1627, read 1629. page 330, line 1, read *considerations*. page 338, line 7, for annese, read *annees*. — There are several mistakes in letters, c for e, s for f &c. which will not affect the sense. — The French is printed without accents.

CRITICAL ACCOUNT, &c.

SECTION FIRST.

Introductory Observations.

IN the extensive range of Biography there may be found sufficient food for gratifying every taste, and enough to satisfy the almost insatiable thirst for novelty. Persons of every character and profession, and in every condition of life, may in their turn be exhibited: and if, even the lives of those persons who have moved in the more ordinary sphere, and in the obscurer walk of life, may be so written as to afford some instruction and amusement, much more those of men eminent for abilities, who have been placed in conspicuous stations, engaged in public and active scenes, whose course has been marked by some uncommon incidents and occurrences, which may serve at the same time to display their own character, and that of other men and parties, and the spirit and history of the times in which they lived. This may, in a special manner, be said of men whose writings, as well as examples, may still afford useful lessons to those who succeed them.

For some time past, a taste for what is antiquated and rare, in every kind, and of course a spirit of research into certain portions of the history, and the literary remains, printed or manuscript, of some former eras, has greatly prevailed in Britain. This, like every thing depending on the caprice of fashion, is no doubt liable to be carried to a ridiculous excess: but though it oft leads those who are influenced by it, to bestow much labour to little purpose, and to dig up much rubbish, yet it also brings to light some treasure, and tends to preserve valuable relics. It were to be wished, that this propensity were more often directed to purposes of usefulness and instruction, rather than to gratify mere idle curiosity: particularly, it may appear an object to interest still more the attention of the literati, especially of churchmen, to have the characters, sentiments and actions of many worthy men brought into clearer view, which have been gradually obscured by the dust and shades of intervening years, or have suffered injury from the misrepresentation and partiality of enemies, or the prejudices and varying modes of thinking, in their own or succeeding ages. The writer of this has long wished to see the history and memorable transactions of the reformed churches, or such as nearly affected their interest at home or abroad, more fully elucidated; the memory of many great and good, and not a few calumniated names, revived and vindicated; and the literary productions of a number who distinguished themselves in the cause of true religion, in circumstances of difficulty, and in times of great danger, whether in ecclesiastical or other spheres of life, disinterred, and brought to the acquaintance of modern readers, if not in bulk, yet, at least, by just sketches, candid accounts, or fair specimens. This has become

more than ever needful, in an age when the works of the more early Protestant writers, whether of the primary or subordinate class, especially those in other languages, are now, in a great measure, almost totally unknown, even to the learned, and in danger of being altogether lost, by being buried under the overwhelming load and endless diversity of modern publications of a very different stamp and tendency,—or swept away by the current of sordid mercenary traffic, or by the more devouring rage of relentless war and revolutions: more especially, such an event, once so unlikely to happen, may be accelerated, on the continent of Europe, if the plan of which we have so recently heard, of subjecting all books to be printed, to the controul and *imprimatur* of an imperial despot or his council, and of restricting them to a certain number to be prescribed according to their taste or capricious views, shall be realized. Not a few materials of the kind referred to, may yet be found in Britain; and still more dispersed throughout the different departments of Protestant Europe. In the annals of the French churches alone, whether in their advancing, flourishing, or declining state, or after their dispersion, these may be found in great abundance to engage the scholar, the divine and the Christian.

The reformed churches were engaged in one common cause and contest, however diversified in their circumstances, their trials, and their success. In better times, their interests, their efforts, their prosperity and adversity, were considered as so intimately connected, as indeed they ought still to be, that nothing pertaining to the same great body, was accounted foreign. The affinity arising from religion, formed a bond of affection and friendship, more strong, than that which arises from na-

tional language, customs, governments, and political and secular interests. Their union and intercourse, though never established on such a settled and regular plan, as Christianity and their common good require, was formerly more carefully cultivated, so far as the jealousies and restraints laid upon them by civil rulers permitted, than has been the case in later times. The Geneva church, though confined within narrow limits, long occupied a principal place, and presented a prominent object, among those denominated Calvinistic. In the history and revolutions of the French Protestant church, formed after the same model, there is something peculiarly calculated to afford warning and instruction to all around her, and for ages after;—something deeply interesting and affecting, not less so in a religious view, than in those strange and alarming changes of another kind, that lately have filled the world with astonishment, and of which the former may be viewed as a remoter moral cause and prelude, and a key to open up a great part of the mystery of them. There was a time when that church shone “tooth as the morn, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners;” and even in her fall and ruins she exhibited a spectacle worthy of contemplation; and the ecclesiastical antiquary may yet, with a melancholy pleasure, survey the rubbish and stones, and may find among them, remains more grand and precious than in Antichristian Rome with all her magnificence and splendor; whose turn is now come to fall, and to sink into the abyss of total and irretrievable ruin; while the lovers of Zion may confidently wait for a time of returning favour to her, when her wastes and desolated palaces shall be gloriously rebuilt.

The compiler of this memoir, for his part, reckons it the chief advantage and pleasure derived from a little acquaintance with the French language, that it has admitted him to the perusal of a variety of writings, especially those published by Protestants, in it; to most of which he would otherwise have remained a stranger. Besides the attractive manner, the clear, easy, lively, and often elegant, style of composition, for which the writers of that nation have usually been distinguished, they afford a rich fund of information and entertainment, whether on subjects historical, critical, controversial, or devotional. Our prejudice in favour of British produce, should not hinder us from perceiving and acknowledging, that in the polishing of modern language, the cultivation of the belles Lettres, in natural perspicuous method, and in a fluent animated style of discourses, particularly from the pulpit, they preceded, in their improvements, the British. Even before the refinement and fixing the standard of their language by a Royal Academy, not a few of the Reformed, (if a stranger may be allowed to judge,) afforded examples both of purity and elegance, not inferior at least to any of their co-evals in the kingdom: they contribute their share in promoting the study of philology and other branches of literature, in the early part of Lewis XIV; some of them were often consulted as among the most competent judges. Of the principal promoters of these studies, some had been educated protestants, and others were mixed with them in literary societies, or maintained an intimate correspondence with them. They had preachers who could at any time be compared with the most celebrated among the catholic clergy in all the chief requisites to pulpit oratory, as all of them did exceed them in the scriptural

matter and the evangelical and edifying strain of their sermons.

The subject of the present memoir, was one among the many learned men and preachers, that adorned the seventeenth century. He had acquaintance and connections with some of the first characters of that age, and was no less esteemed in the schools of learning, than he was admired in the pulpit by both the higher and lower classes of people; though in Britain he was less known than he was abroad. If we except some of the early reformers, there are few lives of mere literary men or divines, that present such vicissitudes, such a variety of uncommon incidents, or have been so chequered with diversity. Having been successively placed in different conspicuous stations, neither his excellencies or faults could escape observation; and both were exposed to frequent and free animadversion. Few have experienced, in a more sensible manner, the extremes of praise and of censure, of friendship and resentment, of respect and of obloquy. As his talents were not of the ordinary sort, and as he himself did not keep within the line of cold mediocrity in his kind or irascible affections toward others, so they, in their turn, observed no medium toward him. He was pursued wherever he went by the virulence of party, or the clamour of envy: so that his life and conduct were subjected to a fiery ordeal, at the bar of the public, and before both civil and ecclesiastical courts. Hence some, who have not been at pains to obtain a just state of facts; who rested in vague reports, or have borrowed their information from his enemies, have taken occasion to represent him to posterity, not in the most favourable light. This has particularly been the case in Britain, where he was not

only previously traduced by the pen of Milton, but in later occasional notices of him, and in the accounts given in the biographical collections, most commonly current among English readers, often both meagre and partial, entire justice has not been done him. This has rendered further inquiry, and some more particular and satisfactory account necessary.

At the death of Mr de Lolme, minister of the French church, consisting of Protestant Refugees, chiefly from Picardy, that had been settled and subsisted at Edinburgh, till their congregational state was dissolved at his death, and the buildings that had been appropriated to their use, were pulled down for carrying on the building of the New Town, among other books that had belonged to his library, the posthumous volumes of Morus' Sermons, which are very seldom to be met with, came into the possession of the compiler of this account. He found in them an original turn of thinking, great liveliness of fancy, and animation. Having employed some leisure hours in rendering a few of them into English, in which nothing of that author, so far as he knows, had ever appeared, he was led to look a little more narrowly than he had done before, into the particulars of his life and character, to satisfy at least his own mind upon the subject, so far as any remaining sources of information, to which he had access, could enable him. And while he found in the research, a good deal to prompt curiosity, so also not a little, in some stages of progress, to perplex and embarrass the inquiry, and to render a decided opinion difficult upon matters about which the public mind and voice had been, for a time, so much divided, and may yet in some degree continue divided. The result, such as he reckoned due to truth, and to a public and

much defamed character so noted in the reformed churches, he has fairly given and submitted to the world.

Besides the interest arising from the relation that subsists among the different departments of the extensive common-wealth of letters, and the more strict and sacred ties, in this case, of a common religion the consideration of this author having originated from this country, (his family having gone over from Scotland and settled in the south of France where he was born) may have had some influence to draw his attention more particularly to his character and writings; and it may, perhaps, have the same effect upon some others of his countrymen. The Scots have been often noted for a peculiar spirit of nationality; and from this very excusable, if not laudable, propensity, the compiler will not pretend that he is altogether free. He only wishes that even this might excite them yet more to jealousy for the honour of their country, and of a number of their formerly expatriated citizens, who were either unjustly expelled, or had willingly abandoned their native land, in quest of active employment, and a scene of greater usefulness, of which the number was not few; several of whom found greater encouragement, were held in higher estimation, and have had their memory more respected, among foreigners, than ever they had at home. Besides the instances of this in other learned or honorary professions, or in preceding periods, were there not some in the age particularly referred to, who were not only eminent for piety, but accounted ornaments either in the protestant academies or pulpits on the continent, whose names are either not yet registered in any Scottish or British Biography, or at least not in such a manner as they deserved. The compilers, indeed, of the numerous and miscellane-

ous articles of which works of this kind usually consist, content themselves for the most part with fervilely copying what their predecessors had prepared to their hand, without having either inclination, leisure, or competent means, for examining particular characters and lives a-new for themselves: and when, from the nature of their design, they are under the necessity of abridging, they more readily fall into error, or commit injustice, by mentioning certain facts, and giving only mutilated accounts, while others are concealed which may be necessary for giving a clear and correct statement on controverted subjects, or for vindicating accused characters: or, what is still worse, they will sometimes present the reader with bare general characters, or some traits of character, drawn or coloured according to the conceptions and prejudices of others, or their own, unaccompanied with facts or evidence on which to found a judgment: and thus they would sustain themselves the lordly arbiters of fame or infamy. Hence, it not seldom happens, that by a single touch of their pen, by one or a few summary sentences inserted through ignorance, inadvertence, or design, worthy characters have been publicly, sometimes irreparably wounded; and innocent or praise-worthy actions, or valuable literary productions, have been consigned to posterity under some rash and unmerited stigma.

SECTION II.

*MORUS'S birth and education — His settlement in Geneva —
Transactions there to the time of his call to Middleburgh.*

IN the age in which our Author lived, it was customary for the learned, who wrote usually in latin, to assume latin names, some of which had no relation to their paternal name, or so transmuted as to retain no apparent resemblance. MORUS is only the family name, with the latin termination: As it is that by which he was commonly known wherever he resided, that which has been affixed to all his writings, and by which he has since even in Britain been ordinarily mentioned, we shall, in compliance with custom, generally retain it, though MORE would be more familiar to a British ear, and more agreeable to the English idiom.

This divine was born at Castres, in Languedoc, in 1616. In that city there was a college for the Reformed, of which his father, at this time, was Principal, and also a pastor of the protestant church there. This was one of the cities in which there was also one of the Mixed Chambers (*Mipartie*), established by the edict of Nantes, wherein the causes particularly relating to the Reformed were to be judged; the court being composed of an equal number of catholics and protestants. Some say, the college was formed upon the same plan with the Mixed Chambers, part of the teachers being of the one religion, and part of the other (a). It does not appear,

(a) Moreri, *Diction. Histor. Art. Pelisson. edit. 1740.*

at what time or from what motive, Mr More the father had emigrated from Scotland. But it was no unusual thing, as has been already observed, to find a number from that land, about this period, officiating either in the academies or churches in France, while they were yet enjoying the liberties secured to them in the reign of Henry IV. at least, while they were not yet so signally violated and abridged, as they afterwards were. Several worthy Presbyterian ministers, it is well known, incurred the displeasure of K. James VI. for opposing the foolish and despotic measures adopted by him, for changing the ecclesiastical government and worship of the church of Scotland. Some of them, for no other crime, had been sentenced to death, but were afterwards sent into exile; among whom was the eminently pious Mr Welsh, son-in-law to Mr J. Knox, who found an asylum and favourable reception in France; where he, in a few months acquired so much of the language; as to adventure to preach in it, and even within a few years to write in it a book (*L'Armageddon*), dedicated to the pastors in the province of Xaintogne, among whom, for a considerable time, he exercised his ministry with reputation: even 'the very popish priests and soldiers,' says Principal Baillie, 'yea, the profanest of the court, and K. Lewis himself, at the very hottest time of his persecutions, did much prize and reverence him.' *Histor. Vindication, &c.* Mr And Melvil was also forced, in his old age, to become an exile in Sedan. Some others who scrupled the new terms of conformity when rigidly imposed, might voluntarily withdraw thither; as of all the reformed churches abroad, none approached nearer to the original constitution of the Presbyterian church of Scotland than that of France.

Others, from a prospect of more ready employment, in that more extensive field for labour, from connections residing there, or from a variety of considerations, may have been induced to remove, and to settle there for a time, or for life*. But that door was at last

* In the former half of that century, besides the above, we meet with the following Scotchmen, in the rolls of their ministers and professors; Gilbert and David Primrose. J. Hamilton and son, Adamson, in Poitiers; Duncan in Saumur. Mess. J. Sharp, minister of La Motte Ferguson. Simpson, G. Thomson, Hume, Thomas Hog, W. Lundy; Boyd of Trochrig, minister of Vertueil afterwards professor of divinity in Saumur, and sometime principal of the college of Glasgow; some account of whose life is prefixed to his learned commentary on the Ephesians, in Latin *to*; Cambron, whom Bp. Hall styled, "the most learned man Scotland ever produced," whose history is more generally known. He was made professor of Theology, in the University of Glasgow, but soon returned back to France but lived not long after.

Gilb. Primrose had for some time been minister in Edinburgh, and was settled first in the church of Mirambeau, and afterwards minister and professor of Divinity in Bourdeaux, but reserving a liberty to return. He was demanded again by the city of Edinb. and K. James, but at the earnest desire of his church, and the Synod of Rochelle, in 1607 he was prevailed upon to stay. But having opposed Arnonx, a Jesuit, an edict was obtained against him, whereby both he and his colleague, Cameron, were interdicted, either from preaching or teaching in colleges, not only because they were foreigners, but under the pretext of their meddling with affairs of state. This sentence the Synods who interested themselves in their behalf, never could prevail on the king to revoke, though it was relaxed a little in favour of Cameron. P. having returned to England, in 1623, was made chaplain to K. James and Charles his son, and published some sermons in English which he had delivered at court: as he had before published 3 vols. of Sermons in French, with some other volumes against the monks. He was admitted that year a pastor in the ancient French church in London, that had been founded in the reign of Edward VI. by a patent obtained by the noble John a. Casco: In which station he continued until his death, in 1642. Six other sermons, in French, were published by him

shut upon any from that quarter, or from any other of the reformed churches, through the jealousy, and jesuitical influence, prevailing in that tyrannical court.

Mr M's father having been settled there previous to his birth, the son, in consequence of being a native of that kingdom, was not affected by the edicts that were afterwards emitted, excluding strangers from ecclesiastical offices: he had farther the advantage above those who went over when come to age, in acquiring the language from his infancy, so as to enable him to speak it with greater purity, than can usually be attained by foreigners, whatever their application might be. A defect in this respect would not, indeed, be so greatly felt in officiating in academies, when prælections were commonly given in latin, as in the pulpit. But provincial dialects or accents, particularly in places more remote from the capital, such as that in which Mr M. was born, often cause a considerable difference even among the natives, and as he had for a great part of his life, resided without the limits of that kingdom, perhaps his speech did not exactly accord with the standard of Paris, when he was transported thither.

in London. David P., his son, as I suppose, was minister in Rouen, in 1637.

His grandson, David P., was ordained a pastor in the same congregation, in London in 1660 where he still continued to officiate in the reign of Q. Anne. In 1711, he published three Sermons; the first in commemoration of the first establishment of the church 150 years before: the second in 1710, when the Author had arrived at the 50th year of his ministry in it: the third preached in the following year, at the settlement of Mess. de Sainte Colome and Claude (the son of the celebrated Claude) to be his colleagues in it. James Smith had for some time been his associate in that charge to the year 1700, with many others, 9 of whom he had out-lived.

Quick's Synodic. v. ii. p. 102. *Two's term, &c.*

To this Mr Chevreau seems to allude, in one of his letters to Faber, after M. had preached before a synod that met at Loudun, where he says, that the people in that province could not be proper judges of his discourse, "because they do not speak Gascon in Touraine." (a)

The Principal, besides the subject of this memoir, had another son named Aaron, who was also educated for the ministry, and became a pastor to the numerous congregation of Lyons; after whose death, the celebrated Francis Turretine was called to take the charge of that people, who, with the consent of the senate and church of Geneva, exercised his ministry among them about the space of a year, and was useful in composing some differences that had been prevailing among them: but he was soon recalled to his native city, to succeed the venerable Fronchin, now disabled by age, in the theological chair, and to resume a pastoral charge there, an. 1653. (b).

Alexander, having gone through the previous branches of education, and having been only initiated in divinity, in his native city, and the college in which his father presided, went over to Geneva, with a view to engage in theological studies. As Athens, of old, had been the principal place of resort for philosophers, so Geneva continued to be, for a long time, the most celebrated seat among the Reformers, for cultivating

(a) "Votre ministre a prêché ici, et a mal prêché quoique les gens, de cette province n'en puissent juger, parce que l'on ne parle point Gascon en Touraine."

Oeuvres Mêlées, tom. i. p. 60.

(b) Bened. Memor. F. Turr. *Orat. a Ben. Piletto prof. Inst. Theol. Tur.*

these studies, and was much frequented by persons from all the neighbouring countries. Having been endowed with a lively genius, young Morus had made early and rapid progress in classical learning: his proficiency in this respect he soon made appear, in the competition in which he engaged and succeeded, for the profession of the Greek language, in that university, when he was not much above 20 years of age. The manner in which he acquitted himself on that occasion, was much admired, and generally acknowledged. "Finding," says Bayle, "that the vacant professorship, was going to be disputed for, and that the curators of the academy had by their public bills invited foreigners as well as their own countrymen to enter the lists, he put in for one among a great number of other competitors, ministers, advocates, and physicians, every one of whom were almost one half older than himself, and he was so much admired for his beautiful and elegant manner of turning things, in all the specimens of erudition which he was obliged to give, that he carried the prize †." Early, and especially too

† Diction. Hist. &c. For this, that author refers to the account given in the Life of Stephen le Clerc, one of the competitors; prefixed to the *Questiones Sacræ* of Dav. le Clerc, printed at Amsterd. in 1685.

To which may be added M's own words, after he was obliged to publish a vindication of himself against the invectives of Milton: 'Juvenis admodum et vix plures viginti natus annos, et in prima tantum sacræ Theologiæ initia imbutus Genevam appuli: Programmate invitantur cives, peregrini. Tros, Tyriusve fuit, nullo discrimine. Descendunt in campum petitores eruditissimi complures, ecclesiasticæ, jurisconsulti, medici, quos suæ minus necessitudines, quam virtus, et doctrina commendabant, quamquam vero vix ullus in medium candidatus prodijt, qui

liberal applause, while it tends to animate, yet seldom fails to produce some hurtful effect on the youthful, particularly, the ambitious mind. This flattering success, attended with the disappointment of a number of rivals, may perhaps in part account for that spirit of animosity and virulence that soon manifested itself against his person and reputation, and which gave him such un-
 easiness in his future life; and this too, with other subsequent instances of uncommon applause which he received, would naturally cherish, though it might not produce, a disposition to haughtiness and self estimation, of which he was afterwards accused. He gave, however, a striking instance of his candour, and did ample justice to the merits of one of the unsuccessful competitors, Stephen le Clerc, father of J. Le Clerc, the eminent Holland critic. He afterwards acknowledged, that he deserved to have had the prize awarded to him, in preference to himself: and when he left that chair, through his influence and that of Godefroy, professor of law, Le Clerc was chosen to be his successor in it. Le Clerc had offered before the judges to recite on the spot, a discourse from 30 Greek authors,—historians, philosophers or poets, and to make a dissertation upon each of them: but the proposal was not accepted. He had distinguished himself on the examination; but, says Senebier, ‘ l’éloquence de Morus, l’emporta sur le favoir

‘ me non esset altero tanto grandior, quod præfisee dix-
 ‘ erim, ea fuit ingenij tunc primum efflorescentis gratia,
 ‘ ut omnibus punctis palmam tulerim. Alio me parens,
 ‘ alia patria vocabat. sed obniti non potui pronissimæ om-
 ‘ nium ordinum voluntati, quin triennium aut circiter
 ‘ in eo munere Polybium et Aristotelem publice interpre-
 ‘ tarer, donec,’ &c. *M. Fides Publ. p. 225.*

de Le Clerc ;—‘ the eloquence of Morus carried it over the learning of Le Clerc.’ † When Morus, in conjunction with Godefroy, published some harangues of Libanius the sophist, Le Clerc wrote critical notes upon them, reckoned learned and curious, in which he had taken the freedom of censuring the work of these learned editors ; but he was so touched with their generous procedure in procuring for him the professorial chair, that he suppressed his notes upon Libanius, and lived with Godefroy and Morus as with colleagues and friends.

Morus continued here for about three years to teach the Belles Lettres, though his father, and his compatriots rather wished his return to France. He was soon embroiled with some of his colleagues, and upon his proposing to enter into the ministry, he had a new contest to undergo, with some, who had raised suspicions of his orthodoxy on certain points of divinity, which had become matter of much controversy in the church of France, and in that university. It will be proper here to be a little more particular, both as to the nature of the charges brought against him, the procedure that took place upon them, and the manner in which it terminated, especially as these were afterwards revived to his disadvantage, and circulated by his detractors throughout all Europe, and as Bayle and others who have mentioned the accusation, have left the readers greatly in the dark, and to their own conjectures on the subject. In this we shall chiefly follow Senebier, who had access to the best information, not only from the various printed relations that appeared on the continent, but also from the opportunity that he had, in the station of the keeper of

† Seneb. *Hist. Liter.* tom. ii. p. 157.

the public library in Geneva, to consult the Records of the Company of Pastors preserved there.

Moses Amyrault, the noted minister and professor at Saumur, had studied under Cameron, and from him was supposed to have imbibed certain opinions upon predestination, grace, original sin, and other topics connected with them, which seemed to approach too near to the Arminian scheme that had been so publicly condemned. Amyrault, in 1637, a little before our author came to Geneva, having published his treatise upon prædestination and grace, excited great complaints against him on that account, by some eminent divines both in France and elsewhere, which occasioned a number of writings afterwards on both sides, and much contention in some synods. The celebrated Du Moulin, Fredr. Spanheim, and Rivet, became his principal antagonists: while he had colleagues in Saumur, which were on his side, several other ministers were disposed to put a favourable construction on his opinions, and endeavoured to suppress the disputes, and to conciliate the parties, though for a time not with the desired success. An attempt was made in the National Synod of Alençon to compose the differences, but they broke out again.

It was objected to Morus, that he entertained the new opinions, those of the Salmurian divines: The council therefore ordered an examination: thirteen theses were presented to him; he gave answers to them in writing, subscribed by him, which satisfied the majority of the ministers: but some insisted for an explicit condemnation of these opinions. He consented to declare that he rejected whatever was contrary to the received doctrine, and particularly the new opinions condemned by the ministers of Geneva, in their letter

to the Synod of Alencon. "The ministers however delayed the trials (*les examens*), says Senebier, until the council obliged them †." He was received minister in October 1641; and in a few months after, in January 1642, pastor and professor of theology, in the room of Fredr. Spanheim, who was that year called to Leyden. "Morus," say our author, "had qualities which were fitted to make him admired, but he did not conciliate his colleagues. His talents might excite envy; but all men are not envious; and he was persecuted wherever he went."

The general alarm that had lately been raised throughout the synods and universities of France, in Geneva and the Netherlands, by the publication and progress of the new opinions, had produced stricter rules as to the admission of candidates to the ministry, and excited greater watchfulness, in teachers in the universities, over young men, as to their sentiments on these subjects, in consequence of representations and requisitions from various quarters that had been presented to the National Synod of Alencon, in 1637, and afterwards to the third National Synod of Charenton, in 1645, and the injunctions agreed to in them. The professors of Geneva in particular, in name of their university and churches, in a long letter to the former of these, above referred to, after expressing their apprehensions and grief at the rise and progress of the new doctrines, their commendation of the synods for their former care in maintaining the truth, and their confidence in the wisdom and zeal of that synod for taking proper measures,

† Seneb. *Hist. Littéraire de Geneve*. Tom. ii. p. 196. A. Geneve, 1786.

they thus addressed them, “ We beseech you to exert your full authority in and about these matters, for saving all that lieth in your power, regaining what was lost, retaining truth and love, as much as possible, without violating your own integrity, without degenerating into any dangerous connivance—— Do enjoin all the churches and universities to be wholly silent, and that neither from the pulpit nor press any of these new doctrines be broached nor vented ;—and when occasionally these matters shall come to be debated, that all persons should keep themselves to the simplicity of our confessions, and to the canons concluded and made in the renowned Synod of Dort, without mingling with them these new hypotheses, phrases and distinctions.”——

“ And to prevent such dangers in time to come, we conceive it very needful, that you establish, if you have not done it already, an ordinary superintendant over your universities ; for it is in those schools of learning, where leisure, and the pleasures of speculation, variety of reading, and curious inquiries into matters out of the common road, and the bait of singularity, do carry lively geniuses with too much promptness after these novelties, which however tolerable they may seem to be in discourse and conference with learned and well informed men, yet ought not at any time to be published, nor thrown into the minds of young students, who are to be dealt with after another way.——Pelagianism in the Low Countries,” they add, “ was the plant of the Spanish metaphysics producing not pious, painful, and profitable, but subtle pastors and preachings, an infinite brood of disputants, void of understanding and corrupt in points of faith —— We exhort you to be jealous and suspicious of new methods, and imaginary hypotheses, and an affected

singular way of teaching, and to avoid them. Arminius took his walks first in these by-paths, till such time as he had gotten a stock of credit, and had formed for himself a party, then he pulled off his vizard," &c.

Though the synod of Alençon had taken pains to allay the contentions that had arisen, by examining particularly the offensive tenets of Amyraut and Testard, and partly accepting the explanations and declarations of these divines, and partly, condemning and prohibiting the use of certain distinctions, terms and phrases, they had employed, to which they submitted, promising to abstain from them for the future, yet the complaints were soon renewed against Amyraut and others, on account of the violation of the canons and terms of peace, that had been settled, particularly by the republication of the offensive tract on reprobation and some other works of that author: upon which the National Synod of Charenton, in compliance with the requests of all the provinces, demanding the confirmation and punctual observation of the foresaid canons, did "most expressly forbid, on pain of all church censure, and being deposed from their offices, all pastors and professors to go beyond those bounds in writing, preaching or disputing upon those points;—declaring, that the professors should be responsible for all their lectures, theses and disputations; and their provincial synods should be accountable for them unto the National:—And all students of divinity were expressly enjoined, upon pain of being declared unworthy of ever serving in the sacred ministry, to raise any stir or debates about unnecessary questions, as about the order of God's decrees, of universal grace by the preaching of nature, which may lead and bring men unto salvation;—and that all examiners of proposants

for the ministry, should proceed in that business with very much charity, exacting from them nothing but what was demanded by the canons of their discipline; and providing the satisfaction requisite were given, by signing the confession of faith, the liturgy of their churches, and the canons of Alez, Charenton, and Alencon, and their present act, they should be approved and admitted."

In this state of things, it need not appear strange, that M. should be subjected to a stricter scrutiny upon these heads, than would have been reckoned necessary in other circumstances. It may be partly accounted for, without supposing that he had given any just ground to suspect, that his sentiments on these points were different from those commonly received. Some through an excess of zeal might be disposed to carry their suspicions too far; or if personal antipathies subsisted, they could be conveniently indulged, and covered under the specious pretence of regard for orthodoxy. And as he has been described as of a disposition rash and impetuous, as well as of a subtile wit, it is not improbable that he may have sometimes overleaped the cautious boundary, and broke through the restraints which canonical strictness prescribed, by touching upon some of the thorny questions. However it was, M. was again brought into trouble on the head of doctrine. In 1646, the year immediately following that in which the National Synod of Charenton met, "he was accused of teaching, that there were only temporal promises under the law, and that Adam's sin was not imputed to his posterity. The council was always tolerant: they brought the matter under their cognifance; examined the complaints against him, exhorted him to simplicity; and made him repeat his

adherence to the received doctrine †." In 1647, says Senebier, " he added a Corollary to the Theological thesis against the Supralapsarians, " *Quod objectum prædestinationis non est homo ante lapsum* ;"—that the object of prædestination is man considered not as before the fall, but as fallen : " which was contrary to the opinion of Beza ; but he prevented the objection, by professions of great respect for that divine. The ministers wished him not to treat these thorny questions ‡."

But as these and similar questions had formerly been treated, so they continued to be discussed in the prælections and systems of his successors in that school, and in most other protestant colleges, and controversial writings on the subject, down to the present times. The Supralapsarian scheme in respect to the object of prædestination, which he maintained in the above thesis, in which man is considered in the decree of election and reprobation, not as a mere creature, or as to be created and innocent, but as fallen and miserable, is that which is commonly embraced in the most approved systems, and taught in the Calvinistic churches, though it may not accord with the opinion of Beza, Twiss, Gill, and some other eminent men. If Morus was more guilty than his brethren in violating the injunctions to observe silence on some of these controverted subjects, or indulged too freely in the subtile inquiries and determinations about the divine decrees, and other abstruse points too profound, and inscrutable for the human mind, he forgot what he often inculcated in reference to such matters. The author last quoted, tells us, that " he frequently told his students, that there were many things about which a profound silence

† Seneb. ut supra, p. 197.

‡ Ibid. p. 198.

should be kept; that as they were useless for salvation, so we ought to allow them to remain in their obscurity," &c.—A sentiment, which like many others, though abstractly true, may be either condemnable or admissible in practice, according to the nature of the particular subjects to which it may be applied, and the extent to which it may be carried. In one of his latin orations, intitled *de Pace*, pronounced at Geneva, Mr Bayle says, "he strongly condemned both Amyrault and Spanheim, who were at open war with one another about universal grace, though without naming them—He told them their own, as they deserved." This, he adds, "was an honest reprimand, and rejoiced his very heart." This, if true, might partly have given occasion to that alienation, that we are told, subsisted between him and the elder Spanheim, whose place he filled after the latter left Geneva. Yet the same author refers to a letter written by Spanheim to Vossius, (V. Epist. 647.) in which S. mentions the fact, that M. had protested by an oath, before the magistrates of Geneva, that he had not S. at all in view in that oration.

It appears, then, that the result of these charges and inquiries produced nothing to criminate M. on the head of orthodoxy: so that, if they did not arise from personal resentment and party-spirit, they may be said to have been owing, rather to the jealousies and public living controversies of the times, than to any peculiar or erroneous opinions vented by him. And it is a consideration greatly in his favour, that the venerable Diodati, who was the first that had subscribed the address sent from the university to the synod, against the new opinions, continued to be one of his closest friends during his residence at Geneva, and afterwards bore the most ample

testimony to the soundness of his faith, as well as the integrity of his life, as we will hereafter see: For as yet we have heard nothing at Geneva of the other scandalous tales, which soon were so assiduously circulated elsewhere to his disadvantage. His theological writings that remain, may also be appealed to as sufficient vouchers for his theological opinions.

Francis Turretine, whose praise has long been in all the reformed churches, prosecuted his studies, for several years, under the tuition of Mr M., as he had also done under Diodati, Tronchin, and Spanheim; men whom Piçtet, in his oration to the memory of Turretine, styles, “*summos viros, et toto orbe celebratissimos.*” In 1640, he had defended his public Thesis de *felicitate morali et politica*; and in 1644, had disputed his theological theses, *de necessaria Dei gratia*, under the presidency of our author; who entertained a particular regard for young Turretine, and composed some verses in his commendation. In the oration referred to, Piçtet, while he gives each of the others a just encomium, highly praises M. for his eloquence, calling him, “*difertiffimam illum virum cujus os facundum Pylum senem vincere potuiffet, et immites ferarum animos lenire;*”—‘whose eloquent tongue might vanquish even the aged Pylus, and soften and tame the ferocious spirits of the most savage beasts †.’

Philology, and the critical knowledge of ancient writers had arrived at great perfection, and flourished in the age in which M. lived. His skill in these cannot be doubted: he seemed scarcely to have been behind any of his co-evals in this respect. Several of the most eni-

† Memor. F. Tur. Orat.

nent philologists and critics of those days were among his intimate friends or correspondents. But intent as he was upon that species of learning, he did not forget to cultivate an acquaintance with ecclesiastical history, the primitive christian writers, systematic and polemical theology,—which he knew well how to employ, and readily to apply, in the discussion of his subjects, sometimes, indeed, in too great profusion, a common fault in the literati of the age, which often gave to their productions an air of pedantry and laboured obscurity. Even in his discourses from the pulpit, traces of his varied erudition are visible, in the frequent allusions and topics of illustration which he introduces, though not in a dry and formal manner, but in a manner peculiarly his own. He soon became distinguished as a preacher, and retained that reputation, with the greater part, wherever he went. Among his posthumous sermons we have some that were preached at Geneva, in the early period of his ministry: one of them, delivered on the occasion of the anniversary thanksgiving for the deliverance of the city from the Scalade, is written in a strain pathetic and sublime. The reader may see it amongst his select sermons translated into English.

He gave further proofs of his oratorical powers, in a different style of composition, in his Academical Oration in latin, pronounced when he was rector, before the honourable and learned auditory of Magistrates, Professors and Students in the different faculties, convened, according to the custom of that university, which were published. That delivered and printed in 1648, intitled CALVINUS, contains the eulogy of that reformer, and a vindication of him, particularly from some aspersions of Grotius on the head of Servetus, a topic upon

which he has so often suffered abuse since that time: it was dedicated by the author to Archbishop Usher, in which he testifies his esteem of his character and learned labours, and acknowledges the favour of his Ignatian epistles just published, and a copy of his book on the creeds of the ancient church, which he had sent him. In his address at the commencement of the oration, among other respectable auditors and strangers from foreign parts, he specifies and compliments by name, his countryman, the Earl of Lorn, son to the noble Marquis of Argyle, at that time the most powerful and popular nobleman in Scotland, and whose memory is still so dear to the patriotic and pious in that land. The young lord, "whose promising genius," as M. expresses it, "happily blooming in the joyful season of youth, was arising as a new light to Scotland, and to sum up all in one word, gave again the image of the father," was then prosecuting his studies in that excellent school, to fit him for acting his part in future life, which eventually might have been productive of more public benefit and happiness, had his lot fallen in better times: but both father and son, it is well known, were doomed to lose their heads upon scaffolds, through the iniquity of that Turco-popish government with which the British kingdoms were soon after cursed. The name of this nobleman has recently been embalmed, and his character drawn in glowing colours, by the hand of Mr Fox, so that he has been called by some, the hero of the history of this celebrated statesman.

Among the friends and correspondents of our Genevan professor, was the learned Tanaquil Faber, or Le Fevre, in Saumur, the father and preceptor of the celebrated Mad. Dacier. In the collection of his critical

epistles in latin, there are two addressed to M. but without dates. In one of them, relating to some proposed emendations of the Greek tragedian Æschylus, he takes notice of some things contained in a preceding letter from his correspondent, in which he had complained much of the uneasy situation in which he had found himself; probably referring to the vexations he felt before he left Geneva, or else to the dissentions and troubles which afterwards arose when he was in Middleburgh. Faber praises him for his early proficiency in classical literature; assigns to him the pre-eminence in this kind of learning; extols his multifarious erudition, calling him “virum centum artium,”—“a man of an hundred arts;” and scruples not to say, though under the veil of Grecian phrases, that what was the highest attainment in others, and might be deemed by them his chief accomplishment, was among the least of the things which recommended him, and to acquit himself well as a divine, was but the smallest part of his excellence. The usage of which his friend had complained, he imputes solely to envy; calumnious reports and town-talk, he accounted mere trifles, and says, if he allowed himself to be troubled and dejected by what the lower class might say, he would act a part unworthy of himself: he had other sort of judges who knew how to estimate his merit: he had the approbation of princes and of the learned †.

† “Me vero felicem, More Præstantissime, cui de his literulis tecum agere liceat: tecum, inquam, qui singulari illarum cognitione vix Ephebus inclarueras; quique in iis hodie longe princeps es; sed tu alia videlicet iudicasti esse potiora. * * * Certissimum est illud Horatij tui meique,

Comperit invidiam supremo sine domari?

Nempe omnem virtutem, præstantiamque singularem, cujus

The literati of those days could sometimes be very liberal in their praises of one another, as at other times they were of their abuse and scurrilities, according as they stood affected. Faber, in condoling with his friend, tells him, he was much in the same predicament, being on bad terms with some of his colleagues and divines in Saumur, and was charged with being a follower of the new opinions; though he professed himself rather a latitudinarian in respect to some of these disputes, than a partisan on either side, or one careful about maintaining a character for rigid orthodoxy. In some of his letters he inveighed against the censorious spirit, and pragmatical meddling, as he accounted it, of the ecclesiastics and consistory in that place, with whom, at last, it is known, that he came to an open breach. He could not speak of them but in the language of acrimony, and of contemptuous learned pride: and animosity was afterwards carried, on his part, to such a pitch, that for years he would not exchange words with them, when they occasionally met. This made his situation very uncomfortable, so that he also, towards the end of his life, wished and looked out for one more eligible; but though some measures were concerted for his removal and for obtaining for him a royal pension, yet they were never carried into effect.

generis ista tua est, Invidia comes sequitur, quod te jam sæpe alias re ipsa expertum esse intelligo. * * * De calumniolis et rumusculis, nugæ vero illæ sunt; queis si moveare, tui oblitus fueris. Id quæso in te juris habeat popellus ut animi tranquillitatem tibi excutiat? Alios, O More, judices, alios æstimatores tuæ virtutis habes. Neque vero te (etiamsi ita credi postulas,) miserum et infelicem dicam; sed virum fortem, sed virum egregie industrium, virum denique *centum artium*, quique Principibus et Doctis semper probatus sis," &c

Fabri *Epist.* l. 1. ep. 66.

Instances of this kind, that have so frequently occurred, do little credit to men of science; they are spots in the societies and seats of learning, as they too often are also in the fellowship of the church; and clearly shew, that literature fails in influence to meliorate the temper, and regulate the passions; that "knowledge puffeth up, while charity edifieth;" and that great abilities, and even grace, may be attended with glaring faults, and practical misconduct. The supercilious, or satirical spirit, in particular, when indulged, natively tends to provoke resentment, and create alienation and variance.

Though our divine does not appear to have been a man given to contention, or to have been the first aggressor in the contests that arose, yet it would be too charitable to suppose, that he was wholly exempt from some of these defects incident to men and to the learned. He had too great a portion of sarcastic wit, of irritability, and impatience, for his own peace, or to suffer assailants to go with impunity. Whether from perceiving the spirit of faction unallayed, or from too deep a sense of the usage he had received from some in Geneva, or whether partly from a fondness for change, he shewed himself not averse to comply with the invitation he got to remove to another charge. Bayle, without stating the particular proceedings mentioned above, gives an insinuation, as if the uneasiness and troubles M. found at Geneva, were in great measure owing to his own spirit and conduct: "As he was a great preacher, and withal a man of great learning, we need not be surpris'd if his colleagues were not all his friends. But it must be own'd, that there were several other things which created him troubles; for

not to speak of his manners, which in all places where he lived exposed him to reproach with regard to his love of women, his best friends own that he wanted prudence, and was of a very impatient temper. How that be, there were two parties formed at Geneva, the one for him and the other against him; and it is not to be doubted, but the first of those parties consisted not only of persons who both loved and esteemed Mr M. but also the persons who neither loved nor esteemed him, but appeared on his side merely because they saw their enemies at the head of the opposite party. We see instances of this every day." What justice there is in some of these insinuations, we shall see from the testimonies of those best acquainted with him,—and from marks of esteem and affection shown by all classes of the city, at the time of his departure.

It appears from the attestation of the church of Geneva, that M. had formerly been called to London, and also to Lyons, before he received the call from Holland; but that the great regard they had for him, made them use their earnest endeavour and influence to detain him among them †.

"After many cabals," says Senebier, "M. finding his situation at Geneva insupportable, listened to the invitations of the city of Middleburgh and the queen of Bohemia, who demanded him of the council in 1648, to occupy the chair of pastor and professor of Theology." Middleburgh is the capital of the province of Zea-

† They say, if they had entertained the least suspicion of his being guilty, "quum honorificentissimis vocationibus invitaretur, modo Londinum apud Britannos, modo Lugdunum apud Segusianos, non cum tanta cura ac teneri affectus et amoris non tralaticij significatione eum apud nos detinuissimus."

land, in the island of Walcheren, a place but too well known of late to thousands of the British army by the infectious effects of its atmosphere. Here there was a Walloon church settled, and served by two ministers; upon the decease of Jeremie Pours, one of them, M. was called to be his successor, and colleague with Le Long, the surviving pastor. The queen of Bohemia, here mentioned, was the princess Elizabeth, daughter to James VI. of Scotland, who was married to the Elector Palatine, afterwards crowned king of Bohemia by the protestant party, but expelled soon after by the popish imperial army, which was followed by the destructive war of thirty years, and only terminated this year by the peace of Westphalia. The exiled king and queen had taken up their residence for some time, during the troubles, in the United Provinces, in vain expecting to be restored either to their kingdom or Electorate; yet it may be noticed, it was in the right of descent from this pious princess, that the British crown came to be entailed upon the princess Sophia and her heirs being protestants; in virtue of which the present line of illustrious princes of the house of Hanover, at the demise of Q. Anne, came to the throne.

Bayle says, "I know not how M. gained the good graces of Salmasius, but it is certain that the latter was the instrument of bringing the other into the United Provinces. He first endeavoured to procure him a professorship of divinity in Harderwick, in Guelderland, which not succeeding, he procured him an invitation to Middleburgh." Salmasius had contracted acquaintance and friendship with M. when he resided in Burgundy, before he had been called to Leyden †. Sor-

† Moreri.

biere, therefore, whom B. quotes, had no reason for saying, that M. was known to him only by name, to afford a colouring to the invidious turn that was given to this transaction, so disparaging both to Salmasius and Spanheim; to which B. seemed to affix some degree of credit, as it was so agreeable to his humour of censuring divines. "Some pretend," says he, "that it was to chagrin Mr Spanheim, who had been embroiled in some quarrels with Mr M. at Geneva. I shall quote Sorbriere's authority for this, who wrote to Mr Patin as follows: "I can send you no news about Mr Spanheim, but what they have spread abroad since his death, which is, that Salmasius had killed him, and that M. was the dagger. The story is long, and to give it you in a few words, all I can say is, that Salmasius did not like the late Spanheim, for he was somewhat jealous of his parts and his reputation in the school; that in order to mortify him, he had procured an invitation for M. into Holland,—though he knew him only by name, and as the scourge and aversion of his colleague: that the Doctor left no stone unturned to prevent his coming, and that he died soon after that he heard his adversary was on the road." He adds to this a short encomium upon Spanheim, and afterwards speaks of M. in the following terms: "I cannot give you my opinion of him so as to avoid your suspicion of my being partial, because he has been my intimate friend ever since we were at the university together, that is to say, for these five and twenty years and upwards, and because I have appeared in his cause against Father Jarige: but it is certain, and all the world owns it, that his genius is full of fire, that he has vast ideas, and shines with uncommon lustre †."

† Sorbriere, Let. 64. p. 452.

But such an injurious account of this transaction, and the alledged tragical consequence to one of these great men, ought not readily to be admitted upon such insufficient evidence as is here produced. Besides other exceptions that might be made to the authority of such a writer as Sorbriere †, he gives this account only as a ru-

† Mr Sam. Sorbriere was born of protestant parents in the south of France, received his early education under his uncle, the learned Mr S. Petit minister of Nismes,—became student and writer in physic, *Gassendian* philosophy, controversy, politics and divinity, wrote volumes of letters, panegyrics, relations, memoirs; was editor, translator, particularly of some English books, Hobbes' *Civis*, More's *Utopia*, &c., a rambler from province to province, from kingdom to kingdom, mingling in all affairs; and making great ostentation of his learning and general acquaintance with learned men. He resided a few years in Holland in the neighbourhood of Salamafius: in 1650 was made principal of the protestant college in Orange, but was turned out of it in two or three years, being infected with Socinianism, which his intimacy with Curcellens, and his translation of Crellius' book on the *Death of Christ* tended to confirm. In disgust he went to France, in 1653, abjured his religion and turned papist; for the sake of an ecclesiastical pension, he put on the clerical habit, made a shew of zeal for Rome, Hobbit, sceptic, and epicurean as he was; became a flatterer of cardinals, courtiers, popes, and *Lewis le Grand*, who gave him a royal pension with the title of king's historiographer: several benefices and ecclesiastical pensions afterwards were heaped upon him, which yet did not content his avarice. He discovered little sense of religion, and in his last hours took an opiate to destroy reflection.

In 1663, he published his "*Voyage to England, containing many things relating to the state of learning, religion,*" &c. The dedication to Lewis, gives a sufficient specimen of his own vanity, and of fulsome flattery of the king, chiefly for his munificence in rewarding his merits: the book bears marks of inaccuracy, mistake and hasty credulity: great freedoms are taken with the character of individuals and of the nation. For some offensive freedoms in it, even his royal patron thought it prudent to banish him for a time to *Nantes*: but another sort of castigation was given him by the pen of Dr Sprat afterwards Bishop of Rocheller, by whom he is severely lashed. His

mour, such as may pass in private circles on occasions like these, where great freedoms are often taken, and where a small portion of truth, especially in cases of a defamatory nature, receives great additions and exaggeration: Letter-writers, such as he and Guy Patin his correspondent (who also left to the public an ample collection, full of anecdotes of many persons, and the ephemeral occurrences of his time) who take upon them to rehearse the facts and circulate the news of the day, often upon hearsay, will usually be found to have done it in a very inaccurate manner, as any who has read a number of these letters will readily see. Though differences and rivalry might have subsisted, it does not appear that the *demeles* or hostility between Spanheim or Morus, or between Salmasius and Spanheim, had been carried to so great excess as to produce such serious effects. Spanheim and Morus had been associated together in public offices at Geneva but for a short time. What has been particularly specified as a matter of quarrel between them, namely, some different manner of thinking or speaking upon some of the questions publicly agitated at that time, and the reflections supposed to have been covertly thrown out against S., in the oration formerly mentioned, can hardly account for this. Freedom of speech, and difference of opinion, upon public controversies, certainly are not always productive of open personal enmity, much

book he calls ‘an insolent libel on the nation;’ ‘the greatest part of which consists of ill-grounded reproaches, or other things whereof it was impossible he should receive an account, and in it he exemplifies the character he bestows on mankind, that they are most pleased with trifles, and that we are all credulous and liars.’ A translation of the voyage, with Dr Sprat’s observations on it subjoined, and memoirs of the life of S. by Graverel, prefixed, was published in London, in 1709.

less of deadly feuds, or the republic of letters; academics, and the church, though rarely enjoying profound peace, would be in a much worse state than they are. Besides, the spirit and language of Spanheim, with respect to M. was more moderate and lenient even to his dying day, than this account would imply; as is attested by one who had good access to know them both. G. Cranzius, professor of divinity in Leyden, in a preface prefixed to the edition of Milton's second Apology for the people of England, printed at the Hague, in 1654, says, 'that he never heard Spanheim say a worse thing of M. than that he was *Altier*, haughty, or confident †.' Nor is it very credible, that a man so venerable for his wisdom and piety as well as his years, one of such established reputation as Spanheim was, should, upon the mere apprehension of another divine coming to his neighbourhood, or hearing that he was on the way, take it so much to heart as to sicken and die of mere chagrin or jealousy. Whoever but reads the account of the uncommon and unremitting labours he had to sustain, and the gradual decline of his health for some time before, will find obvious reasons fully sufficient to account for his decease at the time it happened, in a more natural as well as a more Christian way.

Spanheim died in May 1649, at the age of 49; whereas Morus did not set out from Geneva till July that year. The author of the Critical Dictionary, in his article, says, 'That his great labours shortened his days:' and Sorbier, who retails the above story, added in the same letter, 'I must do this justice to that learned German,

† "Memini me audivisse D. Spanhemium piæ memoriæ, nihil in eo reprehendentem quam quod esset *Altier*, ut Galli dicunt, hoc est confidens, quod ego non excuso."

even by Salmasius's confession, who was not prodigal of his praise, 'that he had a strong head, and full of learning; that he was fit for business, steady and dexterous, zealous and laborious.' He read public lectures of divinity, four times in a week; and besides, made private ones upon different subjects to his scholars; he heard the probation sermons of the students of divinity; he preached in two languages, German and French; he visited the sick; he wrote a vast number of letters; he composed at the same time, two or three books upon quite different subjects; he assisted every Wednesday at his highness the prince's council, who sent for him to the Hague,—was obliged also to make visits to the queen of Bohemia,' (who as we have heard joined in the invitation to M.) 'being very much esteemed in those two courts;—he was rector of the university; and notwithstanding so many occupations, he kept an account of the expences of his house, that was full of boarders." Was there any wonder, that such a man should die before old age, without the aid of a dagger, some hundreds of miles distant?

SECTION THIRD.

Testimonies to the good character of M.—Remarks on Senebier and Bayle—The manner of M.'s departure from Geneva, and his reception in Holland.

MORUS, before he left Geneva, was furnished with most ample testimonials of his orthodoxy and blameless life, signed by the professors and pastors, the senate of the republic, and corroborated by letters, in his favour

From some eminent individuals addressed to Salmasius: Knowing that clandestine arts had been used to injure his reputation in the Low Countries, when a proposal had been made for introducing him to a professorship of divinity in Guelderland, he demanded them some time before his departure, and readily obtained them: Nay, the public testimonials both of the church and the council were twice given, in order more fully to stop the mouth of detraction: the former were dated in the end of January 1648, the latter in the end of March and beginning of April the same year. The reason was this: when the first form of them was sent, though they bore the seals of the academy, church, and council, commonly appended to their public acts, yet it seems his adversaries attempted to discredit them, alledging they had been surreptitiously obtained, without the approbation of a number, or that they had been given only upon the condition of M. promising to continue at Geneva; which shows both the virulence of their spirit against him, and the little arts to which they had recourse. In vindication of their own honour as well as of his, the company of pastors, and the syndics, in the most public and deliberate manner, confirmed what they had done, and declared these surmises to be utterly false. The second assembly of pastors was more full, and the subscriptions to the renewed testimonial more numerous than the former, which also had passed without opposition as to the substance of it, though some had objected to the too florid and encomiastical style in which it was drawn up, of which Diodati tells us, he was one. The first was subscribed by fifteen of the professors and pastors, and the second by no fewer than twenty-three, the whole number belonging to their church,

three only excepted. The certificates were printed in Holland soon after, without M's knowledge; and were afterwards inserted in his vindication of himself, against the envenomed attack of Milton; though with an apology for doing so, as he considered some of their contents as exceeding in his praise; for indeed, as Bayle has observed, they "are so full of encomiums, that they have more the air of a panegyric than a sentence of absolution. M. appeared in them purer than snow in all respects, both in his doctrine and life.—They maintain that his most violent enemies could not reproach him with any thing that deserved censure."

Senebier says on this subject, "He left Geneva with a certificate of his orthodoxy, *qu' il eut autant de tort de demander qu' on eut tort de lui donner* — 'which was as injurious for him to ask, as it was for them to give:'—but for what intent or with what reason this is said, it is not easy to see. This step was not only proper but needful, considered either on general grounds, or in the peculiar circumstances of the case. It is well known that the canons of ancient church discipline enjoined the use of recommendatory letters, when ministers or church-members passed from one church to another, in order to their being regularly admitted to communion. And did not the rules and practice of the best regulated churches—those of France, Holland, Scotland, &c. among the reformed, authorize and require this? and the reason and utility of the practice plead for it. Voetius, in his ecclesiastical polity assigns these reasons,—that it may serve instead of a new examination and trial;—and that churches may not be imposed upon by the admission of the unfit and scandalous.

But in such cases and circumstances as those referred to, it may appear to have been indispensably necessary, both in justice for the vindication of the party, when malignant reproaches were afloat directly tending to blast his name and usefulness, and for the honour of the churches with which he either had been or in future might be connected. Had he acted a different part, as many have done in late times, when the public union, order and good discipline of churches are broken down by lawless sectarianism;—had he arbitrarily relinquished one public charge and assumed another at a distance, as he and a few might have clandestinely agreed, depending on the mere credit of his name, or some more private recommendations, without having or seeking any authentic document to confront such serious and impudent reproaches, he would have been justly blamed: and in the event of the injurious charges being transmitted to distant parts and future times, as in fact they have been, had nothing of this kind been found to which an appeal might be made, the most desirable and effectual mean of defence would have been wanting; and how would his honour together with that of the respectable men, and the learned and religious bodies with whom he was so intimately associated, have permanently suffered?

But the particular reasons are assigned in the preambles of the several testimonials he received, sufficient to justify him in demanding, and those who gave them in granting them. If the truth of the matter of them be doubted or denied, let them be disproved on equal or superior evidence, by those who wish to invalidate them: which it does not appear was ever yet done either in his lifetime or since. If it be alledged, that those who concurred in granting them, lent their names to attest either

what they knew not, or knew to be false, this would be reproved, the highest blame and infamy upon the reverend and honourable bodies, and to make good such a charge would prove a still more odious as well as arduous task. Public faith would hereby be attacked, and the firmest bond for assurance and confidence in society weakened, by the voice of mere surmise or slander.

Had we indeed only the clear testimony of one Diodati, a Lezer, or Mestrezat, founded upon intimate knowledge, in favour of the character in question, it ought, in reason, to outweigh the clamours of a hundred nameless detractors, or of twenty Miltons, writing merely from hearsay, from spleen, and under high irritation of mind from abuse thrown upon himself: much more when the united voices of venerable judges met in council, inferior to none at that time in the world, concur in the most unequivocal and solemn manner in testifying the same thing. The certificate of the ecclesiastics, as being the competent and most proper judges in cases of this kind, may be here inserted, translated from the original latin.

“ Having understood, not from report and hearsay, but from a variety of letters from men famous throughout the world for their learning, especially from the Rev. and excellent Constantine L’Empereur ab Oppyk, the worthy professor of S. Theology in the academy of Leyden, that Alexander Morus, a most faithful pastor in our church, and a most worthy (*longe dignissimum*) professor of S. Theology in the college, our most dear colleague and brother, when he had been warmly recommended by that illustrious and incomparable man Cl. Salmatius, on account of his rare and singular endowments, his profound erudition, his great eloquence such as becomes a divine, his admirable and incredible suavity

of manners—to undertake the profession of Theology in Guelderland, was forthwith pursued and wounded by the envenomed assaults of a viperish malice*, being charged not only with new doctrines which cannot be approven, namely, that Jesus Christ, in the divine intention, died equally for all men, and that the first sin of Adam is not imputed unto us; but also horrid and atrocious blasphemies and heresies only to be expiated by fire, such as, that the Holy Spirit is not God, that it cannot be proved from scripture that he is God, or that it is not necessary to salvation to believe that he is; with other monstrous and prodigious opinions, which they say, he entertains, although he dared not to divulge them here in Geneva, on account of the stricter discipline; therefore they profess and solemnly swear before God and men, that it is not from any private pretexts, but from duty and conscience, that they advise, that such a man should not be invited, who, on account of bad morals and corrupt opinions in religion, might be capable of infecting and disturbing not one only, but all the academies in the world; not to mention the more trifling and worthless dregs of contumely; by their charging him with insufficiency and loquacity.

“Truly we are thoroughly affected with horror, bitter grief breaks forth from the bottom of our heart, and we deplore, vehemently deplore, the temper of the age, in which party spirit, animosity and hatred, have such unbounded licence †. Wherefore, not only that such a man as Salmasius may not rashly be discredited, but that we may be vindicated from the odium of knowingly cherishing such monsters in our bosom, and that such a brand of infamy may not, in all time coming, be undeservedly fixed upon a brother, and especially that the evidence of truth may be made manifest here and in all

* ‘Venenatis viperei livoris moribus continuo appetitum esse et faciatum.’

† ‘Sane cohorruiimus, toti et corpore et animo cohorruiimus, acerbus empit intimis medullis gemitus, doluimus ac vehementer doluimus vicem feculi, in quo studijs, affectibus et odio tantum licet.’

other places, we have reckoned it a just, pious, and bounden duty to bear testimony in this matter :

“ We therefore testify and make known to all whom it may concern, and to all to whose ears such an atrocious calumny may have come, that our most dear and beloved brother, the Rev. and most learned A. Morus, a faithful minister of the divine word, and celebrated professor of Theology, has always given us proofs of his integrity, fidelity, candour, modesty, and of singular continence and innocence. The single virtues which are conspicuous in others, in him appear collected and combined together ; and in such an eminent degree, that wherever we turn our eyes they all shine distinct as so many bright gems. If you consider his integrity of life, here the snowy whiteness of his manners, and there the admirable and uniform innocence will attract you. The Apostle requires that a bishop should be blameless : nothing accordingly can be laid to his charge even by his most malignant enemies, on account of which he can be justly subjected to blame ; (*quod juste sit reprehensione obnoxium.*)

“ In the threefold office which he has discharged among us, there is no diligence which any could reasonably require, which he has not shown to the utmost, if any ever did. Industry accompanies assiduous application, and incredible success (*felicitas*) his industry ; which the edification of the whole church, the public favour of the people, the eager inclination and insatiable desire of hearing his discourses, abundantly testify. When he preaches there is such a croud of hearers (*tanta auditorum frequentia subsellia rumpit*) as scarce any could believe, unless they had seen it. For by the greatest and a divine dexterity of genius he ‘ rightly divides the salutary word.’ In the school, where he now presides as Rector, what uncommon erudition has he displayed, and daily displays ? One would say, that nothing human or divine lay concealed from him : witness the professions he has made, both in Grecian literature and theology : in the former he has made it evident to all that he has attained to the highest eminence in languages, and belles lettres, and in the latter that he has drawn from the fountains of sacred doctrines and mysteries, and not

from the streams only. He has ever shown himself careful to hold fast the faithful word, by which he might be able both by sound doctrine to buffet, and also to convince gainfayers, avoiding those 'colours and unlearned questions, which only gender strife' shewing the great aversion to all heterodoxy, not to say, to such prodigies of heresies, as the fury and rage of the malevolent would fix upon him, not only undeservedly, but beyond all contrary to all truth. If any suspicion or certain other heads, had formerly been entertained in the minds of some, the matter was so perspicuously, plainly, and thoroughly discussed, that there could not be even the faintest ground left for doubt in time to come. The Genevan church, that has been celebrated and conspicuous for a long course of time, for her incorrupted purity, requires in their pastors, what of old was requisite in the the wife of Cæsar, to be not only free of crime, but to be above even the suspicion of it; and certainly had we given way to this in the least, when he received honourable calls, at one time to London, and at another to Lyons, we had not detained him among us with such care and signs of tender and unchanging affection. The church and academy in that case, could easily have borne the want of him. — But we valued him at a far higher rate, and will still value him as long as he shall honourably persevere in virtue. We account the same of a most upright, honest, learned man, who is a singular ornament of our church and academy, to be our own: he that hurts the one, hurts the other. We were therefore unwilling that he should have reason to complain of us, in the struggle between a good conscience and adverse fortune, that he had been left destitute in such a just cause.

“ Wherefore we have granted him these attestations of his entire orthodoxy, and testimonies of his innocence and blameless integrity, under the seal of our assembly for full certification, and subscribed by us in name of all, the 25th of January 1648 †.

† The subscribers were David Clerc pastor and professor president for the time of the ecclesiastical assembly: Of the pastors and professors, J. Deodatus, Grossius, Antonius Legerus, P. Mestrezatius: Of pastors, Jac. Sartorius, Dan. Chabroës,

That of the Syndics and council was much of the same tenor with the above: it was equally ample and explicit, being in substance as follows; after taking notice in the preamble of the scandalous reports which had been spread throughout the Belgic provinces, to the disadvantage of Morus, as if he held erroneous and heretical sentiments, which he would be ready to disseminate where he could do it with more freedom,—‘ of which, they say, ‘ he is, by the grace of God entirely free, even as also his probity and good conversation are known to all;’ and having heard the testimonial of the professors and pastors read in their presence, they expressed their approbation of the whole contents: and in consideration of the forefaid false reports which they considered as tending very much to wound the honour of their state and church; and being also fully assured of the falsehood of these rumours and speeches to the discredit of the respectable M. for his great erudition so highly esteemed, and useful among them; on whom, on account of the eminent gifts bestowed on him, in regard to his singular learning, and in other respects, they had conferred, besides the charge of pastor and professor in ordinary of divinity, that of rector of their academy, which at that time he worthily executed, as he did also the others, with great approbation and success:— And they certify and attest to all whom it may concern, ‘ that from

P. Baccutius, A. Dupanus, Steph. Gerardus, Gabr. B. tinus, Perrotus, Dan. Tronchinus; - J. Dupan, professor of philosophy, Steph. Clericus, professor of Greek and moral philosophy.

To the second testimonial were the following additional subscribers: Petrus a Font, Pastors S. m. Ganerius G. Floaraelius, P. Chavaneus, G. Sartorius, C. a Furno, E. Gauterius, D. Molanus.

the time of his arrival in that city, he had lived and conversed among them, as became a good and honest man, one of honour and singular probity, giving evident marks of exemplary piety. Further, that he was entirely free of the heresies or erroneous sentiments above named, and from every kind of heterodoxy; and that by his sermons, writings, and lectures, he had preached and taught nothing but what was conform to the found and pure doctrine hitherto maintained in that church, to the general satisfaction, edification, and consolation of every one, and the approbation of his hearers; manifesting very great zeal for the glory of God, and the edification of his church, making his eminent knowledge to appear in all the parts pertaining to his office, to the great honour of their church and academy: and as his worthy labours,' they add, 'have hitherto been followed with abundant fruits, so we hope they will yet continue to be distinguished as of a most worthy workman, and an ornament in this place, in the work of the Lord, whose honour and reputation, shall always be highly regarded by us. In testimony of which, &c.

Signed in name of the Lords Syndics and
Council,

COLLADON.'

It would appear from the conclusion of this certificate, that Morus had not yet formed his final resolution, or come under any positive engagement to leave Geneva, at least he had not made it known; but that he had obtained the letters in order to obviate the effect of former aspersions, at the same time with a view to prepare for the removal that soon followed. This might have given occasion to some of his adversaries to say, that they were

granted to him on the condition of his remaining in Geneva. But as it is usually the fate of false witnesses to contradict one another or themselves, this account was altogether inconsistent with what some of them afterwards circulated, and which Milton had the temerity to propale, that they were given him only upon his promising to leave Geneva, from which he was in a manner driven, or had fled in disgrace, as the only way to escape from a process that had been raised against him, or with which he was threatened, for no less a crime than that of adultery * : in which, had there been the least truth, their testimonials would have little availed him, and they who had granted them, upon such a shameful compromise, would have been the most criminal of the two ; nor could it be credible, that, in such a case, he could have had such an honourable dismissal, or have found an equal honourable reception in the places where he went, as we shall see he had.

It is of importance here to have the point of character as it then stood, ascertained upon the best evidence remaining, not only for confronting the rumours then current, but also by way of anticipation, for obviating the attack made upon it, by the revival of some of these afterwards together with others. In addition to the public testimonials, deliberately and repeatedly given, we have letters of recommendation, written by several individuals of note ; some of these were also published both in French and latin,—particularly those of Diodati †—of Sertorius,

* Milt. *Def. pro se.*

† The reputation of Diodati every ecclesiastical scholar is acquainted with. He translated into French F. Paul's History of the council of Trent, and published the Italian bible

minister of the French and Italian church;—of Gothofride, professor of law and one of the senators of the city. The letter of the Theological professor D. to Salmasius is most full and particular; in which he states some facts, and delineates, in a candid manner, some traits of character, which could not so well have been inserted in a general attestation. But as it is long the reader is referred to the Appendix, where he will find the greater part of it. The following passages may here only be noticed, some of which, with similar expressions in a letter written by him about the same time to L'Empereur, have furnished the critical Bayle with matter for some declamation and invective. In the former, Diodati, speaking of the attacks first made upon M., on the head of doctrine, says, ' he shut all their mouths by his declaration, *viva voce*, by writings and subscriptions, by affirmations and negations, assertions, and sermons; so that the adversaries were the first to give thanks to God, on that account, and to testify their entire satisfaction with our friend, and their full acquiescence. From that time he has in nothing contravened his protestations, either in his public teaching, or in familiar converse, especially with me, in which, through the intimacy and confidence subsisting between us, I could perceive the very bottom of his heart, that it was thoroughly imbued with and firmly persuaded of the pure doctrine of our churches, that he had a high esteem of the late Mr Calvin (which is an almost infallible mark of sound divines) and a most strict

with annotations, by the translation of which into our language, he is not altogether unknown to English readers. He published also a French version of the bible, with other works. He was a deputy from Geneva to the synod of Dort, and had a particular share in the labours of that assembly.

observance of the synod of Dort'—'With regard to his manners,' says he, 'I can speak from the most intimate knowledge, and do it with the greatest sincerity of heart. He is of a good natural disposition, without fraud or design, frank and noble, so as to fit him for good agreement with all persons of honour and virtue of whatever condition they may be: hasty and very sensible of affronts, but easily recovering himself; one who never gives provocation, but at the same time is furnished with formidable weapons for defending himself*. I have never known any who had reason to boast of having attacked him. 'Conscia virtus,' and if you add, 'genus irritabile vatum,' armed him sufficiently against his enemies.'

The letter to L'Empereur was much in the same strain, giving a most ample testimony in favour of Morus, a part of which only needs to be quoted. After justifying him on the head of doctrine, he says,

"As for his manners, as every one has his own which are natural to him, and which may not so well accord with those of others, it was also his infelicity not to acquire the favourable opinion and judgment of every one. Being of a high and generous spirit, at the same time, honest and modest, and cautious of giving offence, but sharply repelling those who attacked him, he let none of them carry away a very honourable victory. Besides, he had acquired and enjoyed, without abusing it, the honour and friendship of the most distinguished persons

* "*Qui ne provoque point, mais aussi qui a de terribles ergots pour se défendre.*" This is rendered in the translation of Bayle in the General Dictionary. 'one who never gave the first provocation, but at the same time had a violent impulse to 'defend himself' But the *terribles ergots* denote the means of defence, not the impulse, alluding to the sharp spurs of cocks or other animals.

among us, both of the one and the other order, and of all the people in general: his growing reputation had also procured the esteem and favour of the greatest men in different nations abroad, who admired his great and diversified learning, his incomparable eloquence, and the fertility and promptness of his genius; talents of which he himself could not be unconscious, so as to suffer himself to be trampled upon by persons who were far inferior to him. But in all this, nothing of malignity, or of a base mind, or of any reprehensible vice, could ever be observed.

“ Give credit to this true testimony, which may appear altogether unnecessary after the public ones granted by our Senate, and our whole ecclesiastical body: but it will have its own weight with those who know me to be an enemy to flattery and prevarication.

“ To conclude, I request you to take this as an undoubted evidence of the truth of the above, that our magistracy and church, always oppose the designs of those who would wish to draw him from us; and use their influence to keep him among us as a rare ornament and most useful instrument in the service of God. I leave it to your prudence to make what use of this letter you think proper except it be for the purpose of depriving us of him, which would be like the conduct reprehended by Nathan in David, in taking away the poor man's lamb, notwithstanding the abundant wealth of your churches *,” &c.

* Il a aussi ce malheur de n'avoir peu être bien en l'esprit et jugement de tous; étant un esprit relevé et genereux, tout-fois honneste et modeste, s'abstenant d'offenser; mais relancant vivement ceux qui l'aggressent, auxquels il na jamais laissé aucune victoire fort honorable: au reste ayant acquis et possédant sans abus l'honneur et l'amitié de plus signalez d'entre nous en l'un et en l'autre ordre et de tout le peuple généralement: Sa reputation croissante lui a aussi acquis l'estime et bienveillance des plus grands personnages de dehors en divers nations, admirans son grand divers scavoir, et son eloquence incomparable, et la fertilité et promptitude de son esprit qui sent des dons qu'il ne peut ignorer lui même, pour per-

This candid representation, which this divine gave, not merely as a tribute due to friendship, but to truth and a worthy character which he reckoned to be injuriously used, has drawn from the philosopher above named, the following reflections, which if just, would be little to the honour either of the attessor or attested; which however he fails not to bring forward in a most specious and imposing dress, which his vast reading and fluent pen could abundantly supply him with. After quoting some passages in the above extracts,

“ I must beg leave,” he says, ‘ to make a short reflection upon the partiality of friendship. Here we see Diodati, who, because he had an affection for Mr. Morus, reckons nothing upon a very capital fault, and one which very ill became a minister, I mean a temper vindictive to the last degree, and an excess of pride and passion. It is in effect to strip a minister of a quality essential to him, to deprive him of that gospel spirit, (or, to divest him entirely of the spirit of the gospel, as one English version of Bayle has it,) which ought to be inseparable from his character, to confess what Mr Diodati has here said of him; and yet he had no notion, that while he made those acknowledgments he was detracting greatly from the praises which he profusely bestowed upon him. He excuses Morus’s vindictive temper the best way he could. ‘ The importunate attacks of his enemies,’ says he, ‘ seemed to require his pelting them from time to time, to teach them to be quiet.’ I meet every day with people who are so blind with respect to this

metre d’ estre foule par des esprits beaucoup inferieurs. Mais en tout cela l’on n’y a jamais remarque ni malignite, ni lascheze, ni aucune vice reproachable. Croyez a ce veritable temoignage, qui devroit sembler in tile apres les publiques de nostre senat et de nostre corps Ecclesiastic; mais ne laissera d’avoir son poids envers ceux qui me connoissent ennemy de flaterie et de prevarication. Pour conclusion, &c.

Mori *Publ. Fides*, p 137, 138.

or that minister, in whose favour they are prepos'd, and in defence of the great abilities they ascribe to him; that they speak of his *Ismaelism* almost with praise † 'Mr. such a one,' they will say, 'is a dangerous enemy, he has been weapons and woe to him who provokes him,' as if they were speaking of a colonel of dragons, or as if a minister of the gospel were a knight of the Thistle, armed with a threatening device, *Nemo me impune lacessit. — Nullæ s'îy frotte †.*

*Qui me commorit, 'melius non tangere, clamo) .
Flebit et insignis tota cantabitur urbe*

Hor. Sat. 1. l. 2*

Take warning, urge me not, or in lampoon
Your name shall shine, a jest to all the town.

One cannot easily believe, that such ministers are attacked any other way to religion than by the chains of vanity; or from any other motive than that it furnishes them with means of setting up for petty tyrants.' 'But further,' continues he, 'run over all the defects (or depravities-) to which human nature is subject, and you will not find one more opposite to the spirit of Christianity than the violence which appears in some of these servants of Jesus Christ. It shews that in every scuffle they want to shew their power, to such a height that no one for the future may presume to oppose them. Without ever having read Homer, they practise the words of Agamemnon more religiously than any text of scripture.' And here he quotes Homer in Greek and latin; (*Iliad* l. 1. v. 184) which most of our readers, however, will like better to see in Pope's English.

But then prepare, imperious prince prepare,
Fierce as thou art to yield the captive fair.

† Bayle here refers to a letter which Milton produced in which it was said of Morus, what was told of Ismael, that his hand would be against every man, and every man's hand against him. *Mit. obj. pro se*, p. 134. And he more than once in the same note, calls in the aid of Milton, and employs some of his weapons.

‡ Which was the motto of a king of Navarre.

Hence shalt thou prove my right, and curse the hour,
 Thou dost it a rival of immortal power!
 And hence to all our nations shall be known,
 That kings are subject to the gods alone.

But here the critic evidently assumes premisses, in order to deduce his unfavourable conclusions, which neither the words of Diodati, nor any other good authority yet produced, furnished him with. The superstructure he raises goes far beyond the foundation upon which he professes to build. Diodati says not a word of a *vindictive* spirit, much less of one *vindictive to the last degree*; neither does he speak of an excessive pride and extreme uncontrolled passion; why then should they be charged, in such an unqualified manner, to the account of the friend, so as to divest him of any just claim to the character of a gospel minister, or of a genuine Christian? or, why should Diodati be represented as an advocate for such an unchristian spirit: as one who, from partial affection, made no account of such a capital fault? what he vindicates is something very different, yea, qualities altogether inconsistent with such a spirit. What he excuses, is a common human infirmity; a warmth of temper, irritability, too great a sensibility and impatience under injuries or affronts, an impulse (though perhaps too eager to defend himself, a propensity natural to men in such circumstances, and when there is need for it, most warrantable and christian; especially when the public usefulness of a person, and the credit of religion may require it. At the same time, he assures us, he had a fund of good nature, never gave the first provocation,—was easily reconciled; never took up arms for revenge, but merely with a view to make an innocent defence, though the heat and impetuosity of it (*vigour* is

the original term) might sometimes hurt the aggressors; as wild beasts assaulting other animals will often be gored, or as robbers and assassins falling upon peaceable passengers sometimes rush upon sharp weapons, and come off with bloody or mortal wounds. When a swarm of flies becomes troublesome, who can be blamed for using a fly-flap to drive them away, which is the idea and word employed by the author; 'qu'ils fussent ainsi esmouchetes pour leur enseigner le repose.' Is necessary defence, even though accompanied with warmth and severity, to be confounded with a vindictive spirit? If so, then some of the best of men, the most eminent prophets and apostles, who were 'men of like passions with others;' and even some sage philosophers and literary critics, as well as poets, the author of the censure not excepted, may be found guilty. What more vehement than some exculpatory speeches, or more cutting and confounding than the retorts and recriminations, which false accusations and gross injuries have drawn from persons most patient and holy? Nay, He who was innocence and meekness itself, was provoked by impertinence and importunity, and repelled the cavils and calumnies of captious lawyers and doctors, in such a manner as to shut their mouths, and cover them with confusion; so that 'they durst not ask him any more questions;' and at other times, so as to incense and irritate them more and more.

It may again be asked, what should make it unbecoming in the Christian or the minister, to use the common right of self-defence, or repell attacks that directly tend to destroy his reputation and blast his influence in his station, more than in any other class of men? Or is there any thing in the law or gospel that forbids it?

Has not a minister of the gospel a warfare appointed him, and weapons appropriated to it, though they be not of the same kind with those of the colonel of dragoons, or a knight of the Empire? Is honour, and often a spurious kind of it, allowed to be every thing in a gentleman and man of the world, and a good name and true honour in the Christian world, to be reputed as nothing? Is it courage to be applauded in a red-coat to bear nothing, to take fire at every trivial or supposed affront by word or deed, and forthwith to give the deadly challenge, and sacrifice perhaps the undesigning inoffensive acquaintance or bosom-friend, to his idol of honour; and must another, because he wears a black coat, basely submit to every species of injury, and court new insults, without daring to open his mouth? or, if he return a few forcible words, or a little poignant writing, must he forfeit all pretensions to christianity?

But here may we not suspect, or rather detect, a covert attack upon the doctrine and spirit of the gospel itself, under the pretence of pleading for it? Many such insidious pleas and eulogies may be met with, in the writings of open or disguised infidels in modern times: While after the example of this author, they may pretend to be giving a lecture about meekness, patience, and self-denial, as taught in the gospel, they mean nothing less than to praise it. They would clothe it in the garb of the Stoic, and would graft upon its true doctrines the gospel of anchorites, of fanatical Anabaptists or Quakers, to render it contemptible: as if it were an enemy to courage, self-defence private or public; as if the meekness and humility it taught were nothing else than a baseness of spirit, disregard to honour, property, or life, totally inconsistent with repelling injuries and in-

sults; and as if not only the old Roman virtue, and patriotism, must be destroyed by it, but all the principles and common maxims by which civil societies are governed and subsist, be condemned by its spirit and doctrines. Thus a Voltaire, a Mandeville, a Hume, have been accustomed to declaim; to whom Jennings may be joined (though probably without the same hostile intent) in his *Internal evidences of Christianity*.

The foregoing testimonials, with some others, having been circulated through the Low Countries, obviated every reasonable pretence of opposition to Morus on the ground of character: the call from Middleburgh having been insisted upon, he thought proper to accept of it; and accordingly soon after left Geneva, not without some striking marks of regret and unabated regard on the part of the inhabitants. With what truth Milton could afterwards traduce him, as ‘a fugitive from Geneva,—one expelled from it with disgrace,’—in addition to what has already been offered, the reader may learn from the following account, more circumstantial than otherwise might have been needful, had it not been for that calumny.

As a very intimate and warm friendship had all along subsisted between Diodati and Morus, it appeared particularly at this crisis. When our divine, on the morning of his departure, went to take farewell of him, the venerable old man, with his bosom open (it being then the warm season of the year) tenderly embracing and leaning upon Morus, poured forth over him a copious shower of tears; and when the latter begged of him a blessing, ‘May God,’ said he, ‘bestow upon you his blessing unspeakably better than mine! Go, my son! wherever God and your virtue call you: were my limbs,

as vigorous as yours, you should not go alone. All that my feeble old age allows me, is to accompany you still with my good wishes and affection. During your residence here, you have been exposed to some arrows on my account: now, alas! I must sustain them alone. But there is one comfort, my remaining days will be but few. I earnestly recommend to you my young Philip.'—His parting friend could only make answer in melting tears and sobs. But let the learned reader take the account in his own energetic language below †.

While this scene was transacting, there were some who advertised him that the post-equipage was in readiness, and that he must hasten his departure, the manner of which he thus continues to describe—'If I fled from Geneva, I at least fled very slowly and openly, even at noon day; surrounded by a great number of friends, through the midst of the city, and every where saluted by crowds in the way. I appeal even to my enemies, if there be still some, whom neither time, nor the fear

† 'Hæret animo meo, hærebitque semper illius diei memoria, quo valedicturus ipsi adfui, cum optimus senex et meliori seculo dignus, aperto et nudo, ut anni et diei tempus erat, pectore me incumbens, largum lachrymarum imbrem in caput meum profudit, et roganti ut benediceret, cælestibus verbis respondit: 'Deus,' inquit. 'benedictionem tibi suam longe mea meliorem largiatur, Abi, mi fili, quo Deus et virtus tua te vocat. Mea si tantum genua quantum tua valerent, solus non abires. Quod solum possum in hac misera senectute mea, te votis et affectu semper eodem prosequar. Tu quamdiu hic fuisti, tela pro me multa excepisti, objectu corporis tui defendens meum. Hei mihi! jam omnia in me unum contorquebantur. Sed bene est, quod pauci supersunt dies,' &c.

Fides publ. p. 135-6.

of God, nor my patience, have yet appeared;—I call upon those to bear witness who were farthest from being favourably disposed to me, whether at my departure from Geneva, the whole people did not follow me with their best wishes, and not a few with tears —whether my doors were not beset by a concourse of people, flowing together in order to take farewell?—Whether an incredible multitude did not attend me without the gates of the city, as far as the third mile stone; and whether among the numerous crowd, there were not, partly in chariots, partly on horseback, some nobles, some senators, some of the military, and of all other orders, officiously conducting me to the same distance? When taking a view of them all, I could not behold them with dry eyes; and having turned the reins to face them, when taking the last adieu, with shaking of hands and ardent successive embraces, I could not refrain from expressing myself aloud in these terms; ‘God is my witness, that I never could have brought my mind to consent to be drawn away from this place, and to seek a settlement in any other, if I could have foreseen this grief, or could possibly have formed a conception of the respects I have experienced to-day from so many honourable and eminent men, exceeding all belief, and of that favourable disposition towards me, which all the citizens have shown*.’

This was a cavalcade and procession of no common nature: while it did honour to the minister, it reflected no less honour upon the republic. No city or state, indeed, ever owed so much to the labours of their learned men, especially to the eminent characters of their eccle-

* Fides Publ. p. 155. 156.

fastical teachers, as Geneva did. From the time of their declared independence, and the settlement of a free protestant constitution there, this was one principal source from which its fame, opulence and prosperity was derived. Nor had it been wanting in due acknowledgments and grateful returns. Similar tokens of regard had, in the same public manner, a little before, been shewn to Spanheim, when he left that city for Leyden.

Morus, after this affecting parting, prosecuted his journey for the Netherlands by Switzerland, where he met with civilities, particularly from the ministers and professors of Basle. Proceeding thro' Upper Germany, he descended by the Rhine into Belgium. And as there was a meeting of the synod of the ministers of the Walloon churches in the provinces, then convened at Maeftricht on the Meuse, he presented himself to it. He had not applied for any new public attestations when he left Geneva; after those he had so lately received, he judged it not only unnecessary, but indiscreet to importune them again so soon on that head. Yet, he tell us, such recommendatory letters were not wanting to him. The magistrates and church of Geneva had, unsolicited, sent these by his hand, to the church of Middleburgh and the synod; which he delivered to them sealed. His friend Diodati had also on this occasion renewed his recommendations. Milton termed the letters he had received from Geneva, *frigidulas*; but he himself confesses, 'they were written in such a strain, heaping upon him such praises, that if he did not consider them as proceeding entirely from a sort of overflow or excess of kindness, he would be even a prouder animal than

Milton himself. The effect shewed of what kind they were, whether warm or cold †.

They were no sooner read in the synod than he was called and desired to take his seat, and in all matters that came under consideration in synod, his mind was taken as a member of the court. All were forward to embrace him; they condoled with him, and at the same time congratulated him on his happy arrival. He was forthwith appointed to preach before that learned assembly, and before a very numerous and respectable auditory; which he did with general applause, in which those who were said to have been prejudiced against him, concurred ‡.

About this time the historical chair of Amsterdam had become vacant by the death of Ger. Js. Vossius; the curators thinking they could not find one more fit to supply it than Morus, they desired Salmasius to invite him; but not having received an answer, they appointed two, in their name, to wait upon him when he came to Leyden, to make an offer of it to him, as he came to settle in Middleburgh: but he declined the offer, on account of the engagements he had entered into with that city, from which he did not reckon himself at liberty to recede. D. Blondel was therefore called by them from France to fill that charge. But the magistrates and regents of the city of Amsterdam, wrote Morus a respectful letter, dated the 31st of Dec. 1649, in which 'they acknowledg-

† 'Hæ profecto fuerunt ejusmodi, ut ijs me laudibus cumularent, quas ego si aliunde profectus agnoscerem quam ex abundantia quadam amoris, animal essem ipso Miltono superbius. Illæ autem quales fuerint, fervidæ an frigidæ, perfacilis existimatio est ex effectu.' Ut Supra, p. 157.

‡ Qua peracta, certatim omnes gratulari, collaudare, ij etiam qui contra me armati, hoc est non bene animati, sed, ut arbitror, falso, venisse dicebantur.

ed the force of his excuse, and gave way to the prior claim of those of Middleburgh, who had expressly called and obtained him from G., with difficulty; they declare, that they entertained the same opinion of his eminent learning, and the same affection and esteem for his person; but foreseeing that they could not for the present obtain their design without giving great occasion of jealousy and displeasure to the magistrates and church of M., in the service of which he had just newly entered, they thought it most prudent to temporize until the way might, through time, be cleared for attaining their purpose, with fewer obstacles, and less offence †. Thus they shewed they had not altogether relinquished their view, and accordingly, within a few years, renewed their application.

SECTION FOURTH.

From MORUS' settlement in Holland to the time of his departure from Middleburgh.—Some account of the Walloon Synod.—His process before the Synod—And before the Supreme court of Holland.—Manner of his leaving Middleburgh.

THE admission of our divine into his double charge in Middleburgh, soon after the meeting of Synod, appears to have been with much apparent harmony; and there, for a time, it would seem, he enjoyed some repose, applying himself to the studies suitable to his function. Some

† 'Mais prevoiant qui a ceste heure nous ne scaurions venir a bout de notre dessein sans donner grande jaloufie et degout au Magistrat et a l'Eglise de M. dans laquelle vous venez tout fraichement d' entrer, nous avons creu estre la bienfiance de temporiser, jusques a ce que le temps nous applanira le chemin pour pouvoir parvenir a notre dessein, avec moins d' obstacles et d' offense,' &c.

of his latin works were published, others republished, during his residence in this place.

Upon his settlement as pastor in the Walloon church in that city, his colleague in that charge, J. Le Long, with the Elders and Overseers of the church, returned a letter of thanks to the church of Geneva, dated the 2d of November 1649, in answer to that which had been sent to them from thence, in July preceding, wherein they express their high satisfaction, and their sense of Morus' merit; though, like some others, rather in a hyperbolical strain :

“ Messrs. and much honoured Brethren,

“ We have received much satisfaction from the letter you wrote to us of the 5th of July, by our much respected brother, the Sieur A. Morus, lately the celebrated pastor and professor in your city, and now both the one and the other in ours; by which we see the confirmation of the high testimonies you had formerly rendered to his ministry. We have no doubt but that he will continue to make it appear, that it was not without good reason that you honoured him with such signal commendations; of which he has shewn to us that he was indeed most deserving. You will hardly believe with what ardour and concurrence of people his sermons are heard; which seem to transport (*ravir*) those who hear them to the third heaven. The Synod of our churches met at Maestrich, heard him expound the mystery of godliness with universal joy and approbation; every one confessing that he unites together so dexterously these two excellent qualities, namely, the useful and the agreeable, profound knowledge with consummate eloquence, that he cannot possibly fail to give satisfaction to his auditors. We are infinitely obliged to you for such a precious present; and beg you will believe, that we shall never lose a grateful remembrance of it:—resolving with all our heart, to remain ever yours, &c.

The Conductors of the Walloon church of Middleburgh.”

It may be proper here, to give a brief account of these

churches with which Morus was now incorporated, and of the Walloon Synod, to whose jurisdiction he became subject, for the sake of some readers who may be strangers to their history. Walloon was a denomination or surname usually given to the people who spoke the French language in the Low Countries,—Flanders, Artois, Hainault, &c. At an early period of the reformation, protestant churches were formed consisting of people of that denomination, and the synod that had the inspection over them, was more ancient than any other in the United Provinces. To evade persecution, they began to assemble at Tournay and Antwerp, in 1563; till, in 1577, they held their meetings at Embden, having deputies both from the Walloon and Flemish churches; but they afterwards kept separate. Their congregations and ecclesiastical meetings have also been held distinctly from those of the established church in Holland; although there was the greatest agreement between them in respect of doctrine, and little if any variation among them in their forms of public worship, or in ecclesiastical government and discipline, which was presbyterian. They consequently differed but little from the Genevan or French churches, with whom they maintained a close correspondence and fellowship, as well as with the Dutch and Flemish.

These provincial synods in Holland were reckoned nine in whole, in which number the Walloon was included as one: but as the churches of which the latter was composed, were dispersed up and down throughout all the seven protestant provinces, they formed among themselves a kind of national synod, having a more extensive and an independent jurisdiction. They met once, or more usually twice a-year, sometimes in one province

Sometimes in another ; though in later times, the greater number of their congregations were situated in the province of Holland. No national synod was called in the Provinces since that of Dort. In the interim between Synods, four or five churches were appointed to meet as a classis for decisions when needful, but subject to the review of next Synod ; to which some ministers and elders were deputed from the several churches. The acts of the Walloon Synod were annually printed : even as all the acts of the Dutch provincial Synods were registered, and copies of them ordered to be sent to all the other provinces.

The number of the churches and the ministers, at different times, as may well be supposed, has greatly varied. When the protestants were much oppressed in France, and their ministers at last banished, by the revocation of the edict, they received a great accession ; as the refugees generally joined themselves to the congregations formerly established where their language was spoken, or formed new ones, as edification and circumstances might require ; but they remained still under one general Synod. Near the beginning of the last century the total number of established ministers in Holland was said to be 447 * ; besides those maintained by the states in Germany, England, and almost every nation in Europe, seven in America, seventy in the Indies supported by the Indian companies ; and without reckoning the English churches in all the principal trading cities, whose ministers were paid by the States, and

* This computation, I am disposed to think, must have included only the number in the province of Holland, properly so called, though usually stated to be 331. Janicon, *Etat pres. de la Rep.* tom. 1. p. 31, &c.

were members of the Flemish Synod. The Walloon churches were fifty, and served by about one hundred ministers. At the time of the late invasion of the United Provinces by the French, we are told, that the pastors of the Dutch church were 1579; the Roman Catholic 800; the Walloon 90; the Lutheran 53; the Arminian 43 †. Of the recent state of religion there, amidst the wreck of their constitution, laws, and commerce, we hear but little: an exact account of the present condition of that and other protestant churches on the continent, and the effect that the grand revolutionary convulsion has had upon them, is a great desideratum.

But to return to our narrative; Morus, for a time lived in good understanding with his brethren in synod: he was sent by the recommendation of his church, as deputy to the next synodical meeting, at Campen, in May 1650. That synod, in answer to the letters sent by the pastors and professors of Geneva to them at their former meeting, wrote^d as follows:—

“ Messrs. and Honourable Brethren,

“ The churches of our language gathered in these free and United Provinces, have always had great reason to consider yours with veneration, and to account it an honour and highly to esteem the holy communion which we have with it in the Lord. And although distance of places, and the unfrequency of opportunities, do not allow us to testify this by letters, or to give proofs of it in deed, so often as we would wish, yet we intreat you to rest assured, that we shall always remain in the the disposition and design to preserve for ever inviolate, the sacred bonds of this religious conjunction. The Divine providence of late, has afforded you different occasions for giving us proofs and instances of your friendship; and to us for returning those tokens of respect

† Zimmerm, p. 186.

which are due to you, and which we desire to give. One of these was the calling of our very dear and honoured brother, Mr. A. Morus, &c., on which occasion, the several letters and testimonials sent from you, were received on our part with joy, and all due deference: and which are now become to us so much the more valuable and certain, as they have been fully confirmed by the exercise of his great and singular gifts, and his approved good conduct, and the unblameable conversation which he has manifested among us †. We pray that God may load him more and more with his blessings; and we bless him from our heart for having granted him to us, and we thank you most affectionately for yielding him to us. The mournful death of our very dear and honoured brother, M. Spanheim, is another of these occasions, &c.

May 6. "Signed by the Moderator and Scribes," &c.

But the peace our divine enjoyed in Middleburgh was also of short continuance. As he corresponded occasionally with some of his remaining friends in Geneva;— (for the aged Diodati did not long survive their parting,) in a letter he wrote to Mr. Godefroy, professor and syndic above mentioned, near the beginning of the year 1651, he had expressed the uneasiness he was a-new exposed to, by factious designs and calumnious attacks; to which his friend refers in his answer, a copy of which is preserved; and is an evidence that his friends there retained their former good opinion of him, and that no new proceedings and discoveries had there taken place to oblige them to alter it. After congratulating him on the advantages he possessed in his new situation, for discharging his public duties with success, and for a more free prosecution of literary and profitable studies, he says, 'he was happy to hear that he had laid aside thorny con-

† 'Par l'approbation qu'il nous a donne de la bonne conduite et de sa conversation irreprehensible au milieu de nous.'

troverfies, and employed himfelf wholly in ecclefiastical ftudies:’ He tells him, ‘ that the mufes with them, were in a deep filence and afleep, fince the deceafe of Diodati, and the departure of Morus,—‘ the men,’ he fays, ‘ he had been wont to point out to foreigners as the ornament of their city. Since the death of the former, all honeft men regretted that he had been taken from them.’ —“ Difregard,’ he adds, ‘ envy and ignorance. Ah! My Morus, what fignify thefe new diabolical eruptions. My affairs are in much the fame fituation. Mifchievous woman! I will take care of the eggs of ferpents †.’

It was about this time, that the new broils began, and the rumours were circulated, that involved him in a double procefs, and occafioned trouble equal to any thing he had yet fuffered at Geneva. The ftorm, it would appear, was chiefly excited by a haughty and re-

† * * * ‘ *Profperra tua non minus me tangunt quam adverfa mea. Hoc fcilicet erat quod toties tibi occinebam: quid hic, mi Mori, tuamet gaudia moraris, ubi tanta virtutibus, tuis meritisque miffis? O beatum te poft tot exantlatos labores! Id nunc demum vivere eft, ubi et folito munere foluto, animo fungi licet, inter tot applaufus et acclamationes, et fi quid inde horarum fpatijque fupereft, bonis literis ftudijque impendere fas eft. Qua etiam parte animum meum ingenti metu liberafti, cum affirmas te miffis spinosis criticis, totum deinceps ecclefiastico ftudio immergendum. Bonum verofactum, et judicio tuo dignum. Sed mufæ noftre hic aitura filent ftertuntque, poftea quam Jo. Deod. et M. his aditis exceffere: quos viros ego ceu urbis noftre decora exteris oftentare solebam. Poftquam ille fato datus eft eo magis lugent hic omnes probi te nobis ereptum. Invidiam et imperitiam noli morari. Heus! mi More, hi noviffimi Diaboli crepitus. Meæ res in eodem ftatu funt. Peffima mulier, &c. Cavē ab ovis serpentum.--- Certe noris velim neminem me mortaliū penitiffimo pectore magis amare colereque quam tenet ipfum.’ Fides, &c. p. 152—3.*

sentful female, who hag-like took pleasure to direct and drive it to the utmost possible fury. This was no other than the noted Madam Saumaïse, the wife of his patron at Leyden, in whose house he might for a short time have resided, after his arrival, or occasionally afterwards. It was no secret that Salmasius, great as he was accounted in the schools, was unhappily subjected to a domestic tyranny, and the scourge of the tongue of a termagant. She was a woman of Gouda, of a noble family, and of such a spirit as to vaunt of the rule she bore over her husband. She would often boast, that ‘she had for a husband, but not for a master, the most learned of all the nobles, and the most noble of all the learned.’ Huetius, who became intimate with Salmasius, having been an associate with him in the visit they paid to the capricious Christina of Sweden, and resided some time with him upon his return, could not but remark his mild and pacific disposition in private life, whatever heat and violence appeared in his writings †. In the political contest that broke out between Salmasius and Milton, the latter seems to dwell upon this topic with malevolent pleasure, having the rudeness often to reproach him with this domestic infelicity, as well as with his want of children; and for his tame submission to his spouse’s imperious sway; instead of putting in practice the new Miltonian doctrine and discipline of divorce.

† The author of the Eloge upon Huetius, says, ‘Parmi les savans qu’ il connut en Hollande, Saumaïse tient le premier rang. Droit-on, a l’empportment qui regne dans les ecrits de Saumaïse que c’etoit au fond un homme facile, communicatif, et la douceur meme? Jusque la qu’ il se laissoit dominer par une femme hautaine et chagrine, qui se vantoit d’avoir pour mari, mai non pas pour maitre, le plus Savan de tous les nobles, et le plus noble de tous les Savans.’ *Huetiana* p. xii.

The character of this lady, Morus says, was very notorious, of whom it was better to be silent, than to speak particularly. She had for some time before been incensed against him, for some reasons which he declines to mention, although, he says, he would not have been ashamed, had they been all particularly explained. She exerted herself to the utmost to form a party against him, and in carrying on this design, she espoused the cause of her waiting maid, the same Pontia that figures so often in Milton's libellous pages; though her name was not Pontia, but was probably devised at the pleasure of the satirist, or perhaps, as Morus conjectures, in allusion to Pontius Pilate, by a frigid and more than puerile jest. They plotted together it seems to have inveigled him into an unfuitable and inauspicious marriage; on what ground or pretext we are not told. When this design became matter of talk, Morus openly and strongly declared his aversion; upon which Madam vowed his destruction, often expressing herself in these terms, 'Acheronta movebo, et perdam ipsam.' Accordingly, by the instigation of a certain person (*Ruffino præsertim instigante*) she began to act in concert with a faction, and by their emissaries to send abroad horrid and thundering accusations, which soon were resounded throughout all Belgium. She soon discovered—'furens quid femina possit:' but she led herself and her associates into a troublesome labyrinth rather than the object of her resentment, out of which the parties could only be extricated by an act of public justice. It was not, however, he avers, till after she had babbled up and down in the most intemperate and offensive manner concerning him ‡, and not till

‡ 'Anferina ingluvie ad rancedinem usque ita garriret.'

his reputation was in danger of suffering, in the opinion of those who were unacquainted with her Junonian or rather Sinonian arts, as he expresses it, and who believed her to have that regard for him that she still pretended, that he proceeded first to call the servant to account in law, or more properly the mistress, who managed the plot under her name. He never could have taken such a step, he says, if his mind had not been influenced by a conscious sense of rectitude; more especially as Salmasius was greatly opposite to it; and earnestly requested that he should desist from such a process: and it was represented to him, that if he should persist in it, Salmasius could not befriend him in it, at the hazard of affronting and offending his wife. Some months, therefore, were suffered to pass, while friends on both sides attempted to bring about a reconciliation, and to provide some remedy for restraining such violent outrages. The prince of Tarentum himself, says our author, as if forgetful of his dignity, condescended to take cognizance of these trifling matters †. How little favourable his judgment was to his adversaries, with what diligence and sagacity he detected their stratagems, how generously he applied his healing hand to the cruel wound, and how justly, after he had found out their artifices, and insidious dealing, he ordered them to drop their cause in silence, he says,

† This prince was a son of the duke and duchess de la Trimouille, who bore the name of Prince de Talmont, and afterwards known by that of the Prince de Tarente. The duchess his mother, was the worthy daughter of Marechal de Bouillon, zealous for her religion, who had the resolution to have her son educated in it, after her husband had abandoned it; and he was married to a princess of the illustrious house of Hesse. Benoit, Hist. tom. 3. p. 57.

was well known to all: and what commendations his highness the prince drew from the mouth of Salmasius himself, it did not become him to mention †.

When the prince's attempts failed of desired success, those of others proved equally ineffectual. It became evident that his opponents wanted nothing more than to protract the time, and throw obstacles in the way of obtaining a judicial sentence. This determined him, not without advice of some of the highest rank, and of the wisest heads in Belgium, to prosecute his cause before the supreme court in Holland. 'What remained for me to do,' says he, 'after every other method had been tried, and I continued to be abused by every tongue; —what but to manifest to those who wondered at my patience, a consciousness of innocence? Time was spent in trifling formalities, in perpetual shifting, in collecting false witnesses and testimonies, leaving nothing unattempted to vex and defame me, tho' without hope as they declared, of prevailing in judgment, 'but we gain our cause,' they would say, 'if we can blast his reputation:—in such a general combination against me, in some by open hostility, in others by underhand methods, I could not have been supported, unless I had committed all to the will and providence of him

‡ 'Quam vero minime secundum adversarios meos judicavit celsissimus princeps, quam sagaci solertia technas eorum versutiasque detexerit, quam generose tam esferato ulceri curando manum sublimium rerum tractatione dignissimam commodavit, quam juste postquam fucas olfecit, et dolos atque insidias deprehendit, eos suas sibi res habere jussit, norunt omnes: quas vero mei laudes, quanta encomia ex ipsius Salmasii ore hauserit, commemorare non est pudoris mei.'

Fides, &c. p. 192.3.

‘ who raises up the oppressed, and defends the te-
 ‘ ble.’ Yet he gratefully acknowledges that he was not
 left destitute of friends even in the most difficult crisis :
 but he earnestly requested those of chief note and influ-
 ence, who interested themselves in his cause, that, if they
 would do him a kindness, they should not employ their
 authority in the matter, so as to prevent his innocence
 from fairly gaining the victory : and in this he certainly
 gave an indication of a clear and manly mind.

As the opponents of Morus anticipated, an unfavour-
 able issue of the cause before the civil court, they attempt-
 ed, while it was yet in dependence there, to overwhelm
 him in the ecclesiastical. For this they collected all
 their strength ; and here they appeared as prosecutors
 with some more hope of success : ‘ In the Synod,’ said
 the female conductress, ‘ he will have his enemies for his
 judges ;—there is not one of the ministers but would
 wish to see him crushed.’ Her prediction in this case
 turned out as usually it had done. The Synod convened
 at Utrecht. Delegates from Leyden attended : they pro-
 duced a sack-full of foul accusations and false testimonies ;
 of which Milton afterward appears to have availed him-
 self in writing his scurrilous libel. They were introduced
 by a virulent preface, ‘ a true philippic, *sel merum*,’ as our
 author calls it. They consulted the Synod, whether he
 should be desired to preach in their city, if he should
 come there : for it vexed his adversaries, that during
 this process and his affliction he continued to preach
 wherever he went ; and he thanks God, that he had ne-
 ver done it more frequently, or with greater fruit. ‘ Let
 him refrain from preaching ;’ said one among them ;
 ‘ let him only exercise the professorship, for which he
 seems to have been born and formed.’ He who said this

was not a professor. The delegates insisted, that the Synod, in order to give a deliberate judgment in the cause, should proceed to read the papers they had brought up. Those who were most inclined to favour Morus opposed this, alledging that they were notorious libels, and that it was unbecoming that venerable assembly to allow their ears to be entertained with female squabbles and scoldings. Others again insisted, that the just request of the delegates should be complied with; that this would rather be an advantage to the party accused; and that the cognisance of this affair belonged to the Synod. The majority however were of opinion, that they should relieve themselves from the trouble of hearing such trifling matters; so that one of these members meeting with Morus, began to congratulate him on the good resolution they had adopted, to read nothing against him. But Morus was much grieved when he heard this, and sharply expostulated with him about such a determination, than which, he said, nothing could be more injurious to him: he declared his resolution to go and sit himself before the Synod, and demand that nothing of what his adversaries had produced against him, should be suppressed. Upon which that member immediately returned into court, while the affair was not yet fully over, some complaining, particularly the delegates, of the resolution to which they had come; and he having changed his mind, pled on the opposite side, and brought others over to the same opinion. At last, by a plurality of votes, it was agreed, that all should be read. The papers were accordingly read, over and over; listened to with great avidity; strictly canvassed, and narrowly sifted †.

† Leguntur, perleguntur; audiuntur et quidem aure bi-

The reading was scarcely finished, when one, who was considered as least of all inclined to favour Morus, arose, ‘And is this all?’ said he;—‘nothing else! Was this the momentous affair that could raise such tumults;—billows in a cup*!’ He was followed by others in the same strain—almost all, with a kind of favourable murmur, broke out in similar terms.

When the meeting was closed, they approached him, comforted, embraced him, expressing their sorrow for the treatment he had met with, and their detestation of the artifices of the adverse party. The moderator of the Synod, the venerable Riverius, saluting him, and alluding to his name in the French idiom, said, *Nunquam Ethiops ita dealbatus est, quemadmodum hodie tu fuisti.* ‘Never was a Moor made so white as you have been to-day.’

It was therefore afterwards inserted in the records of the Synod, which were kept in all the churches, ‘That in the papers brought forward by the delegates from Leyden, relating to the litigated cause which lay in dependence before the supreme court of Holland, nothing was found of weight to hinder the churches from using their liberty of inviting Mr Morus to preach, when there was occasion, as they had formerly done.’ Tho’ this sentence was perhaps not very gratifying to the delegates, yet they thought proper also to express their satisfaction with this issue of the matter; protesting that the reason why they had insisted so much to have the papers read, was the sense they had that they contained

bula; expenduntur acri judicio et morosa trutina.’ *Fid. Publ.* p. 197.

* ‘*Fluctus in simpulo* :’ a proverbial expression, q. ‘muck & do about nothing.’

nothing relevant against him, but that they would be found of less consequence than they were supposed to be, not doubting but that upon their being heard, Morus would be acquitted: and they joined with others in congratulating him upon the happy termination of this Synod, which would prove as consolatory to him as the former one at Maestricht.

Whatever reason Morus had to be pleased with the general result; yet when it was expected that he should have expressed his great thankfulness for the favourable issue, they were surpris'd when he exclaimed, 'That they had done him the greatest injustice: but he added, 'I only complain that I have not been admitted to a hearing in the Synod. How easy would it have been for me upon being heard to have entirely dissipated all these charges,

Quæ cuncta ætheri discerpunt irrita venti:

'which even the winds of heaven have wholly blown away, without my pleading the cause at all.' If you have absolved me without any one having defended me, what would you have done had you heard me demonstrating all these allegations to have been either false or exaggerated, or strained and wrested to a meaning opposite to my real sentiments? What if I had exposed the testimonies of these two young men, one of whom, without the least occasion given on my part, prosecutes old quarrels, deeply impressed on his mind; the other, instead of gratitude, shews towards me the most implacable hatred: both of them cherish and even openly avow, such prejudice and inexorable hatred, that they would not so much as give me an ordinary passing salutation, nor even any of my friends with whom I was known to be more familiar.' After stating farther his objections against the admission of the evidence of these prejudiced wit-

nesses, he added, ‘ many other things he could have offered, that might have plainly shown the contents of these abusive papers to be mere calumnies.’

Common order as well as justice, no doubt, required, that Mr. Morus should have been heard in his own defence : but his brethren replied, ‘ We reckoned it more respectful to you, that you should neither be called nor heard. We supposed these things might be true which are produced against you, and which you contend are false, yet we have not found any thing in them worthy of notice or blame † Our law, Friends, *condemns* no man unheard ; but it may rightly *absolve* some persons unheard.’ With this smart facetious remark, this amicable contest ended.

The Synod sanctioned their favourable judgment not by words only, but by deeds. They appointed him on the spot to preach in the church of Utrecht on the morrow, being Sabbath : which, on account of the indisposition of him who should have officiated in the afternoon, he had to do twice, in the presence of all the members of the Synod, and the professors of that university. Such was the conclusion of that Synod on which the adverse party had so much reliance for carrying their cause. The decision was not hastily and carelessly gone into, but after full cognisance of the affair : and, our author tells us, it had the good and memorable effect to restrain the barkings of an obstreperous female, tho’ it could not shut the mouth of English Milton.

This absolution in the ecclesiastical was soon followed by another in the civil court. After various detours, sentence was at last pronounced, whereby the said Pon-

† ‘ Nec tamen in ijs quicquam invenimus nota dignum.’—
p. 200.

tia was non-suited, her pretensions found groundless, and Morus was declared free. Of this he was furnished with an authentic extract, in the Dutch language, which he kept in his possession. This judgment was given, without the interposition of his oath, which Milton would have his readers believe was taken, but which his adversaries alone insisted for, that hereby they might a little hurt him. He was acquitted *simpliciter*, without any condition added.

It does not appear, that in this process, there was either evidence or even a charge produced of illicit connection between the parties. If this had been the case, could a whole Synod, consisting of members differently affected, have agreed in considering the matter as frivolous? The licence which the English libeller allowed his pen to take on this head, unsupported by any shadow of proof, deserves the severest reprobation, and admits not of any excuse. To give a criminal appearance to the affair, it was said, that Pontia had been secluded from the sacramental communion: but Morus (who certainly in this is intitled to credit, as he had full opportunity of knowing, and wrote of facts that must have been well known at the time and in the place where he published) declares, that she never was subjected to any church censure. Though she lost her plea, it seems, she did not also lose her moral character. Upon her removal from the church of Leyden, she was dismissed in the usual form, as one free of any scandal: and under that repute, was still living when the author wrote, in 1655*.

* ' Pontia quam dicis nunquam absentia est sacra synaxi, nunquam notam illam aut censuram ecclesie subiit: quin ab ecclesia Lugdimensi honeste dimissa, ut ceteræ solent quæ nihil in se admittunt, nihil scandali dederunt, apud nos jam vivit.' *Fides Pub.* p. 203.

He might well add, ‘*I nunc et stupra, et spurios tibi finge:—minime nos tangunt, quæ tam manifesto falsa sunt.*’

For the exact truth of his narration of these transactions, he desires any who chuse, to consult the public acts, or the judges in both courts, who were still alive.

A process of this kind, no doubt, had a tendency to mar the intimacy, and somewhat cool the affection that subsisted between Salmasius and Morus. But it does not appear that his former patron and friend ever lost his esteem for him to his dying day; much less that he held him in detestation, as his calumniator asserts. In defence of the memory of his deceased friend, rather than of himself, Morus says, he could tell him what a person of honour, who had resided for many years at the Hague, had heard from the mouth of Salmasius, a few days before his death, but excuses himself from repeating the words,—but in general they were such as gave reason for saying, that never was a man more immoderately praised by another; adding, that he only grieved, lest his wife might be hurt by him, from whom he could not allow himself to be alienated on his account. And so far was he from giving any credit to the slanderous tale of criminal intercourse, that he said before respectable witnesses, ‘*Si quid hic in illa deliquit, ego sum leno, et uxor mea lena:*’—‘If he be guilty, I am the pimp, and my wife the procurefs.’

In 1651, Morus having intimated to the church he was connected with, that he was under the necessity to take a journey into France on account of some family affairs, he received from the consistory another recommendatory letter, dated in August that year, to be used by him wherever he might have occasion for it, but written

in expectation of his speedy return to them, which has also been inserted among the rest. It certified, ' that during the time he had resided among them as their pastor, he had edified them by his excellent and truly extraordinary gifts, had shewn an entire orthodoxy in doctrine, with a most holy conversation; and had also discovered his great erudition in the course of his lectures in the illustrious school of that city, in which he occupied the place of first professor.' But his proposed journey was deferred, until he removed from Middleburgh altogether in about twelve months after.

Mr. Morus' comfort in that city was also disturbed by the violence of a party-spirit that broke out in it, owing to differences among the inhabitants about city-politics. A kind of sedition arose among the lower order of people, in consequence of which, the chief magistrates, who had been his principal friends, were thrown out of office, though they were afterwards restored to their honour and dignity. This change, and his not being so much in favour of the new rulers, might incline him to accept the renewed invitation he received from Amsterdam. And this furnished his calumniators with a new topic, and they did not fail to traduce him as one driven from Middleburgh with disgrace, as they said he had been from Geneva. But this allegation was as groundless as the other. For tho' he confesses, that he was not on such an amicable footing with the party who came into power, yet this did not hinder them from giving him an honourable testimony at his departure. It bore, ' That the council and magistrates of Amsterdam having represented to them, that they had judged it necessary to augment the number of their professors, by appointing one who might teach sacred history there,

tum fructu et splendore, and having by the furest testimonies been informed of the excellent endowments of Mr. A. Morus, formerly professor, &c., and expressing their most earnest wish that he should undertake that charge, and in the most urgent manner (*serio et enixe*) requesting their consent that Mr. Morus should demit the professorship of theology; they, after due deliberation, and weighing the reasons of the curators of their own illustrious school, and perceiving the inclination of Mr. Morus to undertake the said extraordinary profession, were unwilling to refuse the council and magistrates of Amsterdam their request, and accordingly consented to the dismissal of Mr. Morus, ‘though reluctantly,’ they add, ‘on account of the singular gifts God has bestowed upon him, and which endear him to us †’

Given on the 11th day of July, 1652: under the seal of the city, and signed by the secretary.

SIMON VAN BEAUMONT, D. D.

This declaration from those that were reckoned less favourable to him, he thought, deserved to be considered by him as equal to one from his greatest friends, because the latter are often influenced by affection, but the former have regard to equity and integrity alone. But as the impudent Milton had said, he had been ejected from his church, he said, ‘Let us hear the church.’ He then gives an extract of the deed of the consistory of the Walloon congregation, of the following import:—

‘That Mr. Morus having some time before, demanded of them to be discharged from the obligation he had come under to serve that church in the quality of pastor,

† ‘Consentimus quamquam ægre, idque ob egregias dotes quibus Deus ipsum cohonclavit, et quæ nobis percharæ sunt.’

the company, after mature deliberation, and calling upon the name of God, having also heard the reasons and different motives, obliging him to comply with the call from Amsterdam to engage in the profession of church-history, and the consequent dismissal which the venerable magistrates had granted him,—from these and other similar considerations, they yielded to his demand, dismissing him, under the condition of the consent of the Classis of the churches of their language to meet on the 12th of the following month at Flushing, from the pastoral charge he had hitherto exercised in their church, thanking him for the edification it had received from his excellent sermons, and all the other valuable gifts with which it had pleased God to endow him, to whose favour and protection, they recommended him.’

Signed by Le Long, the Pastor, and eleven Elders and Deacons.

Besides this, the Overseers of that church, gave him a certificate similar to that delivered the preceding year, testifying that, during the time he had resided among them, he had edified the church by the purity of his doctrine, and his Christian conversation: and requesting the brethren to whom he might apply to receive him as a most excellent person, ‘*et doue de graces tres-singulieres.*’

This act of course came under the review of the Walloon Synod, that met in the province of Zealand, in August that year, and received its sanction: ‘notwithstanding some defects which they observed in the procedure of that church,’ they say, ‘considering what had been done by it, as well as the magistrates of Middleburgh, and after hearing M. Morus himself, they ap-

proved of the foresaid dismission of their very dear brother, and of the act which they had drawn up concerning it; and they add, that any time when the said Sieur Morus was present in the synodical assemblies, his conduct was very agreeable to them, even as he had also rendered himself approved to his flock, as appeared from the testimonial they had given him.'

At Groede, the 23^d of Aug. 1652.

(Signed) DE L'ESCHERPIERRE, *Moderator*.
CHARLES DE ROCHFORT, *Scribe*.

The reader may think, we have had abundance, or rather super-abundance of testimonies of this tenor; but he may perhaps be of opinion at last, that they were all not more than necessary to confront the publicity, the virulence, and the atrocity of the attack made upon him, soon after, to be circulated, not only in England, but among all the learned throughout Europe.

SECTION FIFTH.

Of the controversy between Salmasius and Milton, occasioned by the execution of Charles I.—Milton's Second Defence of the People of England, in answer to the Cry of Royal Blood—His personal attack upon Morus in it—Morus's vindication of himself in his Publica Fides.

WE have already, more than once in the course of the preceding narrative, had occasion to mention Mr J. Milton, as a chief partizan against the character and cause of the subject of this memoir: but as a fair account of

facts, so far as they can be authenticated, is the most effectual way to obviate calumnies, or to repel injurious charges, it was thought best to continue the narrative down to the termination of the above processes, without taking a direct and particular notice of the contents of his libels upon the character and conduct of the accused, as a matter of personal and public controversy between them, as it afterwards did become: for Milton only told his tale at second hand, and in what he advanced in his re-iterated attacks upon our author, he had chiefly a retrospect to events, or reports that had preceded the issue of these processes in Holland. Without any previous acquaintance with him, or opportunities of obtaining original or exact information, and being incensed against him on another account, he appears to have leagued himself keenly with the party that had excited the clamours, and furthered the prosecutions. It is evident from his own account, that he carried on a close correspondence with them, and depended, with a degree of credulity upon their information, however vague: and whatever unfavourable report was communicated, he was disposed to make the utmost of it, which his satirical genius, joined, as it would seem, to an obstinate invincible prejudice were capable of, for ruining the man whom he had marked out, though very unaccountably, as his public and personal antagonist in another cause of a political nature. He may therefore now be considered as his principal accuser, who placed himself before the public and posterity, as the head and mouth of that faction; and it will be proper to look a little more narrowly into the origin, the contents, and grounds of his libellous writings, as it is chiefly in them that these

charges are found recorded, and known at least to the inhabitants of Britain; after the foreign rumours of the day, and the papers and records of courts in which they may have been mentioned, have in a great measure, been consigned to oblivion. Without this, full justice cannot be done to the subject, nor the reader enabled to form a decided judgment: and it is more necessary in regard of the immortal name that Milton as a writer has otherwise obtained; and because his personal charges and invectives are intermixed and inseparably connected with what he has written upon a most important national controversy, and some political questions, which not only interested Britain, but all Europe, at that time, and ever since.

The quarrel between Morus and Milton took its rise from the writings that were published by Salmasius and Milton, and another on the same side with Salmasius on the subject of the trial and execution of Charles I, who lost his head on the scaffold, on the 30th of January, 1648, in the manner, and on the alledged grounds, which all the world knows. In this controversy Morus was not originally or directly interested, nor had publicly appeared at the time he was attacked, as a party in it: the event of the execution had happened a little before he came into Holland: But he was haled in as the supposed accessary of Salmasius, and as the author of the *Clamor regij sanguinis*, in which Milton and the Regicides were so freely used.

To enter into the merits of the cause between these disputants, is not necessary to our present purpose. Only in general, it may be observed, that the opposition made to the abuse of the royal authority by the Long Parliament, and the war which they reckoned themselves obli-

ged to enter into with the king and his adherents, as stated in their remonstrances, declarations, and acts, at the commencement of the struggle, and for some years after, proceeded upon such principles and grounds as recommended themselves to the approbation of the enlightened friends of religion and liberty, in the three kingdoms, and such as received the approbation of the greatest number of the Protestant churches, and the free states on the continent. These had long been canvassed at home, by writers, and the debate maintained, and at last settled by the sword. While the original state of the cause, and the first object of the war, were adhered to by the parliament, in conjunction with the Scotch nation, there was no just ground to charge them, as they were, and often have been charged, with disloyalty to the king, or with a design to subvert the ancient constitution, to abolish the limited monarchy, or to offer the least injury to the king's person and his lawful authority, but their aim and wish was only to rectify abuses, to remove grievances, to restrain arbitrary power, and to provide for the better exercise of royal authority in consistency with liberty and religion. This they repeatedly declared before God and the world; this they had in the most solemn manner expressed in the League and Covenant ratified between the three kingdoms.

But the case became widely different, and the cause and views were greatly changed, after a faction, consisting mostly of men of unsettled minds and of a fanatical spirit, arose in the army, and crept gradually into power, so as to engross it almost wholly in their own hands. Then wild projects, plottings and intrigues, were formed; then licentiousness, civil and religious, under pre-

text of liberty, openly reared its head ; all settled order of things, in church and common-wealth, was assaulted or insulted, and the dangerous designs falsely imputed to the better part of the nation, were at last avowed and put in execution by a turbulent and daring faction, who obtained ascendancy by the sword in their hand. Such was the state of things when the king was made prisoner, and brought to his trial, when actually engaged in treaty with his parliament, and after such terms had been agreed to, as that parliament while at liberty, had accepted as a basis for a temporary settlement of the nation.

It must be owned, that the many enormities of the king and his adherents, his systematic and practical despotism, the deep hand he had in the late scenes of blood and devastation, his known insincerity and perfidy, his mulish and foolish obstinacy in refusing any tolerable terms upon which peace might be settled and the people's rights secured, with the just ground there was for apprehensions of the dangerous consequences that might follow upon his having the sovereign power committed to him again upon any terms, afforded that party very plausible pretences, and provocation, for proceeding to that extremity. It was no difficult matter to prove that he had violated the laws and constitution, that he was an oppressor, a tyrant, a delinquent, perhaps the greatest in the nation ; that he had waged unjust war with his subjects, and had shed the blood of thousands,—that he was a dissembler, a falsifier of promises, treaties, and oaths,—that he was in fact, a traitor to the nation, and so deserved the highest pains that the law, and the arm of justice could inflict ;—as was charged against him in his inditement, and as the advocates employed at his trial, and Milton after-

wards endeavoured to prove against him. Even let all this be admitted, or if there be any thing worse that can be alledged, to criminate the celebrated *royal martyr* ;—let the act of cutting of his head be allowed a masterpiece of political prudence, a preventive stroke necessary for self-defence, as well as of daring fortitude ; a needful check and lesson to tyrants,—and, what is still more, an act of material justice, by which a divine providence inflicted exemplary punishment for flagrant crimes, and rendered, by such means, just retribution for blood, to one who thought himself above the reach of law, and could not be punished in the ordinary course of justice,—which are the strongest pleas that have been, or can be advanced in behalf of the deed, and the perpetrators of it ;—yet all these will not amount to a satisfactory vindication in this case. Had the question been restricted to the right of a nation, or the body politic, in the abstract, to chuse, to limit, or in certain cases, to resist, or depose, to imprison, or banish their rulers, or if nothing else could secure the people from the destructive rage of a tyrant, even to proceed to the last resource, the infliction of death, the friends of liberty would not long hesitate in determining it. Most of these are decided cases in the science of political freedom, and sanctioned by approved precedents, as to which the maxim, so often appealed to by the actors or defenders of that deed, *Salus populi suprema lex*, would be readily admitted as reason sufficient. But what has all this to do in the present case ?—when the people had emancipated themselves from the yoke, and by their representatives were in a condition to dictate, and see to the observance of terms of peace and for securing their rights ;—when the royal lion was

was chained so as to prevent him from hurting ;—when instead of the people at large demanding such a sacrifice, they looked on with grief and amazement ;—when, instead of their legal representatives functioning or concurring in the deed, the majority of them, for their opposition to the measures that led to it, were expelled from their seats, and hindered from acting by an armed force ; a case, in which promises, public oaths, and national treaties were disregarded ; in which greater and more sudden dangers might have been foreseen to follow such violent procedure, than could have been apprehended certainly to arise from the restoration of the king to a limited power ;—in which, instead of a legal constituted authority, or tribunal known in law, they were arbitrarily created, under a constitution which gave no branch of the legislature a power of jurisdiction over another, or a right to abolish any of them ; in a word, when craft, perfidy, and violence, had gained possession of the seat of authority and justice.

The execution of the king, in the circumstances and manner in which it was done, excited a general outcry and odium, both at home and abroad : it gave occasion to bring discredit and blame upon the good cause in which the better part of the three nations had been engaged, and tended eminently to hinder the progress of the reformation, and the attainment of the great objects for which they had so long contended and suffered. Though both the cause and the chief actors were changed, yet royalists, the disaffected, and inconsiderate, were disposed to consider them as still the same, and accordingly to impute almost the same measure of the guilt of these, and subsequent transactions, to those who had no share

in them, and even to those who had most openly and zealously opposed them: and foreigners were ready to be impressed with this idea; though no two things could be more distinct: yet this great error and glaring injustice, in confounding and classing together, and indiscriminately censuring, designs, measures, and parties so very different, has been artfully and malignantly kept up, and continued down to the present times, even in defiance of the clearest evidence of facts. The busy advocates for absolute monarchy, historians infected with the poison of their principles, or with infidelity, and antipathy to the religious spirit and reform of that period, and 10,000 ecclesiastics in their yearly declamations from English pulpits, and in their printed sermons, on the anniversary of what is most absurdly called K. Charles' martyrdom, in which usually they have not scrupled to aver, 'that those who drew the sword, were no less guilty than those who lifted up the axe;' have contributed to the circulation of the error, and to continue the calumnious imputation: although, even the convention-parliament that restored the son, which carried its loyalty to excess, and in which so many royalists sat, were not so insensible to the evidence of truth, nor so devoid of justice, as to confound things so distinct, or to allow any to employ such language. When a certain member ventured to speak in that strain, he was brought to his knees, and sharply reprimanded by the order of the house*.

* In that parliament a member took the freedom to say, 'He that first drew the sword against the late king, committed as great an offence as he that cut off his head.' Upon which the speaker, by order of the house, gave him the fol-

Without making the proper distinctions here, it is impossible to form an accurate judgment of the parties and transactions of that time; and accordingly few have done it, or they have wanted the impartiality and honesty fairly to avow it. If those who have had abundant means for their information have committed such great errors, there is less cause of wonder, that foreign writers should have fallen into them.

lowing reprimand, ‘ Sir, the house has taken very great offence at some words you have let fall, which, in the judgment of the house, contain as high a reflection on the justice and proceedings of the lords and commons of the last parliament, in their actings before the year 1648. as could be expressed: they apprehend there is much poison in the said words; and that they were spoken with a design to inflame, and to render them who drew the sword to bring delinquents to punishment, and to vindicate their just liberties into the balance with them who cut off the king’s head; of which act they express their abhorrence and detestation, appealing to God and their consciences bearing them witnesses, that they had no thoughts against his person, much less against his life. Therefore, I am commanded to let you know, that had these words fallen out at any other time in this parliament, but when they had considerations of mercy, pardon and indemnity, you might have expected a sharper and severer sentence. than I am now to pronounce. I am, according to command, to give you a short reprehension and I do, as sharply and severely as I can, reprehend you for it.’

It must be owing to very great ignorance, or great perverseness or prejudice, when the difference is not made between the proceedings of the long parliament, and what was called the *camp*. The last, as the name imports, was nothing else than the despicable remains of an august Assembly, after the officers of the army, had by no other law than that of sword and musket, secluded about 200 of the most valuable members;—from which time the parliament may be considered as having been in fact dissolved, and the legal constitution unhinged; the remnant being the mere creatures of the army, receiving whatever orders, and passing whatever votes, their superiors pleased to direct.

The several parties who concurred in condemning the king, did so, therefore, from very different principles, and on different grounds. Those who had most heartily engaged in the parliamentary war, as originally stated, thought there was no inconsistency in opposing, and loudly reprobating, the usurpation and violent proceedings of the military junta, from such considerations as the above. This was generally done by the great body of the Presbyterians in England, and by none more than the nation and church of Scotland;—that nation who had been the first to draw the defensive sword, and had been the most steady as well as successful in opposing the royal despotism. By their acts, remonstrances, and protestations, they shewed themselves, at that juncture, to be the most strenuous agents and advocates for closing the treaty with the king, and for preserving his life; and they, with their co-adjutors, in England, were indeed the true royalists, and best friends of the king, as they had all along been, rather than that faction who had in a manner appropriated that name, but whose pernicious counsels and measures, from first to last, had hurried the infatuated monarch to his destruction. The Presbyterians, without retracting their principles of liberty, or designs of reform, and though far from being satisfied with the tardy concessions, or from confidently relying on the promises, or good affections of the king to their cause, yet saw the importance of preserving the form of ancient royalty, even in the hands of such a king, now humbled, and restricted as he was to be for the future, and that it was more eligible, and conducive to the public welfare, to accept of what could for the present be obtained, than to run the risk of losing all, or of dissolving an regular

government, and introducing general anarchy, in the strife of contending parties, and of drenching the land again in blood. The faithful and bold representation and remonstrance of the Presbyterian ministers in the city of London, and around it, and other papers that were published, are standing records of their views and spirit on that tragical occasion; these, together with the active measures that were adopted immediately after in Scotland for continuing the monarchy, and the many dangers and sufferings they incurred in maintaining the rights of the son, and for preserving their public faith and loyalty inviolate, while the kingdom of England treacherously or timidly renounced them, particularly in the disastrous civil war they were in consequence involved in, terminating in a temporary subjugation of the kingdom, might have forever silenced the least whisper of accusation against them on that head. But it was their lot to meet with great injustice and injury alike from both parties, who had diverged into the opposite extremes; and instead of gratitude and praise for their meritorious conduct towards both, they have been loaded with obloquy from each, being alternately classed with rebels and regicides, on the one hand, and with Cavaliers and despotic royalists, on the other. In none of the treatises above-mentioned, accordingly, have the disputants on either side, done them, or the cause under discussion, entire justice, having proceeded on principles in the two extremes.

The young king had taken refuge in Holland, whither also many of the royalists had retired. During his residence there, and before his coronation in Scotland, and the war with England that followed, Salmasius's book appeared, under the title 'Defensio Regia, pro

Carlo I.—*sumptibus regijs*, an. 1649.’ He had undertaken it doubtless at the desire of the royal family, and the court so nearly allied to it at the Hague: and he may be supposed to have written it under the influence and misrepresentations of the party whose cause he defended. In it he professes to plead the right of all kings, and enters into the general topics of argument, authorities and precedents in behalf of monarchical government, in opposition to popular claims to restrict, resist, or depose; and so condemned the parliamentary cause as well as the proceedings of the parricides. While he justly exposed the illegal and unwarrantable conduct of the latter, and paints in strong colours the atrocity of their deed, he invested royalty with excessive and dangerous prerogatives, as being derived only from God, and as exalting its possessors above all law and judgment on earth, scarcely stopping short of the absurd doctrine, ‘the divine right of kings to govern wrong;’ while nothing remains for the people but patience and tame sufferings under their wrongs;—passive obedience and non-resistance.

In consideration of the odium that might be thrown upon the reformed religion and the Protestant churches, particularly those of the Presbyterian model, from the transactions that had taken place in Britain, Salmasius and some other French divines, Amyrault, Peter du Moulin the younger, and others who wrote upon the subject, about that time, thought they did good service to the common cause of kings, and of their churches, by thus wiping off the reproach, which their adversaries, and rulers, were always so ready to cast upon them, that they were enemies to kingly authority, and disposed to sedition and rebellion. But when they attempted to de-

send them upon such slavish principles, they certainly did a real disservice to all kings and people, and in so far departed from the founder doctrine of the first reformers, and the most eminent writers among them, and virtually condemned the leagues and defensive wars, by which the independence and liberties of the protestant republics and free kingdoms of Europe, were settled, and the edicts in favour of Calvinism in France were obtained. At that time, too, when the violence of parties ran so high in Britain, foreign writers not having access to know so accurately the particular constitution of the government, and the legal rights of the people, and the counterbalancing power of the popular assemblies, could not be the most competent judges of the differences which had arisen there.

The writers of that age, who had been born or educated in France, were too much accustomed to adopt, on these subjects, the style, as well as the current principles of the French. The spirit of the Protestants there, together with their power, was, in a great measure broken, after the unsuccessful and divided efforts of resistance against the measures of the arbitrary court, under the duke of Rohan; and from that time, even their divines were too ready to offer the grateful incense of flattery to their rulers, on whom they had become entirely dependent, too similar to that which some hypocrites of Rome addressed to their pope, when they considered him as *Alter Deus in terris*; though hereby they were feeding the pride, and strengthening the despotism of those who had laid the train, and were maturing the scheme for their total extirpation. The writer last mentioned, P. du Moulin, deemed the author of a book, in-

titled 'The history of the English and Scotch Presbytery,' published in the year after that of Salmasius, and addressed to the ministers of the reformed church of Paris, that was afterwards translated into English, and is yet circulating in the hands of some readers, is one of the most violent and injurious: being designed for a vindication of all the acts of the king traducing the parliament, Westminster Assembly, and all who took part against him, as conspirators, and subverters of the government in church and state, exceeding even Salmasius himself, whom he stiles the prince of letters, and the glory of France, in supporting throughout the abject doctrines of absolute power, and unconditional obedience.

To repel the formidable attack of one who was accounted a champion in grammatical and polemical learning, the pen of Milton was employed by those who had got possession of power in England; and he performed the task, doubtless, with much ability and erudition. His '*Defensio pro populo Anglicano, contra Claudij Anonimi, alias, Salmasij Defensionem regiam;*' was published at London, both in folio and quarto, in 1651; and was generally read, and admired throughout Europe; even by not a few who detested the principles of it. Salmasius was supposed not to have acquitted himself so well on this occasion; but lost some portion of his former reputation, while Milton in proportion advanced his. It was a common remark at that time, among the learned, that a good cause had suffered in the hands of its defender, and the worst had met with the most able and skilful advocate. But as to the main subject of dispute, it may be found, that there was much on both sides to

blame, and that the truth was obscured, and, as is too often the case in controversy, parted between them.

On the general principles of government, or from the constitution and particular laws of Great Britain,—whether on the ground of authorities or precedents, human or divine, it was no difficult matter for Milton to refute a great part of the reasonings, and expose the mistakes of his antagonist: and by recurring to the former administration, and the late conduct of the king towards his people, it was no less easy to substantiate the charge of guilt against him, and to find him, in his public capacity, whether morally or politically, in a high degree criminal, as well as misled. Considering his tract as a defence of popular rights at large, and of legitimate government as implying a mutual compact, and of a power inherent in a nation, resulting from it, to defend themselves against tyrants, and to controul or dismiss incorrigible kings, he must be allowed to have greatly the advantage: while, at the same time, these theoretic principles of liberty, in reference to the particular and principal matter in debate, were evidently misapplied; and when, instead of being produced in behalf of the people at large, or their legitimate representatives, they are made a specious plea for a comparatively small faction, and a military despotism, they lose all their force, and appear rather an insult to reason, and a mockery of right.

Milton had done service to the parliamentary cause, at an early period of the contest, by shewing, in different tracts, the necessity for reformation, and attacking particularly the domineering spirit of prelacy, and other ecclesiastical abuses. But when he began to vent some of his peculiar notions; as in his publications upon the

subject of divorce, he lost in some measure, the confidence and favour of the Presbyterians; and he appears to have indulged spleen, and vented his satire, against some of the leading men among them, particularly the Scotch divines, of which there are some traces remaining in his lesser poems, published about that time. He became gradually more attached to the sectarian and republican innovators, till at length he ventured upon the avowed defence of some of their most desperate measures. Even before this defence, he had published in 1649, soon after the king's death, 'The Tenure of kings and magistrates; proving that it is lawful, and hath been held so through all ages, for any who have the power to call to account a tyrant or wicked king, and after due conviction to depose and put him to death, if the ordinary magistrate have neglected or denied to do it; and that they, who of late so much blamed deposing, are the men that did it themselves.' For writing his Defence, he was rewarded with L.1000; so it was, with a very bad grace, that he upbraided Salmasius, as he did in the beginning of his answer, as a hired and mercenary writer, because his work was printed at the royal expence, and he had received 100 Jacobuses for his labour.

We have said so much on the original and general subject of this controversy, chiefly on account of its great importance; though it was in consequence of the intemperate spirit, and the unfair manner, in which it was carried on, that Mr M. came to be so deeply embroiled and personally affected by it. This spirit appeared from the beginning of it; and it is hard to say which of the parties exceeded in scurrility and insolent abuse. Salmasius in-

indulged in his wonted acrimony of language, poured up-
 on the regicides and all who took part with them, the
 most reproachful names and epithets, representing them
 as the most odious and nefarious men that ever exist-
 ed, against whom all princes, and the whole world,
 ought to have risen, in order to exterminate them. He
 designs them *perduelles, latrones, sicarios, parricidas, fanaticos* ;
 as men who could sport with crowns and sceptres, and
 play as at foot-ball with the heads of kings. But the
 English Apologist, in this respect, fell nothing behind
 him ; and in personal disrespect, and abuse, and cutting
 farcafms, very inexcusable as directed against such a man,
 and on such a subject, he went far beyond him. It is
 unnecessary to produce any particular passages from these
 tracts for the evidence of this : the reader who looks into
 them will find instances in almost every page. Who could
 have thought that a writer who had regard to charac-
 ter or good manners, could pronounce with open mouth
the great Salmasius a mere novice, ignorant of grammar
 and common sense,—a babbler,—an afs,—a liar,—a jug-
 gler,—a blasphemmer, one who deserved the gallows,—an
 apostate from his religion, a Jesuit, a Judas, an atheist, &c.
 Yet this is but a small part of the caricature. It may
 suffice here, as a specimen of the spirit of this writer,
 and to shew how much he was addicted to calumny, and
 what regard was to be paid, in other instances, to his
 virulent accusations, or malignant satire, to select a few
 of the vocables, and heads, inserted in the Index of his
 Defence, in the original 4to edition, under the article
 Salmasius : which the reader will find below *.

* Salmasius homo vanus et ventosus ; frigidissimus litera-

Salmasius did not long survive this publication; but he had proceeded so far in a reply to it, though left unfinished at his death, which happened at Spa, in 1653: This was published afterwards at London, about the time of the restoration, in 1660. As princes who die in certain critical conjunctures, are often suspected to have been poisoned, so it has sometimes happened to fierce literary combatants, when they have been carried off in the midst of their hostilities; they have been reported to have fallen by the sharp weapons of their antagonists.

tor; insulsus et insipidus orator; omnium literatorum macula et litura; se solidioris doctrinæ ne guttulam quidem hauribile ostendit, literatus sine doctrina; Deum tyrannum maximum asserit; impius et sacrilegus, cœcitus et lymphaticus; nil nisi cænum et lutum ore fundit; scriptorum sapientia ne leviter quidem imbutus; pessimus de grege Lejolitharum; furca dignus; novus hæreticus; stupidissimus, quia ratione stolidus nititur; hominum mendacissimus; cane quovis rabido jejunior; vappa et nebulo; Pseudo-plutarchus, veterator et lucifugus; hypocrita; præpostera ratio ne nititur; ferecorarius Gallus, Mucelionis fuisse obtruncari dignus; Tyrannis diadema legibus solutum imponere studet; tyrannorum vespilo; hominum variissimus et corruptissimus, suspensio dignus; Secleratus; mancipium equestre; Trifurcifer; eo inter homines nihil nequius, inter quadrupedes nihil amentius; patibularis eques; vertus in cuculum; mus montanus; Ardelio; eques ergastularius; Mango; patriæ fure æternum opprobrium; perpusilli homo animi; Inpi Dominus; seni vir; latinitate plane experta; homo contemptissimus; summæ impudentiæ homuncio; furiosus; Satanae tradendus; hypocrita et atheus; libertatis lebes ac peltis; perditissimus; balaamus; homo stoiens; Gallicanus Erro; levissimus; Elpenor est; sub femina servitæ affectus; grammaticalrus eques; prævaricator et sophista; vappa et circulator; crumenipeta; perfricti oris balatro; Deo vel Jule similis est.

This curious Index, probably annexed to that edition by himself with the proper references, is not to be found in any 12mo. edition in Lond. 1652; nor in the folio edition of his Latin works printed in Holland, near the end of that century.

As it had been said before, that Salmasius had been the cause of the death of Spanheim, so now it was alledged, that Milton had proved the death of Salmasius; though probably with as little reason in the one case as in the other. Though doubtless a man of such a haughty spirit as Salmasius, would feel himself hurt by the treatment he had received, he had sustained and out-lived several attacks of the same kind before, and he had the favour of the great, and the applause of crowned heads to console him under such a disaster. However, when it was alledged, that the writing of the defence had cost Milton his eye-sight, he boasted, by way of retaliation, that he had deprived his adversary of life.

Milton's book was burnt at Paris and Tholouse by the hands of the hangman; as it was afterwards at London by order of the council, at the restoration. In the meantime, Salmasius and his cause, were avenged in another manner, by the appearance of 'The Cry of Royal blood to heaven against the English parricides;' at the Hague, 1652. In this Milton was repaid to the full in his own coin. No author's name was prefixed: it was dedicated to Charles II., now a second time an exile, after his escape from the battle of Worcester, when his forces were defeated, and his affairs at home appeared to be desperate. To the dedication was subjoined the name of A. ULAC, who was also the printer. A short preface was prefixed, in the person and language of the author, from which it could be collected, that he claimed a relation to the French reformed church, and was one that was intimately conversant with the English, of better note, and had opportunity of being 'more thoroughly acquainted with the state of England, than any person who did

not understand the English language, or had not seen the British coast, could be expected to be.' Two poems were subjoined at the end of the book, both also anonymous, the one a Eucharistical ode, to Salmasius, celebrating him for his performance in the highest strain; the other addressed to the *execrable Villain* J. Milton; 'In impurissimum Nebulonem J. Miltonum, parricidarum et parricidij advocatum;' in which the utmost opprobrium and contempt is cast upon him, which the most scurrilous words, and the keenest Jambics could express †.

† The poem consists of near 250 verses, of which the following specimen may suffice :

—Quid faciat ingens te vacuus Salmasius
Tenebrione, tam minuta, tam nihil?
Quem prensat incessum ultio, nusquam invenit.
Ten' sterquilinum, ten' cucurbitæ caput,
Aufum monarchas rodere, ten' Salmasios?
Nunc mus elephantum, rana pardum verberet,
Opicus leonis vellicet forex jubas,
Insultet urso simia, musca milvio,
Sacram scarabæi concacent avem Jovi,
Ipsuinque merdis inquinent albis Jovem.

Porro ut profani cruce susolato canes
Quicquid supra se est gestiunt commingere;
Si quid generosum, nobile vel probum super,
Violare gaudent stercorei matrigie, &c.
—Tamen repertus, proh Deum! in terris homo,
Hominisve speciem præferens fœtus flygis,
Qui prodigiosum dedecus oblatum Deo
Quod mundus horret, quod bonos omnes coquit,
Solemque rugis aspicientem contrahit,
Pudoris expers an leat defendere:
Tenebricosus rabula, pus et fel merum,
Atroque cœnum maceratum sanguine:
Innominandus balatro, qui quod non potest
Virtute apisci, crimine nomen quæritat.

Bayle justly says, ‘That book was a very violent invective against the parliament party; Milton in particular is extremely abused in it. He is no better used in the epistle dedicatory than in the book itself: but he is still more furiously lashed at the end of the book. Milton, who had let several violent pieces published against the parliament party pass without any reply, could not continue silent with regard to this, where he saw himself personally interested, as well by the immoderate encomiums which it bestowed upon Salmasius, as the terrible reproaches with which he found himself attacked in it.’ But amidst such personal invectives, and party recriminations, a general subject, which is still of most importance to disinterested readers and posterity, is ever ready to be forgotten, or injured. The observations already made, will apply in this respect, to this as well as the former tracts. Some narration is given in it of the proceedings against the king, particularly of the more recent transactions by which he was brought to the block, with a reference also to some posterior incidents which took place in the war that

—Bene est quod hostis publicus, et minis ferox
 Sinone vafrior, sævior busiride,
 Quarente catulos tygride concitator,
 Idem es fugaci imbellior cuniculo,
 Populo execranti simia contemptior,
 Minor pediclo, turpior bufonibus, &c.
 —Pax! fata notam mox sibi invenient viam,
 Nec festinantes clauda fontes defetet
 Vindicta cæli; pœna post equites sedet.
 Et propria diræ jura constabunt cruci.
 Produxerunt jam vos ad crucem fatis siet;
 Huic vos relinquo. Quod pium faustumque sit
 Regno populoque; tibi resigno crux mala
 Hos candidatos, et fidei mando turæ.

Cromwell's army made upon the young king and his Presbyterian subjects. In his comments and sentiments, he usually follows the steps of the champion whom he so much extolls; and as he praises even his vehemence, and the acrimony of his language, alledging that no words could equal the atrocity of the deed, so in this he falls nothing short of him. Nay, he says, Salmasius 'rather failed in defect than in excess, and those whom he called bull-dogs, should be named Cerberuses †.' They ought to be reputed 'demons rather than men. As for J. Milton, 'It is doubtful who, or whence, he was, whether a man or a worm 'heri e flerquilinio editus.' 'There is no need to inquire after the hangman who cut off the king's sacred head;—we have here the executioner; he who advised, defends, praises, the wicked deed, did it.' 'That such a monster of a man, and parricides like himself should live, even reign, is the greatest instance of divine patience, and the exercise of ours.'—When he mentions the burning of his book, he wishes the author had met with the same fate.

There is one topic, however, on which the author softens a little his tone, and speaks with some more moderation than his predecessor in the dispute had done. It is on the part the Presbyterians acted in the war, and at the king's death. Salmasius went so far as to alledge that, though the conclusion of the wicked deed was

† 'Affirmo,—nec illam vehementiam in excessu peccare, in defectu potius, et quos molossos appellavit, Cerberos vocari debuisse——Defunt verba, subsidit plenissimus facundiae torrens infra hanc sceleris magnitudinem.' 'Hæc ira, hæc vehementia zelo Dicit, flagrans est Deo et hominibus accepta.' Clam. p. 14. 18. edit. 4to.

to be charged upon the Independents, yet the Presbyterians might lay claim to the honour of the beginning and progress of it. ‘You,’ said he, ‘went along with them more than half the way: you accompanied them to the 4th act of the tragedy or beyond it; the guilt of the king’s death may be imputed to you; you, and not others, applied the execrable axe to his neck.’ Upon which Milton, in his reply, had, with reason, also apostrophised the Presbyterians, reminding them of what was awaiting them, and what they might expect, if ever the race of Charles should again possess the throne, and the violent royalists come into power. ‘Upon you,’ said he, ‘the royal vengeance will fall;—the petitions, the remonstrances, the declarations of the lords and commons,—and the acts passed by them, with such a general applause of the people,—the abolition of prelacy, liturgy, &c. will be condemned and punished as so many seditious and mad measures of the Presbyterians, as well as the king’s death avenged.’ And his words were eventually prophetic, and afterwards verified to the full †.

† ‘Audite presbyteriani, ecquid nunc juvat, ecquid confert ad innocentiae et fidelitatis opinionem vestrae, quod a rege puniendo abhorretere tantopere videremini?—Vae vobis imprimis, si unquam stirps Caroli regnum posthac in Anglos recuperabit: in vos, mihi credite, cudetur haec faba. Sed Deo vota persolvite, fratres diligite liberatores vestros, qui illam calamitatem, atque certam perniciem ab invitis etiam vobis haecenus prohibuere.’—‘Intelligere hinc possint, si rex revertatur, se non solum regis mortem, sed etiam petitiones quondam suas, et frequentissimi parlamenti acta de liturgia et episcopis abolendis, de trienniali parlamento, et quaecunque summo populi consensu ac plausu sancita sunt, tanquam seditiosas atque insanas Presbyteriorum positiones luituros.

Def. pro. pop. Angl. p. 92.

The evidence of facts, was too glaring for any seriously to maintain the above rash charges against the Presbyterians; the public state of matters too was much altered at the time when the *Cry* was published; the young prince had previously entered into the closest alliance with the Scots, after all other resources had failed him. He had accepted the crown on the terms they offered him,—had dismissed his former counsellors, confessed the sins of his father's house, solemnly subscribed the League and Covenant of the three kingdoms, engaged to ratify all the acts of parliament of either kingdom, in behalf of it, and for establishing the presbyterial uniformity in all time coming; though all this was done with the same sincerity, and regard to the honour of a king, as his royal father had shown in all his concessions of a similar nature. The author, therefore, though he does not acquit the Presbyterians of the charge of rebellion, yet he attempts some sort of apology for the part they acted in the English parliament, as having been drawn in and led by the counsels and stratagems of the more violent party, before they were fully aware of their designs, and that they found themselves afterwards unable to resist them, through the prevalence of the faction supported by the army: and of the guilt of the king's murder he wholly exculpates them, devolving all the blame upon the Independents. In this modified language he would conciliate the minds of those who were now the king's closest friends and allies. ‘*Hæc Presbyterianis fratribus nostris libere et amanter dicta sunt †.*’

† *Quamvis in hac rebellionis fabula partes suas egerint Presbyteriani, ad Independentes tamen tota facinoris pro-*

He also narrates some instances of shocking cruelty committed by the sectarian army upon the royalists and Presbyterians after the battles they gained; some of which I have not seen so particularly mentioned in the general histories of that period. After the battle of Preston, he says, after they were wearied with killing and slaying, they starved to death some thousands of the Scots, having kept them inclosed in some grass parks, where, by means of grass and the roots they plucked up to feed upon, they lingered out life for some days. Others taken in the same battle, both English and Scotch, were sold like cattle to the merchants; by whom they were transported to the American islands, and obliged, as the negroes, to toil at the sugar works; until a favourable opportunity occurred, when they shook off the yoke and seized upon the isle of Barbadoes from the tyrants †.

The prisoners also, that were taken at the battle of Dunbar, he says, were shut up in close prison to undergo a lingering death; (*ita morentur ut mori se sentirent*;) so that few of the many thousands escaped with life. To

tasis et epitasis pertinent. Illi antequam quo tenderent manifesti essent, pernicioſa consilia Presbyterianis infuſarunt; illi res omnes ex arbitrio gerebant, etiam cum obtinebant et regnare videbantur Presbyteriani, &c.—
 ‘Seroque misere Presbyteriani didicerunt quam intutum sit hominibus velle sapientiores esse Deo, qui nos vetat “mala facere, ut bona eveniant”—qua quidem fallacia nullum Satanas potentius ad bonos viros in malam partem impellendos expertus est.—Hæc Presbyterianis fratribus nostris libere et amanter dicta sunt. Sciant nos nec eorum perperam factis accedere, nec nostrum erga eos amorem immutare. Cum Independentibus nobis lis esto, quorum tunc regnum vere cæpit, quando regem e Presbyterianorum custodia ereiptum in suam receperunt.

Clm. p. 28—30.

† Ut Supra, p. 20.

which he adds, the carnage at the battle of Worcester, and the cruelties that followed, when the town was delivered up to spoil and slaughter, by the soldiers, who spared neither age nor sex. Lord Clarendon in his history, says, there was but little cruelty committed on that occasion: we would hope therefore that the following account of the shocking treatment of the prisoners, may be exaggerated; we hope it, for the sake of humanity, and the credit of the English name, for the sake of Christianity, and the credit of men, who but lately had sworn to be for ever faithful to the same cause, and to their brethren whom they treated as enemies. After noticing what was done to some English prisoners who were executed, ‘The Scots,’ it is said, ‘were kept night and day in the open air, till they were carried off in great numbers by hunger, cold, and the dysentery. When the liberality of the London citizens supplied them with clothes and money, these were instantly snatched from them by their barbarous keepers. They intercepted also the meat that was sent to them: and when they had fed themselves to the full, and scattered the remainder on the ground, the prisoners were driven by blows from gathering it up, and the swine preferred before them. Others were sold to American merchants as slaves: but few purchasers were found; and in a short time, few remained to be sold. And that they might not perish by one kind of death, 60 of them were put on board an insufficient or ill-ballasted ship, which, soon after weighing anchor, was overfet and sunk in the river †.’ But, perhaps, all this

† ‘Scotis noctu interdique sub dio custodiant, donec inedia, frigore, dysenteria absumpti agminatum afferantur.’

waste of the lives of such men, would appear both to true royalists and regicides, a very consolatory loss; as Hume, though a Scotsman, tells us in cold blood, when describing the slaughter at Dunbar, that ‘The defeat of the Scots’ (who were only losing their all for Charles) ‘was regarded by the king as a *very fortunate event*. The armies, which fought on both sides, were almost equally his enemies †!!!’

Since we are touching on these critical events, and a portion of the history of the church and kingdom of Scotland that has not yet been set in its proper light, we may be allowed to make another observation by the bye,—on the absurd account that is given of the spirit and behaviour of the Scottish clergy at the time of the battle of Dunbar, by the pen of the writer last named, and which, indeed, has been taken into many of the histories of England and Scotland. It represents them as fanatical in the highest degree; and as pragmatically meddling and dictating in all the political and military affairs, though upon no sufficient evidence. ‘They ordered,’ he says, ‘the king immediately to leave the camp. They also carefully purged it of 4000 malignants; and then concluded, that they had an army of saints, and could not be beaten. They murmured extremely

Vestes nudis, nummos egenis affatim exhibuerat Londinensium pia liberalitas; sed latronibus præda fuit tanta benignitas: mox enim vestes et nummos miseris eripuerunt barbari custodes. Soliti etiam cibum ad captivos missum intercipere. Ollæ carnibus plenæ a saturis custodibus eversæ, cumque offas in lutum provolutas famelici captivi arriperent, fustibus abacti sunt, porcique ad eas invitati,’ &c. Clamor. p. 21.

‡ Hist. of Eng. vol. vii. p. 199. ed. 1763.

not only against their prudent general, but also against the Lord, on account of his delays to give them deliverance: and they plainly told him, that if he would not save them from the English sectaries, he should no longer be their God.' When the army of Cromwell was reduced to the last extremities at Dunbar, 'the madness of the Scottish ecclesiastics,' says Hume; the folly of the Scottish clergy,' as Rider terms it, (who often copies him, as he does Sir Edward Walker, Whitlocke, &c. in this matter) 'saved it.' 'Revelations, they said, were made to them, that the sectarian and heretical army, together with Agag, meaning Cromwell, was delivered into their hands. Upon the faith of these visions, they *forced* their general, in spite of all his remonstrances, to descend into the plain, and attack the English.' 'These men,' as Rider has it, 'trusting so much to providence, that they wholly neglected every human mean, and constantly importuned their unhappy general,' &c. This may make a good merry tale for an infidel club over a bottle; but it might have appeared too gross, bearing the marks of fabrication and malignity on its front, to be so easily admitted by a clergyman of any church, who was not disposed to laugh at the expence of others, with a foolish credulity. The character of the Scottish clergy at that time, in favour with the ruling party, was of a very different description. Though devout, they neither pretended to visions and revelations as a rule of conduct, nor were accustomed to teach men to rely on providence so as to forget all human means: such doctrines or enthusiastic notions, which had sprung up in the adversary's camp, they had been long aware of, and warned all to avoid. Nor were they accustomed to intrude beyond

their calling, into the management of political or military affairs. Some were appointed to attend the army in quality of chaplains, as was the laudable practice of that age, and as they had done from the beginning of these civil commotions, which contributed so much to preserve sobriety and discipline in the army of the Covenanters, both in Scotland and when they were in England: and they might sometimes meet as committees, or a delegated commission, to give advice in certain cases, in the management of the public cause then at issue, in which the church of Scotland had and claimed such a deep interest, when religion, as well as civil liberty, and the king's title, was at stake. Those who know not the importance of a well-adjusted connection and co-operation of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in a nation, are ignorant of the main springs of great good or evil to a kingdom, and of the welfare or misery of the large mass of the people: and with this connection and influence the active leaders in that period, were well acquainted, not only in theory, but by experience. But the church in her assemblies, committees, and deliberations, acted in a distinct capacity, and only interposed their advice when requested, or their petitions or remonstrances, when they thought duty, and public danger required it, to those who had the immediate management of the public affairs. Can this be blamed, especially by any who can applaud such a mixed constitution as that of England, where the church is represented, and the clergy claim a share in the legislature? But seriously to assert, or even for a moment to suppose, that a few ministers, on the above occasion, dictated to the commander in chief, and all the subordinate officers, the military movements of that dis-

asterous day, and even *forced them* to go down to the attack, in opposition to their own judgement and remonstrances, and on no other ground than a sure revelation they had got from heaven, is to suppose both the one and the other to have been bereft of common sense, and is no less disparaging to the general, whom, at the same time, they praise as *able* and *prudent*, and to the whole body of officers, than to the said ecclesiastics. But who were the original vouchers of such facts, and from what source did they derive their information? Here we find none referred to, but the two named above, both of them utterly incompetent. Whitlocke's connections and prejudices at that time are well known: and as for Sir Edw. Walker, who yet has not affirmed all that is said above of the Scottish clergy, he was a retainer and pensioned secretary to the late king, bred up in all the unhappy principles and pre-possessions, and habituated to the broad dialect and reproachful cant terms of the old Cavaliers;—one who had been expressly secluded from attendance upon the person and councils of the young king, when he was in Scotland, and even by order of the parliament sent into banishment, as a noted malignant. Having been thus stigmatised, and skulking in disgrace, he was neither a witness of the transactions in court or camp; nor could he relate what he heard, without betraying his disposition to traduce the measures of both church and state at that time. Even Clarendon, who tells, how glad the king was when he heard of the slaughter of his army, has not ventured to give such a ridiculous account of the cause and manner of it; but some late historians are fond to collect, no matter from what kennels, whatever may furnish a profane scoff at

those they designate 'the elect and faints;' and by a due proportion of this burlesque humour infused into their narrative, they too readily obtain the character of free and lively writers from an unthinking and irreligious public. It is particularly disgraceful to Scotland, and a striking proof of the want of discernment and true taste, that, in a great literary work recently and repeatedly published in its capital, with such uncommon encouragement, such absurd and abusive stories as the above, and of selling their king for a paltry sum, &c. &c. should have been inserted verbatim into the article of her national history, accompanied with the most injurious reflections upon the proceedings of that and some other periods, and upon many of her respectable statesmen, patriots and divines, which any of the most virulent calumniators of her honour, religion and liberties, ever have thrown out; and this without any due animadversion, resentment, or correction, from her numerous literati*.

But to return to the more private history:—The author of the Cry succeeded in his design of concealing himself for a time; even the printer, two years after, in the preface he prefixed to Milton's Second defence, which

* See the Encyclop. Britan. 3d. edit. Art. *Britain*, No. 168. & No. 145., where it is said, 'the reception that he (the king, when he delivered himself up to the Scots) met with was such as might be expected from these *infatuated bigots, destitute of every principle of reason, honour, or humanity, &c.* with many other articles, *passim*, throughout that voluminous work. Has Scotia then been so unfortunate as to find none to sketch out her history but a tory raving in praise of tyrants? nor to delineate her reformation and ecclesiastical constitution, but one possessed of the spirit and principles of decapitated Laud? Or to exhibit her faith, and the Theology of Protestants, but a mongrel clergyman, half-papist, half-Socinian?

he also re-published in Holland, says, he was then still ignorant of his name. It had been sent to Salmasius, with a view to its publication; and was supposed to come from one who was a friend and former acquaintance of his. Having been solicited, Ulac consented to publish it; and at the same time, having a correspondence by letters with Sam. Hartlib, in London, he informed him of this, and at his desire sent over the sheets weekly as they came from the press; and let him know, that if Milton chuse to make a reply, he wished to have the copy transmitted to him, if he could obtain it, to be published; thinking that in controversies of that moment, both sides should be heard, and the public left to judge. Notwithstanding this complaisance, and impartiality, on account of the hand he had in the former publication, when the answer appeared, which was not till 1654, he escaped not without his full share of abuse.

Tho' the work bore the title of a 'Second Defence of the people of England, against an infamous anonymous libel,' yet, deviating from the principal object, he took unbounded licence in it, to depreciate and tear the characters both of the living and the dead, especially of his deceased adversary Salmasius, who had been so lavishly praised at his expence; and of Morus, as the supposed author of the Cry.

The particular intimacy that had subsisted between these two eminent men, might give occasion to suspect the book to be the production of Morus, and written too in concert with, and under the eye of Salmasius, as he more than once insinuates: some whispers too that circulated might tend to mislead him, and the circumstance of Morus having been in some manner employed about the publication, as in correcting it from the press, or

being active in circulating copies, might tend to confirm him in that opinion. Besides, the tract being written with fire, and bearing marks of a good latin scholar, might dispose him to attribute it to one who had acquired some name in that kind of writing, and he might think it would gain more credit to himself to mark out a well known character for his antagonist, than to contend against some person nameless and obscure. In such cases conjectures are freely indulged; and a mistake of this kind, it may be owned, might very readily have happened without any bad intention, or incurring blame. Had he merely insinuated this as a matter of conjecture or rumour, and without proceeding to raise upon such a slender ground, such a fabric of malevolence and calumny, without assuming it, and improving it for a purpose the most unjustifiable and odious, and without persisting wilfully and obstinately in the error, in contempt of sufficient evidence to the contrary, it might have been very excusable. But his conduct was the very reverse of this; and shewed that he did not wish, but was resolved not to be undeceived. To hold out any particular person publicly as the author of an anonymous work, not acknowledged by him, nor proven to be his, especially when it is charged with criminal matter, is a flagrant breach of the laws of the literary republic; but when this is done with a view to tear the moral character, and defame the general conduct of the man, without any relation to the book or its contents, this is a double and more aggravated offence, being a direct violation of the common rules of morality and charity. And such offences the secretary of the English common-wealth, and the British Homer, may be found convicted.

The secret, however, as to the author of the ‘Cry of Royal Blood,’ was not so well kept as that of the writer of ‘Junius’ Letters,’ in later times, nor so as to give occasion afterwards for such a long dissertation as Dupin has inserted in his *Bibliothèque*, on the question, whether Gerson or T. a Kempis was the author of the book of ‘The Imitation.’ It soon transpired, that Mr P. du Moulin, the eldest son of the minister and professor in Sedan, was the real author. Amongst other authorities for this, Mr Daillic’s testimony may be referred to in his Reply to F. Adams †; and Colomies, in his *Biblioth. Chois.*, p. 29.—Du Moulin the father is well known by his numerous writings. He had been invited over to England by king James I., after cardinal Perron’s book against the king appeared, which he refuted in his ‘Defence of the catholic faith; and the novelty of popery.’ During his residence, he officiated in the French church in London, but returned to France upon the death of the king, in 1625, where he lived above 30 years after, and died in 1658, at the age of 90 years. He left three sons who were ministers, and all of them writers, Peter, Lewis, and Cyrus; though the two former were widely different from each other in their spirit and principles. They both took up their residence in England, during the latter part of their lives, where their father had been so much respected. In the public confusions that arose, and in the differences between the king and parliament, they took different sides, and shared consequently in the lot that befell the respective parties that they adhered to: Peter being a zealous royalist, and conformist to the episcopal church,

† Part ii. p. 127.

was often employed as a preacher at Oxford, but lost his preferment, with others, when the king's power was broken. He resided for a time in Ireland, and probably also abroad; but at the restoration his attachment and services were rewarded, being appointed to be one of the king's chaplains, and canon of Canterbury, where he died at the age of 84, in 1684. Lewis, after he came over from Leyden, where he had taken the degree of doctor in medicine, espoused the puritan cause, and upon the change that took place, he was made professor of church-history in Oxford, but was turned out when Charles II. was restored. He suffered with the Non-conformists, to whom he continued attached to the end of his days, and wrote warmly against the hierarchy and ceremonies; but on the head of church-government and excommunication he adopted the notions of the Erastians, of which several of the rigid independents became advocates during the interregnum. He wrote his *Parænesis*, or 'Admonition,' on this subject, against Amyrald, and dedicated it to Cromwell. They were both men of learning, and both seem to have been friendly to the protestant doctrines, though so much divided as to ecclesiastical and civil polity †.

† Peter continued a zealot for prelacy and ceremonies to the last. Being possessed of rich benefices, he had afforded some pecuniary aid to his younger brother in the latter period of his life. In 1679, he withdrew some part of his bounty, and sent Mr de l'Angle, who was also a canon of Canterbury, and minister of the French church in the Savoy, to tell him that the reason of this was, the heat and bitterness he had shown against the church of England; and that he of all men had the greatest account to give on that score; and seriously to exhort him, in view of his dissolution, (as he was now above 74 years of age) to make his peace with God, and to repent of all his sins,

Peter has been already named as the writer of the History of Presbytery, though the English translation that appeared in 1659, was anonymous. He wrote also in French, the treatise intitled, ‘The peace of the soul;’ which was translated into different languages; of which a new edition in English was published, not many years ago, with alterations. He wrote in English ‘A vindication of the sincerity of the Protestant religion,’ against a Jesuitical work in 1662; which made a noise, and was complained of by the Queen-Dowager, as he had affirmed in it, that both the doctors of the Sorbonne and the pope, upon being consulted by the Jesuits, had allowed it to be lawful, for the good of the catholic cause, to join

especially of those committed against the church of England. This put the good old man upon a review of his conduct, especially to examine the grounds on which he had condemned the church of England, and which were such as still satisfied his mind on that head; and which being stated, he hoped his brother would see, that what he had done was not from a spirit of bitterness but conviction, and that he had the concurrence of the best of men in it, and of the foreign churches. And this produced his ‘Short and true Account of the several advances the church of England hath made towards Rome;’ printed the following year, a pamphlet that is well worthy of perusal, in which the author shews his piety, moderation, and acquaintance with facts; and exposes the unreasonable spirit, and hurtful measures of the Canterburian faction, in imposing the hierarchy and ceremonies, in opposition to the greater and better part of the people of England, and in Scotland, where not one in a hundred had a liking to them; and the absurdity of blotting out from the list of churches, all who wanted episcopal ordination, &c. These appear to have been his last sentiments; as he died at Westminster soon after. I find no reason for saying, as some have done, that he had retracted what he had thrown out against the English clergy. He wrote also, *Patronus bonæ fidei in causa Puritanorum; Renatus Veridicus, &c.*

in cutting off the king. He was the author of some sermons in English and latin.

Milton began his second defence against what he terms the 'infamous anonymous libel,' in a high tone of self-gratulation, vaunting of the part he had been called to act on the public stage, and of what he had already achieved; but soon descended to low ribaldry, and personal abuse. He expresses thankfulness for having been born in the era of his country's liberty, and that he had been singled out for the vindication of such a cause against a redoubted adversary, and had been successful in overthrowing him, so that during the three years in which he had survived, they had met with no disturbance from him, except by threats, and exciting some obscure persons to come forward as his auxiliaries. While others had been actors in the public scene in another capacity, and befriended the cause by other weapons, he valued himself upon the service he had rendered it by his genius and pen; and considers himself as the champion of liberty, even in behalf of the whole human race, and in the sight of all the surrounding nations, who were intent upon the conflict, in all of which the sons of freedom were disposed to give him their plaudits: and assuming the religious air and language of the dominant party, he thinks, that all this could not have been done 'without the special favour of heaven.' 'Hæc ego divinitus mihi accedisse bona et magna quidem ratus,' &c. And he prayed that God, with his wonted aid and benignity, might enable him to perform what he now undertook, with the same integrity, fidelity, &c. as the task he had already accomplished.

When the manner in which he had acquitted himself, and the licentiousness in which he was just about to employ his pen, are considered, there is something very incongruous and offensive in these formal strains of piety. Even the author of the *Historical and Critical Dictionary*, though himself not a writer of the most serious turn, has passed this just censure upon him, ‘that his manner of treating the important point, (in his first Defence) was very faulty for want of gravity. I do not speak of his keen railleries against Salmasius; but we see him every moment playing the droll, and the buffoon. This fault is yet more conspicuous in his two replies to Mr Morus, they are full of points, and extravagant pleasantries. There the author’s character appears quite undisguised: he was one of those satyrical geniuses, who indeed take a great deal of pleasure in collecting all the reports which are spread to people’s disadvantage, and in making a man’s enemies write all the slanders they have ever heard of him; but who take still more pleasure in inserting those slanders in the first libel which they publish against him.’

After declaiming against the defenders of kings, for affecting concealment, by withholding their names from the public, as if they were afraid to appear, for which he supposes they may have good reasons; he says, that this artifice would nothing avail the author of the *Cry*, but he would pull off the mask, and drag him from his covering of darkness into open day: so that, in this at least, he should find that he was clear-sighted. Then, as if he had been throughly acquainted with the man, and the whole history of his life, he breaks forth upon Morus, in the most opprobrious terms, describing his general cha-

rafter, as 'infamous and wicked, in a high degree;—a man perfidious, ungrateful, a liar, an evil-speaker, a perpetual slanderer of men and women, who never spared either the chastity of the latter, or their fame *.

The particulars, however, in support of such an atrocious charge, which Milton produces, are only those which have been occasionally mentioned in the foregoing narrative. When at Geneva, he alledges, he could not long escape the censure of the Presbyters, being accused of various crimes, and condemned for many errors against the orthodox faith, which he professed to abjure, yet impiously retained; till at last he was accused of manifest adultery with one who had been a maid in the house where he had lodged, and whose company he frequented after she was married, they having been often seen in a garden clandestinely together; on which account he was deposed from his ministerial office. 'The heads of these and such-like charges,' he says, 'were still kept in the public library of that city;' harum et hujusmodi accusationum capita in bibliotheca illius urbis, publica etiamnum asservantur.' This is all his proof.

When he was called to Holland, he obtained testimonial letters, though with difficulty, and on condition of his leaving Geneva. When he was hospitably received

* 'Est *Morus* quidam, partim Scotus, partim Gallus; ne tota hominis infamia gens una aut regio nimium laboraret: homo improbus, et cum aliorum, tum amicorum, quos ex intimis inimicissimos sibi fecit, testimonijs quam plurimis infidus, mendax, ingratus, maledicus, et virorum perpetuus obtrectator et fæminarum, quarum nec pudicitia plus unquam parcere, quam famæ consuevit.'

Def. Sec. p. 15. ed Hag. 12mo. 1654.

into the house of Salmasius, while he assiduously paid his court to the master, he did so also to the chambermaid,—the forefaid Pontia, and under promise of marriage vitiated her. ‘Hence,’ he scoffingly adds, ‘proceeded a double birth; Pontia conceived *Morillum*, a little *Morus*;—*Morus* this empty windy egg, from which proceeded the Clamour ‘*ex quo tympanites iste clamor regij fanquinis prorupit †.*’ He being greatly puffed up, by this his production, and reckoning, by the favour of the Orange faction, he might make sure of any of the professorial chairs, he cast off poor Pontia *jam gravidam*; who thereupon implored justice both from the Synod and Magistrates, but implored it in vain: for the Cry of royal blood easily drowned the cry of whoredom, and the plaints of an abused girl; ‘*stupratæ mulierculæ ploratum.*’

He tells that, upon this story taking air, all companies made themselves merry upon the subject, as he himself seems so heartily disposed to be; and he inserted the punning epigram which some wag had written upon the occasion, and which has been so often printed, to the injury of the author’s memory ‡.

Such are briefly the alledged facts upon which Milton has thought proper to found such a public and general charge. To produce particular evidence he will not give himself the trouble: the mere narration must stand for probation; so that on the faith of it, he thinks himself

† *Ut supra* p. 17, 18.

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

warranted to recur to it, and repeat it 20 times throughout the remaining part of the treatise, ringing it perpetually in the ears of the reader, and of his supposed antagonist, as the chief weapon both of offence and defence. He suffers his luxuriant fancy to dwell and riot on these topics, presenting them in a hundred shapes, attended with descriptions, comments, witticisms, and allusions, of which ancient comic poets, or modern novel writers would be ashamed; many of them so gross and indelicate as to forbid all quotation, even in their original latin, and which no chaste eye, without disgust, can read. They are no less incongruous to the subject and purpose of the author, than they are unbecoming any christian, or man of gravity or probity, not to say, one professing to be a republican Cato, and so zealous lest the sanctity of religion, and the sacred ministry should be contaminated by such manners as he would stigmatize. The lofty advocate of the good people of England, and of the human race, seems to exert all his strength chiefly to overthrow the marked individual, and not by dispassionate argument or manly eloquence, but by scornful banter or downright railing. He salutes him with no better names than ‘mæchus, adulter, stuprator, episcopus Lampface-
 nus, ancillariolæ; diaboli minister, et reformatæ eccle-
 siæ infandum dedecus et lues; impius et plane atheus
 homo.’ Referring to an expression, used in the Cry, of lifting up the hands to God, in detestation of the injuries done against his sacred name, he thus exclaims,

‘Abde, abde obscænas illas manus, quas libidine et ambitione supinatus attolere non vereris, ne cælum ipsum quoque audias ijs manibus inceslare, quibus sacra religionis mysteria contrectando polluisti. Quam enim divinam ultionem alijs temerarius et vecors imprecavis,

eam in ipsius tuum impurissimum caput devocasse te olim intelliges.'

Commenting on the character of Bradshaw, who was president of the High court of Justice, he thus breaks out,

'Te vero tot vitij et sceleribus obstrictum, immo meram spurcitiem, merum scelus, usque adeo obduxisse menti et sensibus callum, nisi tua mens potius tota callus est, ut in Deum atheus, et factorum contaminator, in homines inhumanus, cujusque optimi calumniator esse ausis, quid aliud est esse quam germanum Iscariotam atque diabolum †?'

In reply to the wish expressed by his anonymous opponent, that the author, as well as his book had been burnt, he says,

'Itane ergastulum? At ego parem ne reddam tibi salutem, More, tu egregie cavisti; ut qui nigrioribus multo ignibus jamdudum pereas: urunt te adulteria tua, urunt stupra, urunt perjuriam, quorum ope desponsatam tibi stupro faeminam perfidus excussisti, urunt perditissimi furores, qui impulerunt te, ut sacrosancta munia facinorosus concupisceres, et imperspectum Domini corpus incestis manibus sacerdos poliueres;—his tu sceleribus et infamijs totus flagras, his tu flammis furialibus dies atque noctes torreris, dasque nobis pœnas quibus graviores, imprecari tibi nullus hostis potest †.'

In another place, he says, 'had he got his desert, he had long before, been delivered by the church to Satan; and he would have been hung by the magistrates upon a gallows:' and he adds, that he had lately heard, that 'his church at Middleburgh, had dismissed him, 'caprimulgum pastorem, imo hircum,—in malam crucem,' and that 'the magistrates of Amsterdam had interdicted him from the pulpit, and that he continued only to be

† *Def. Sec.* p. 78.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 94, 95.

professor of Greek letters; and that soon only one of these would be left for him;—meaning, gentle Reader, the letter T; that is to say, he would be hanged on a cross †.

In this manner does the infuriated poet go on, under the pretence of answering a book in the composition of which the minister so treated had no share, and whose life and actions, at any rate, even had they been such as represented, had not the most distant relation to its contents. Declamation so confidently uttered and reiterated, is ready to make impression, and accusations of such a general nature become more injurious, especially among strangers, as they will naturally think, that there must have been instances both numerous and notorious, to justify such a public production of them. The same unfavourable idea is ready to arise upon reading the recapitulation which Bayle has made of the contents of Milton's libels against Morus, as when he says, 'He treats him on the footing of a dog, or rather of a goat, for he accuses him of a thousand lewd tricks; and particularly,'

† 'Id fatagit' inquis, 'Miltonus, cujus ego piacularem vesaniam pro meritis excepissem.' Tu excepisses, furcifer? cujus nefaria flagitia si ecclesia illa Middleburgensis, te pastore infamis et infelix, pro meritis excepisset jamdudum te fatanæ mandasset: si pro meritis excepisset magistratus, jamdudum adulteria patibulo pendens luisses: et luiturus propediem sane videris; evigilavit enim ut audio nuper, tua illa ecclesia Middleburgensis, suæque famæ consuluit, teque caprimulgum pastorem, immo hircum potius olentissimum, ablegavit ab se in malam crucem; hinc et magistratus Amsterodamensis pulpitem quoque interdixit tibi, orchestram tuam, tuumque illud os impudicum eo ex loco ad summam omnium bonorum offensionem conspici illam impiam vocem vetuit in sacro publice audiri: restat jam tibi sola græcarum literarum professio, et hæc quoque brevi eripienda, præter unam illam literam cujus non professor, sed discipulus mox pensilis merito futurus es. Page 99, 100.

&c.—Such indefinite charges are more injurious than a plain and full production of the particulars; as they leave every one at liberty to conceive what they please, and to multiply them to any extent: and when perhaps a single instance or two, and those not of an aggravated nature, may be the whole amount, such unlimited expressions must be inapplicable and unjust, as they go far beyond the truth; as a particular act does not constitute a habit, nor necessarily infer an infamous or totally abandoned character. So far as we have seen, the specific charge, even by Milton, is confined to the two furnished instances, to which he perpetually refers; and these must stand, it seems, for a *thousand*.

Besides the personalities against our author, and some others, with which the tract is interlarded, there are several occasional topics, extended episodes, and public characters incidentally introduced, and elaborately drawn, which make up the better part of it: such are the lefty preamble; the narrative of the author's life and studies, of use to the biographer; the apologetical descant on blindness, the eminent men that have been subjected to it, and the advantages that may be derived from it, and that it was not to be objected to him as a judgment on account of his crimes, as he supposed had been intended by the application of these words to him;

Monstrum, horrendum, informe, ingens,
Cui lumen ademptum:—

and the diminutive representation that was made of his person in the words that followed, in the epistle dedicatory †, puts him upon a formal delineation of the pret-

† Quanquam nec ingens, quo nihil exilius, exsanguius, con-

tiness and agility of his person, the beauties of his body and mind: for however little regard he paid to the reputation of others, he was still exceedingly jealous of his own. A high-wrought eulogium upon Christina, ‘the queen of the north,’ occupies some pages, whom he celebrates for learning, virtue, and heavenly vigour of mind, whose wisdom, even Solomon himself might have come from a distance to hear; and, as one at least among crowed heads, who was worthy, not to sway the sceptre over one nation only, but over the whole world †: for this capricious virago, it was said, had spoke favourably of his book, and looked cold upon Salmasius. Another eulogy is pronounced upon president Bradshaw; and the longest and most elaborate of all upon Cromwell, as the greatest of all heroes, and generals, the father of his country, the director of her councils, who alone could support the pillars of government, the tutelary god of liberty, to whom all looked, and on whom all depended, not forgetting to give a due portion of incense to his satellites, the gentlemen of the sword, and a parting address and advice to the citizens; with all which the work is crowned. After all these deductions, little room was left for prosecuting the argument beyond what had been advanced in the former treatise, and the cause of the people at large, occupies but a small share. Nor could it have been consistently pled; when anarchy, according to the usual course of things, had made way for arbitrary power; and when the shadow of a republic, and the form of a parliament had vanished to nothing; and when a single despot,

tractus, de genere animalculorum, quæ quo pungunt acrius, eo nocent minus. Clam. Ep. ded.

† Page 52—55. ;

or at best a military oligarchy, possessed the supreme authority; and in fact, this pretended advocate for the people is now gone over to defend such a system of government, and fawningly pays his court to powers that then were. And in managing this defence, he is obliged to concede and avow a principle, incompatible with pure democracy, and that fitly may apply in favour of any actually seizing or exercising authority; namely, that the wiser and better part have a right to govern, however few they be, and to them the majority ought to be subjected. This was unavoidable if he attempted to justify the violence and usurpation of the Independents and Military Officers. This notable passage is inserted below †.

As to the unprecedented outrage upon the character of our divine, the reader is already prepared to form a judgment. The facts formerly stated and authenticated, are sufficient to show what dependence can be had on the accuracy of his information, and to evince the futility or falshood of his scandalous imputations. The principal part of Morus's vindication has been already anticipated. Of the errors against the faith wherewith he is charged, and how the affair terminated, we have heard enough from the most competent judges. Of the existence of such a *sama clamosa*, at least of such a process and sentence in Geneva, is utterly irreconcilable to the testimonials

† Passim concedis ‘potiores fuisse Independentium partes, non numero, sed consilio, et virtute militari.’ Unde ego et jure et merito superiores quoque fuisse contendo: nihil enim est naturæ convenientius, nihil justius, nihil humano generi utilis aut melius, quam ut minor majori, non numerus numero, sed virtus virtuti, consilium consilio cedat; qui prudentia, qui rerum usu, industria, atque virtute pollent, hi, mea quidem sententia, *quantumvis pauci*, quantove numero, plures erunt, et suffragijs ubique potiores. Ut supra, p. 77.

granted, at the time of his departure, and his honourable admission elsewhere. The appeal to the records kept in the public library of that city, which nobody has said they had ever seen, must go for nothing. If records of such facts existed, it is strange that none of his adversaries beyond seas, was ever found to avail himself of them, and that the library-keeper, Senebier, in the end of the last century, when writing upon the subject, should not have said a word of them; but, on the contrary, tho' not most favourable to Mr Morus, he should, after all he had seen and heard as to his delinquencies of that kind, declare, that probability was on the side of his innocence. What this loose writer refers to may be nothing more than the minutes of the doctrinal disputes in the Presbyterian register. His representation of the other case in Holland, and of the proceedings there, has been found false, in every material point. So little, indeed, was he acquainted with the real state of matters in Holland, that he makes Morus to have been confined to the profession of Greek, who never taught Greek there at all. That he had been interdicted the pulpit by the magistrates of Amsterdam is no less a fiction. As soon as this calumny was known in that city, it was publicly contradicted by the magistrates, and curators of the school, and by the ministers of the French church there. These exculpatory testimonies, granted posterior to his settling in Amsterdam, may therefore be inserted here, in addition to the former. The first, after taking notice, in the preamble, of the above calumnies, and the like, contained in Milton's book lately published, against the reverend and learned professor Morus, says,

' We, the Magistrates of the city, &c. from regard to

truth, testify, that from the time of his being employed in his public office among us, he has not only been free from any thing that could afford any just ground for such atrocious calumnies, or that would be unbecoming a Christian or a divine; but also that he has discharged his function with singular virtue, industry, erudition, and eloquence; so as to have been without fault or blame; and that he has acquitted himself in all the parts of his offices with such signal benefit and applause, as we have been informed, and still continues to do, as to be most dear to us, and all good men. Wherefore so far have we been from doing or intending any thing that might in any respect be grievous to him; or from judging him worthy of any blame, that, on the contrary, we from the heart regard his dignity and worth; and we are ready to shew him our protection and kindness, whenever there may be occasion for it. Given and ratified under our seal, and signed by our secretary, at Amsterdam, the 11th of July, 1654*. N. NICOLAI.

After the insertion of this, in his defence, Morus, thought he had reason to add, ‘Thus speak they, of whom, if the gravity, the fidelity, and authority, be considered, even the word of one of them might be acknowledged sufficient to repel 600,000 Miltonian libels: Thus these senators appoint me to be suspended, thus they are pleased to degrade and spoil me of all my ornaments,—and thus they consign me to the gallows.’

The testimony of the consistory of the church of Amsterdam, is no less explicit and honourable. They also declare, that he had discharged the office to which he had been called by the magistrates, with public applause: And they add,

* — ‘Non modo nihil admisse quod justum prædictis calumnijs locum dare potuerit, aut Christiano aut Theologo indignum sit; sed etiam professione sua singulari cum virtute, industria, eruditione et facundia functum esse; ita ut extra culpam notamve fuerit,’ &c. *Fidis Publ.* p. 207.

‘ We farther testify, that, with respect to his conversation and life, so far are we from knowing or acknowledging him to be guilty of those crimes of which he has been accused in a late publication by one Milton, an Englishman, that on the contrary, as often as we have asked him to preach in our church, his discourses have been excellent and very orthodox: and he would not have been so employed, if any thing of this kind had ever been known to us. Besides other churches with which he has lived longer than among us, bear testimony of him (*salis superque*) superabundantly, by their public documents; with which we agree, and to which we refer,’ &c.

‘ *Nomine totius Synedrij Ecclesie reformatæ Gallo-Belgicæ,*’ &c.

‘ Subscribed by Gothofredus Hotton, Henricus Blanche teste, Nicolaus de la Bassicour, pastors.’

The Curators of the school gave also their separate testimonial, no less explicit and ample, in which they express their wonder and grief at the public defamation of his character among strangers, declaring that since he was called to his office among them, he had in every respect given them satisfaction, and that he had answered to the full to the abundant testimonies given in his favour from Geneva and other places; and that they were persuaded, ‘ the calumnies wherewith he was so undeservedly loaded, arose from nothing else than that envy which is an inseparable attendant upon singular virtue.’ The original will be found in the Appendix.

These public testimonies, with a brief narration of facts, constitute the principal matter of the vindication of himself which Morus published, to which he therefore gave the title of ‘ *Publica Fides contra calumnias Joan. Miltoni:*’ and they are certainly the most satisfactory vindication that could be produced or desired; more so than

any personal denials on his part, or the mere recommendation of private friends, or the most severe retorts, sharp animadversions, or poignant satire against his adversary, could otherwise have been. A proportion of these too are not wanting in his reply, the first part of which was published, along with Milton's libel, at the Hague, in 1654, by Ulac : and the author having taken his journey into France that year, before it was finished, the Supplement was published the year following, from the copy transmitted from him before his return.

To that edition of Milton's Second Defence, G. Crantzius, professor of divinity, formerly mentioned, prefixed a short preface to the reader ; in which the favourable testimony in behalf of our author, deserves also to be mentioned. He sharply animadverts on the intemperate spirit and bile of Milton, particularly, in the treatment he had given Salmasius and Morus, with both of whom he was intimately acquainted. He regrets the unhappiness of the age, in which such licence was taken to calumniate. He warns the reader against giving credit to Milton on these subjects : ' he is not to be regarded, he says, as a historian ; he is a fabulist and mere poet, though he writes in prose. Who, or what sort of a person Milton is, I know not ; but his publications evidently show him to be full of gall :—who, and how great a man Salmsius was, I well know : and who does not know him, unless he be also ignorant of letters ?' After declaring him to be wholly free of avarice, ' et nihil minus quam eunuchus' he proceeds, ' if his posthumous work be published, Milton will find that even the dead can bite.—How black is Milton, if credit be due to Salmasius ! I am much mistaken, if some-

body has not discovered to Milton the reproaches which Salmasius has therein thrown upon him; for they are almost the same with those to be found in this libel cast upon Morus, in order that they might lose their force, when they may be printed, as being used by way of recrimination. I have been acquainted with Morus both in Geneva and Holland. He had always great contests with those who envied him or were his rivals, to whom he often gave occasion by the hastiness of his temper (*promptissima natura*), or his too great freedom of speaking.' He allows him to have been haughty, as Spanheim had called him, and that he had a passion to overtop others: 'But as to the crimes objected to him by Milton,' he says, 'I am sorry, that they have been charged upon him, because I know most certainly that they are entirely false;—*FALISSIMA ESSE CERTO CERTIOR SCIO*. A happy genius, if he had not irritated those whom he ought to have contemned. I have heard Salmasius say, that he never knew a finer genius, or one more capable of any thing, to which he might apply himself, if he had been a little more laborious, and had not trusted so much as he did to false friends. When the matrimonial plea was depending, he added, '*Morum varie læsisse uxorem suam*,' but that he chused not, on his account, to lose domestic tranquility. But besides inconsiderateness unbecoming such a worthy man, no crime in this affair could be imputed to Morus: yea, he added, if Morus was guilty in it, '*ego sum leno et uxor mea lena*.' These were his very words, which he had also repeated in the hearing of others, particularly Spiliardus, a respectable preacher; that so at the mouth of two or three witnesses, the truth might be confirmed. These things I testify before God, and desire them to be printed

for the sake of truth alone, having no reason to be influenced by hatred, hope, or fear, as is well known. But when I recollect how often Salmasius, in my hearing, commended Morus's acute judgment, his skill in the learned languages, and his happy talent for preaching,— what eulogiums and praises he bestowed upon him, who otherwise was not disposed to praise much, or many, I could not read without indignation in this publication, things so perverted or inverted, as Milton tells them; and when he could not even spare the innocent printer, it is manifest that he sought matter for railing and declamation. May the God of Christians dispose the minds of rulers to restrain this licentiousness of writing so disgraceful to Christians. Written and subscribed by my hand.
G. C. S. S. Th. D.

The heinous offence of Ulac, in the eyes of Milton, was the putting his name to the dedication to Charles II. abovementioned; though it would appear he that he was not the writer of it. Milton was uncertain whether to ascribe it to him, or to Salmasius, or Morus. Ulac himself tells us, that he had done it by desire, and reckoned that it needed not to have been taken so much amiss, as it was not unusual for publishers to affix their names to addresses of this kind relating to writings committed to them. It is generally supposed to have been written by Morus; and Bayle says, that he has confessed so much in his reply to Milton, where he says, 'that he never intended to reproach him with blindness, since he knew nothing about it except from Milton's answer, and that if he had said any thing that related to blindness, he had meant only that of the soul.' Bayle farther adds, 'now since in the epistle he had said, that Milton was the most

hideous creature, and the merest skeleton that ever was seen, I believe it would have puzzled him greatly to have reconciled his epistle dedicatory to that passage in his reply, where he says he took Milton to have been a handsome man, after having seen such a delicate print of him before his poems †.' But it is not so evident from the original words referred to, that he therein made such an acknowledgment; or that the alledged inconsistency could hence be charged upon him in regard to Milton's person. His expression is impersonal, 'Si quid forte se dabat quod eo spectare videretur, ad animum referebam ‡.—It does not necessarily mean that *he* had said any thing that might seem to relate to his blindness in that epistle, but any thing of that kind that might be so applied, whether written by himself or any other, he considered as applicable, not to his bodily, but his mental blindness. And this will not make him responsible for any other part of the description.

The dedication contains some suitable hints and admonitions to the young king under his adversity, with some portion of the adulation so commonly offered to princes; directing him to view those events that had happened as ordered by a divine providence, to shew him the vanity of human greatness and the mutability of all earthly things; to preserve him from the deceitful blandishments of a prosperous lot, and from becoming a prey to any fire; that he might learn by experience true wisdom and philosophy; more speedily and in a higher degree than many books, vigils, or many teachers, in many years, could have taught him: telling him, that

† *Diction.* Art. Milton.

‡ *Fid. pub.* p. 31.

if he had been seated at ease on the throne of his ancestors, it might have been doubtful whether he would ever have been such as he now shewed himself to be, or promised to be for the future;—that only the trappings and ensigns of royalty were taken from him,—but that nothing could deprive him of his kingdom; of his sacred uncti^on, and divine character; or dethrone him from the hearts of his people;—that he had not merely tasted, but drunk deeply of wisdom; and that he had been in the most wonderful manner snatched from the very jaws of those dogs of hell, that he might be reserved for greater things.—But all these fine sayings, by whomsoever written, alas! were only thrown away upon such an unapt and indocile scholar, who was alike incapable of learning in adversity or prosperity, and was reserved to be the greatest scourge of three kingdoms that any were ever subjected to.

Milton, in perpetual violation of the rule, ‘Non quise^d quid,’ turned the attention away from the matters in debate to vent his spite against the persons to whom he ascribed what was said or done. Though he professed he did not know of what nation Ulac was, yet he was at no loss to write a short scandalous chronicle of his life and transactions. He represents him as a mercenary, wandering, bankrupt, fraudulent bookfeller, who after innumerable frauds had been obliged to fly from London, and afterwards from Paris, and one who for gain would employ his services on either side. This made Ulac prefix a short vindication of himself to the edition he re-printed; in which he took occasion to give some account of the principal incidents of his life, which serves to give no unfavourable opinion either of the abi-

lities, industry, or honesty of the man; and to afford another proof, that Milton was a rash and unprincipled defamer. He thought it needful, he says, to do this, 'that all might see what credit was to be given to Milton, who had also in such a mad and furious manner vented his rage against Salmasius and Morus; (veluti insanus debacchatus est :) and to show how imprudently and impudently this master of obloquy and scandal, has uttered (deblateravit) these and many other things in his Second Defence. After rehearsing the heads of Milton's accusation; he cries, 'Quæst assertiones, tot mendacia, tot calumniæ;' so many assertions, so many lies, and calumnies.

As this man was a benefactor to the republic of letters, and suffered in his fortune as well as his fame, and as I have not seen any distinct memoir of him published, the following particulars may deserve insertion; more especially as he comes in as another exculpatory evidence in behalf of our divine. He was a native of Gouda; had got a learned education, and applied himself in the earlier part of his life to arithmetical and mathematical studies, which Milton, he alledges, did not know how to value, being better acquainted with the comic authors and satirists. For the more accurate publication of some works of this kind, he had, employed a press of his own, and in order to dispose of the copies he had printed, he was obliged also to commence bookseller, about twenty-six years before, but not to his profit. Having settled in London for ten years, he engaged in several expensive works there, as he did afterwards in Lyons, some of which he specifies. But combinations and prosecutions were raised against him, arising from the restrictions at

that time lying upon the press, and the monopoly of privileges which some had obtained. But though he was hereby greatly injured in his fortune, yet his character remained unimpeached, for which he appeals to those who best knew him. Milton indeed, as his manner was, had produced no particular instance or evidence to the contrary; and he defied him to do it. For some time he lived in London without any molestation, keeping himself within the limits of the privileges of the London bookfellers. Some of them, who were accustomed to consider the business as their monopoly, were displeased, and continually attempted to bring him into trouble. But when they saw that the statutes did not warrant them, they bribed some servants of Archbishop Laud, by whose authority they thought to have seized all his books, and to have confiscated them; but by the favour of Dr Juxton, bishop of London, he got a licence to dispose of those he had then on hand, but not to disperse more. The civil war soon after breaking out, he left London for France, not by stealth, but openly, without molestation from any. He favoured the cause of the parliament in the beginning, until he saw the excesses of the republican faction. In Lyons he lived six years; and published a number of books, and ingratiated himself with the authors, and with others with whom he had transactions. The company of Parisian bookfellers from envy, entered a process, and obtained a sentence against him, that all the books he had published should be confiscated; which made him appeal to the parliament against the sentence as unjust. But by the interposition of friends, an agreement was made, that he should be allowed the price of his books, on condition of his departing from Paris, and

not to return again within the year : for the bookfellers there had this privilege, that foreigners, in that trade, should be allowed to come to the city, to vend their books, only once in the year. Having returned to the Hague, he exercised himself diligently in his calling, studying to please learned and worthy men, living in good conscience, and patiently bearing the adverse events that he had met with, disregarding the aspersions of the malevolent. ‘If Milton,’ he adds, ‘be reputed an honest man, (probro viro) in his own country, I will be glad ; but I hear that many of the English who know him, entertain a different opinion of him. I chuse to determine nothing upon bare report : *‘ imo si quid infame de eo mihi pro certo compertum esset, didici melius esse id silere, quam divulgare ;’* yea, if I had even certainly discovered something that tended to his infamy, I have learned that it would be better to conceal it than divulge it.’ This is spoken as a Christian, and might well have made his accuser ashamed. But he knew no shame.

That science and the learned are under some obligations to Adrian Ulack, will be readily allowed when it is known, that he was the same who was the correspondent and co-adjutor of the eminent mathematician Briggs, the second to Baron Napier in the improvement of Logarithms. His labour and services in that line at a more early period of his life were well known and generally acknowledged at that time, and are so even to this day, by those who are most capable of appreciating them. When he received Briggs’ *Arithmetica Logarithmica*, and found that the logarithms for the numbers from 20,000 to 90,000 were wanting in the tables, he, with great assiduity and expedition, filled

up the vacuity, and republished the work thus enlarged. When Briggs had completed his *Trigonometria Britannica* containing a table of the logarithmic sines, and tangents, to 15 places, for the 100th part of every degree of the quadrant, and joined with it the natural sines, tangents and secants before calculated, at his desire it was committed to the care of Ulac, and after Briggs' death, was printed at Gouda, under his inspection, and at his expence. 'These tables of Briggs', say the authors of a late life of Napier, 'have not been equalled for their extensiveness and accuracy together *.' Nor was this the only laborious production of Ulac; he also published *Trigonometria Artificialis* containing Briggs's logarithms of the first 20,000 natural numbers, and the logarithmic sines and tangents, with their differences for every ten seconds of the quadrant. 'In both these works of Ulac,' say the same authors, 'the logarithms are carried to the eleventh place including the index, and are held in much estimation for their correctness †.'

Dr Maskelyne, the late Astronomer Royal, in his preface to Taylor's Tables, gives also due honour to this man, when he says, 'We are indebted to Napier, Briggs, and Ulac, for their ingenious inventions and industrious labours, in providing us with our present logarithmic tables, as to the substance; some improvements in the form and disposition of them only, have been introduced by later authors. Gardiner's Tables, which are the most complete tables published since Ulac's, are confessedly

* Life of Napier, by the Earl of Buchan and Dr Minto, p. 80.

† *Ut supra*, p. 81.

taken from Ulac's, only abridged to seven places of decimals.'

When Ulac mentions the above works, he says, 'What labour and expence they must have occasioned, those who were acquainted with them could judge. This I can declare, that they brought me much more loss than gain; yet of this I do not repent, because I know I performed a service most agreeable to many learned mathematicians, and that these books will years hence be in no small estimation, and that on this account I will meet with some regard from posterity, even as some learned men have already made favourable mention of me in their writings †.' In this reasonable expectation, we see, this industrious man, whom Milton contemptuously stiled, 'Idiota,—Vappa,—et Operarius,' was not mistaken.

With regard to the book that had provoked Milton, Ulac farther says, 'that he would have shown much more prudence, if he had made serious and careful inquiry as to the author of it, instead of ascribing it to Morus, upon sinister suspicion and erroneous information, and fulminating in such an atrocious manner against him: that Morus was not the author, was absolutely certain, *certo certius est*. The same fault he had committed in *Responsione Phil. Angli ad apologiam, &c.* of which Milton is believed to have been the author, at least to have had some hand in it. This is the more inexcusable, that I had written to Hartlib two years ago, assuring him that Morus was not the author, at which he expressed, in his

† 'Attamen ejus me non pœnitet, nam scio me multis mathematicis doctis rem gratissimam fecisse, istosque libros abhinc aliquot annos in magna æstimatione futuros, et me aliquam gratiam a posteritate accepturum.' *Typogr. pro se.*

reply, great satisfaction. Can that man then be in his right senses, who writes directly contrary to his knowledge, and by listening alone to the perverse information of malevolent and lying persons, endeavours to impose upon all the world, and to defame his neighbour by the blackest calumnies and falsehoods §? Or perhaps he expects, by speaking evil of others, to procure a better opinion of himself: but this, on the contrary, must make him and the cause he professes to defend, much suspected, and odious. Mr Morus, so soon as he had read this defence, wrote me, that he felt more pity for him, than any uneasiness or commotion on his own account, and prayed that God might also pity him; for which I likewise pray from the heart.

Morus might have been entitled here to some farther hearing for himself, in animadverting upon his adversary; but after having been so copious already upon this subject, this shall be postponed for the present, to meet the last attack of Milton, that afterwards appeared, under the title of '*Defensio pro se.*' And in the mean time, we proceed to notice some intervening events that took place.

§ Estne ergo ille homo suæ mentis satis compos qui aliter scribit quam novit,' &c. *Ut supra.*

SECTION SIXTH.

Morus's Journey to France and Italy—The honour conferred upon him at Venice—Milton's Defence of himself—Reflections upon the management and result of this contest—Milton's disposition to disparage divines and church-courts.

AS Morus had purposed a visit to his native country, before he removed to Amsterdam, some time after his settlement there, he asked leave of absence for some months, in order to accomplish it; which he obtained in the end of the year 1654. This could be more readily granted him, as he was not in that place confined to the pastoral charge of a congregation. Whether he had some farther objects in view in that journey, besides those of a more private nature, and a visit to his learned acquaintances, we are not informed. He had but a little before been invited to the profession of divinity in one of the universities in France, but had accepted of the chair of history; but on account of the troubles he was meeting with in these parts, he might be desirous of a change of situation. He made rather a longer stay in the south, than he had expected, or than he had mentioned, or probably proposed at first. He had not mentioned his journey into Italy, when he left Amsterdam, which made some, who were ever ready to blame him, to say, that he had done this without the leave of his superiors. This made it necessary for him to make an apology for his having staid so long upon his return;

which he did in a latin oration at Amsterdam ; in which he fet forth feveral dangers he had been expofed to. He alfo prefented himfelf to the Synod of Leyden, in May 1656 ; and told that he had a great profpect of advahcing the glory of God in Italy, by preaching the gofpel : and he received the thanks of the Synod for his good intentions. The time in which he had been abfent, however, did not much exceed a year, at fartheft, if it was fo much ; and for fuch a diftant journey, it was no unreafonable time, efpecially as he had fallen fick at Florence.

What accefs he had to preach the gofpel beyond the Alps, we are not told, but the proteftant minifter certainly obtained fome very uncommon marks of efteem from perfons in high rank there, who could entertain no pre-poffeffion in his favour on account of his religion. When he was at Florence he was introduced to the Grand Duke, who received him with refpect. Some fay, that it was through the occafion of his ficknefs, and the very flattering report that the phyfician who attended him, made of him and his abilities, that produced this acquaintance : others fay, that he was known to the Grand Duke before he fell ill. By the former account we are told, that he faid fo many fine things to the phyfician, that he was filled with admiration, and by the account which he gave of him, to the Grand Duke, raifed his curiofity to fee this learned ftranger ; fo that as foon as Morus was recovered, he was introduced to an audience with his highnefs, and charmed him fo much by his converfation, that he afterwards received feveral marks of his efteem and affection. The author of the Critical Dictionary quotes the following paffage from a little book, entitled A panegyric upon Mr Morus, printed at Am-

sterdam, in 1695, which I have not seen: 'The great duke of Tuscany,' says he, 'gave Mr Morus a kind reception in his dominions and in his capital, he favoured him with his friendship and esteem, he sent him his physician to attend him in his sickness, and made him a rich present, worthy both of the giver, and the person upon whom it was bestowed.—They say, the physician whom the duke sent to attend this patient, was so much surprized, in the conversation he had with him, to hear him reason with so much strength, depth, and penetration, upon the different sciences, and particularly upon physic, that he owned, however able he was himself in his own profession, that his patient knew more of physic than he himself had learnt in that science to which he had applied his whole study.'

Nor was this the only place in Italy where respect was paid to him. The Venetians, at this time, having obtained a victory over the Turkish fleet, Morus during his stay there, wrote a beautiful latin poem upon this event, for which the republic of Venice made him a present of a chain of gold. Some of his literary friends, on this occasion, who had no golden chains to bestow, presented him with some flowery compliments.

The author having sent a copy of this and another poem to his friend Tanaq. Faber, in the letter he wrote in return, Faber says, he read them over and over with admiration; extols them in the highest strain of panegyric, for the great erudition, the ardour and force of genius, and varied thoughts in diversified strains, displayed in them. It would be a wonder, he owns, if any thing proceeding from his pen, were not admirable. Let the Italians unite all their strength, and collect their

songs in celebration of the Venetian victory; it will be in vain. Their productions (a few only excepted) may be once read, but yours always: They write for time, and that usually of no long duration, but you for eternity †.

To discipline this servant of Christ to humility, 'lest he should be exalted above measure,' and if possible to blast his laurels, his adversaries continued to buffet him. The first part of his vindication of himself in his 'Publica Fides,' which had been committed to the press before his journey, no sooner appeared, than Milton resumed the pen to write a second libel against him, no less envenomed than the first, under the title of his Defence of himself ‡, published at London, in 1655, ready to meet him at his return. The work of Morus, though written with as much temper and decorum, as could have been expected, from the treatment he had met with, was yet cutting and severe, tending to set the character and con-

† *A. Moro, viro prestantissimo, &c.*

‘Geminos illos musarum tuarum foetus, queis me beasti, doctissime More, heri in remissione tertianæ accepi. Mane, legi, re-legi: tam densa in illis seges est eruditionis, tantus ingenij ardor, impetus, &c. Hæc in ijs carminibus admiratus sum, sed illa cum te a scripta fuerint, minus fateor, mirabilia sunt. Imo mihi plane mirabile esset, si quid a te, quod admirabile non esset, scriberetur. Confluant itaque Itali homines, quantum est et collatis carminibus. Venetorum victoriam canant, frustra crunt, scio; Illorum certe opera (paucos eximi velim) semel legi possunt, tua semper; illi tempori sæpe scribunt, et fere plerumque haud sane diuturno, at tu æternitati. Sed ohe, jam satis est, video, tibi præsertim, qui nunquam non occupatissimus es. *Tan. Fabri Epist. lib. 2. ep. 61. p. 158.*

‡ The very title shewed his pertinacity in this quarrel; it was at full length; ‘J. M. Angli Defensio pro se contra Alex. Morum, Ecclesiastem, libelli famosi, cui titulus, *Regij Sanguinis clamor, &c.* authorem recte dictum.’

duct of Milton, in reference to himself, in a very disadvantageous light; not only by stating facts, but by pertinent contradictions and reflections; the force and effect of which Milton seems to have felt, and made a speedy but ineffectual effort to elude. Let us hear a little the accused, speaking for himself, and let the accuser, now himself a pannel, be patiently heard in his turn. Morus says, if he could have acknowledged himself to have been guilty of the least part of what he had been charged with by Milton, to his own eternal disgrace, he might have vented his anger in another manner: but in the consciousness of his entire innocence, though he might and perhaps should have despised it, yet with a calm spirit, he would expostulate with him a little: He was affected, he owned, but not with anger, but with pity and grief on his account, until he should repent. He resolved to employ against him nothing but true and decent words, in opposition to his falshood and obscenity. Milton had given his publication, he observed, a wrong title; instead of its being a Defence of the people of England, it was more properly a bitter satire against him, and a most vain panegyric upon himself. He makes him to be the ape of Lucian, who intituled a piece he wrote a 'True history,' in which he had no other aim than to deal in fiction, and avowedly to lie: but he had gone beyond his master, in attempting the same design, under the poor but specious pretence of a defence:—When he should reprint it, he advised him to give it the title of ANTI-MORUS, or 'Miltonus de vita propria,' either of which would suit it better. In holding him to be the author of the book he answered, he avers that Milton not only vented what was false, but openly published a lie, or what he

did not himself believe, which is inconsistent with the character of a good man. But had he really believed it, or had it even been true, that could not have warranted him to throw out so many base scoffs that had no relation to the cause, and so many calumnies, either upon any other person, or himself. What offence, he asks, had he ever given him? What injury had he ever done him? No other reason is assigned for this outrage upon him, except that groundless supposition, that he was the author. Had he written it, while he had not acknowledged it, nor any evidences appeared by which it could be known, he had no right to proceed upon mere guesses; for he was no diviner. ‘But I protest before God,’ he says, ‘that I neither wrote the book, nor contributed in the least to the writing of it: nor was I silent when any suspicions to this purpose were whispered, but openly contradicted it. What if the author were still uncertain and unknown, or were dead? was that a reason for leaving me under the imputation, and why my word should be discredited? ‘At vivit autor, et valeat, ignotus mihi de facie, compluribus autem bonis notissimus;’—but the author yet lives and is well, though personally unknown to me, yet well known to many good men, who see with detestation that lie running through the whole of your publication. In every page, almost every line, you call upon Morus. *Respunde, inquis, More: yet no Morus either wrote or thought of any such things. Let the author answer for himself; what may be said for the royal cause, let him see to it. It is his business alone. I take no part in his quarrels; nor thrust my sickle into his corn.’*

He expresses his wish, that the anonymous author would at last step forward, avow his name, and exclaim,

Me, me, actum qui feci, in me convertite tela.

‘What then would Milton think? He might have reason to fume, and to detest the light of life, being manifestly convicted of lying before the world. He might say, I had no thought of it;—I have been in a mistake.’ A sorry excuse in any matter of moment, in which life or reputation, ‘which I value more than life,’ is concerned. But he had resolved to commit the mistake, he had laid his plan and must adhere to it, notwithstanding of the clearest information, previous warning, and intreaties to the contrary. ‘He might even have found out the truth if he had pleased,’ continues Morus, ‘from numerous friends; he might have collected it even from the style of writing, differing so greatly from mine, I had no cause to conceal my name; it was not suitable to my profession of life, to intermeddle in strife foreign to me, or to provoke when I was not attacked, when I have not, even when attacked, hitherto replied to any one by public writing; so far is my disposition abhorrent of this contentious and gladiatorial manner of speaking, that I never could approve even of the defender of the royal cause in this that he should defend it by railing. But why should I spend more words? You had learned the truth in this matter, and for the space of two years could not be ignorant of it.—But you would not vent your bile and rage upon nobody, you must single out your adversary, —you could find none, it seems, so fit for your purpose as myself, either because you had heard that I had many enemies, though without cause, or knew that I was by Junonian arts involved in a plea, attended with more

trouble than danger; though you could not have believed that I should prevail as I did before all the tribunals. Hence sprung the argument of your fable; hence swelled the matter of your satire, 'et diri farrago libelli.' There were not wanting some ready to furnish you with what you wished. For 'two years you have been collecting the filth and jests of the old and new comedy, with which you have been adorning your drama; and after taking such pains to dress up these flowers, and anxiously to fit them for my temples, in vain did any attempt to admonish you of your blunder. Would the author lose the fruits of so many days and nights labour, so many allusions to my name, so many sarcasms upon the sacred office and order, and so many trifling conceits? Had you retrenched all the abuse and reproaches against me from your little book, how very little would have remained for your people? It might certainly have been contained in a few pages. What pretty things would have been lost †, &c.

To prove that Milton did not offend in this matter ignorantly, but obstinately after due information, among others he could have produced, he mentions two; the first is a divine, the noted J. Dury, who having reported that Milton was about to publish a libel against him, received this answer from the Rev. President Otton, that Milton was mistaken if he took Morus for the author of *The Cry*, &c. for he well knew that a very different person was the author: Upon which Dury engaged 'to

† *Quam bella perijissent, quam florida et fere dixi Floralia deleta? Quid fieret Alcinoi et Adonidis hortis et inde nata de Hortensio argutiola? Quid sycomoro? Quid pyramo et Thisbe? Quid moro arbore?* &c.

write unto Milton upon the subject. And there was no reason to doubt but that he actually did so. The other is the Dutch Ambassador Nieupoort, who was then at London, who wrote to our author the following letter, in French, dated the 23d of June, 1654 :—

Sir, The next day after yours was delivered to me, I had an opportunity of communicating it to Mr Thurlow, secretary of state and of the orders of his highness the Protector, in presence of Mr. de Beverning, my colleague, praying him most earnestly to speak of it without delay to his highness; and afterwards considering that the great multiplicity of business, might prevent him, I desired two gentlemen, my friends, who were particularly acquainted with Mr Milton, to represent to him the reason for which we would desire, in the present juncture of time and affairs, that he should forbear to publish the book that he had written against another intitled, &c. or at least, that he would not do you the wrong to attribute that book to you, and if he should persist in refusing that book, that he would insert nothing in it respecting you: they a few day after told me, that he had so strong an impression, that you and no other were the author, that they could by no means dissuade him; only he requested them to assure us, that he would allow nothing to escape from his pen indecent, or in any way prejudicial to the States of the United Provinces. Upon which, thinking that the authority of his highness might have more influence than this private application, I did not fail to renew the application to Mr Thurlow, by sending him a copy of your letter, which we most earnestly recommended to him, waiting from day to day for some resolution, or declaration on the part of his highness on the subject: but on account of the great design, which was discovered some days after, they were prevented from attending to almost any other affairs. In the mean time the said Milton published what he had prepared. I am very sorry, that after the most violent spirits among those who have been engaged in the naval warfare are disposed to peace, that he who makes a profession of letters and the sciences which raise men above the vulgar, has

shown, notwithstanding our request, so little of moderation, &c. Signed, WIL. NIEUPORT.

Morus also urges the unreasonableness of such a publication, when there was nothing but rejoicings and illuminations on account of the peace: when arms were laid aside, Milton still retained his hostile mind in armour; and at the time when the professor was employed, by the command of the States, in translating the articles of peace from the latin into the vulgar language, in order to be published, he had prepared that ferocious war (*bellum bellinum*) against him, and employed not the arms but the drums of his eloquence. He likewise animadvertes sharply upon the declaration Milton had made, that he would write nothing indecent: ‘Tu nihil tam turpe dari putas, quin te deceat.’—He expresses wonder that any man should be so infatuated as to chuse to make himself ridiculous, rather than desist from accomplishing a premeditated wickedness. It is human to err, but to persist in error against a man’s own conscience, the ancients would have called diabolical. He asks by what name he should call him, who could remain unmoved, as a rock, to all admonitions, and who had carried temerity, and audacity, joined to obstinacy and impudence, to the highest pitch? And what could he have gained by such a public lie, except this, that he would not be believed, though he should speak the truth? The people of England, he adds, have been greatly deceived, if they thought they had got a grave and trusty defender in their Milton. Henceforth none can have any more faith in the veracity of Milton than in a dream. Had he merely insinuated a suspicion, it might have been borne,—but to affirm for certain, not once, nor again and again, but till he became

hoarse, and to the nausea of every reader, what he knew to be false, and what he could not support, by the slightest reason, shews the utmost malignity, and a brazen face. He then goes on to shew how many other lies, incongruities and misapplications, that one lie had produced, throughout the tract, of which he gives instances: And after adverting to what Milton had said of the beauty of his person, ‘You may,’ says he, ‘be a Narcissus for me, yea, you exceed him, by being so desperately in love with your pretty person without seeing it; but what a pity, that in such a well formed body, so fat, nimble and sound, a sound mind should be wanting to it. In such a state of opulence and splendid fortune, to which by those arts you have lately attained, the vulgar may think you happy, unless one thing were wanting, a mind to bear all this with modesty. ‘Crede obsequenti parcius, levis est dea.’ He then lectures him for a little upon the danger and uncertainty of prosperity, reminding him of what the wise have said of it. But tells him that he was not so much at leisure from better employment, as to follow him wherever he was pleased to wander; nor so far destitute of all shame, as to emulate him in his turpitude. ‘In one word,’ he adds, ‘that book is not mine. Other books I have published, and others I am about to publish, of which, if I live and see it, you shall not nibble at one letter with impunity.’ He then mentions the names of those he had put forth; and gives also a list of those upon which he was employed, some of which are not to be found in the usual catalogue of his writings, that may afterwards be mentioned. When he speaks of his Apologetical oration for Calvin, dedicated to Archbishop Usher, he calls him his high or dignified friend,

and had he the permission of that most worthy old man, he could have opposed his favourable opinion of him to a thousand Miltons †.

By this time, every reader probably will be anxious to hear, even as the writer of this was, what Milton had finally to offer for himself, especially on the two capital articles of the heavy charge brought against him. His character was deeply implicated, and every one might reasonably expect that he had very strong reasons, and sufficient authorities to warrant his persuasion and conduct, which, though withheld in his former publication, were in reserve, ready now to be produced, or otherwise that he would have done justice to the injured by a frank recantation. With eagerness, I confess, I read his Defence, in this expectation: and certainly would not have been grieved, to have found something to retrieve the wounded reputation of such a man. But how greatly was I disappointed?

The Defence is prolix and elaborate: he follows his antagonist step by step, and scarce allows himself to divert throughout to any other subject, except to pay his respects again to Ulac, and by the bye, to Dr Crantzius. He labours hard to defend himself, and still more to bear down his opponent; and when it cannot be done satisfactorily by fair means, he has recourse to the old arts of lampoon and scurrilities. However verbose the apology be, it is most barren of matter; especially there is throughout a miserable defect of evidence, the great thing wanted. The following abstract of what he had adduced

† ‘Amico summo meo, cujus equidem libenter honestissimum de me judicium, si pateretur fenex aureus, mille Miltonis opposuerim.’

Fides Publ. p. 3—38. *passim.*

in exculpation of himself on the first subject of accusation, may enable any one to judge for himself.

After introducing himself with some more rhodomantade and arrogant airs, telling, that when he undertook to defend the cause of his country, he laid his account with meeting with the utmost opposition and abuse, together with those whom he defended, from the adverse party; and after making an apology for descending, after effectually serving the public cause, and amidst the high and interesting affairs in which he was engaged, to things obscure, to search the lurking-place of anonymous writers, or trace the steps of an infamous adversary, excusing himself by such great classical examples, as the Scipios, the Hannibals, &c., for next bestowing attention on his personal vindication,—he enters the lists in the most confident manner, and addresses his antagonist in these terms, ‘ Unless I make it evidently appear, that you are the author of that notable libel against us, or that you afforded sufficient cause why you should be justly held for the author, I will hold myself to be overcome by you in this cause, and will not refuse, basely to come off with shame and disgrace, and there is no charge whether of imprudence, or temerity, or calumny, that I would seek exemption from †.’

When, at the desire of the council of state, he undertook to answer the ‘ Clamor,’ &c. he was anxious to find out the author, no other was named, and no other was yet found out. Common fame ascribed it to him;—all

† ‘ Non recusis quin abs te victus in hac causa cum dedecore acque pudore turpiter discedam: nullam a me culpam neque imprudentiæ, neque temeritatis, neque maledicentiæ deprecor. *Milt. Oper. latina, Fol. p. 108.*

he heard speak of it, natives or foreigners, mentioned him only. Morus's own words are forced in as an evidence of the probability of it, where he says, he had always contradicted the report when it was mentioned to him: 'No wonder,' says this logician, 'though your enemies believed it, when your own familiar friends could hardly be convinced of the contrary. You indeed denied it; but so can every criminal refuse to confess when it would be prejudicial to him, and even after conviction, will go to the gallows denying his crimes.'

He says, he had certainly found that Morus published the edition, corrected the press, and had composed the epistle to Charles II., 'vel solum, vel cum uno atque altero,' and some copies had his name subscribed to the preface. He had learned from the Hague, that Morus had offered it to some printers, and that Ulac accepted of it, and dispersed the copies. In another letter from Amsterdam, was this expression, 'He said himself to a certain friend of mine, that he was the author of that epistle.' 'By another,' the writer said, 'that an eminent person had told him, that he had gotten the Cry, with Morus's own epistle †.'

He acknowledges that he had received the information mentioned by Morus, previous to publication. Dury, in a letter from the Hague, April 14th, 1654, wrote, 'that he had certainly learned from a minister of Middleburgh, intimately acquainted with Morus, that he was not the author of that book, but a certain French minister, whom Morus named to him under condition of concealment.' By another, written on the 19th, O. S., he

† *Ut supra*, p. 112.

confirmed the above, telling him, that he had spoken with Mr Otton, who was a keen royalist, and very intimate with Morus, ‘ who declared,’ he says, ‘ what I formerly wrote unto you, that Morus was not the author of the book.’—Well,—what is the Defence? Only this, this Otton (or Hotton, minister of the French church, at Amsterdam, the same who subscribed the testimonial in behalf of Morus), was a royalist, and admitted to Morus’s secrets: what he said, therefore, rested only on the authority of Morus, and he could make no other account of it than of his own denial; besides, this clearly implied, according to Milton, that he had been privy to the composing and publishing of the book (*aut opera aut concilio*), so that from his own mouth, he may reckon it very probable that he was the author, at least the associate.

He then produces an extract of a letter from a learned man, well known in Holland, to a friend of his, dated at Leyden, so far back as September 27, N. S., 1652, soon after, ‘ the Cry’ was published in these words, ‘ The book of Morus, intitled, Clamor, &c., was well received, until the author’s reputation was blemished by his vitiating the maid of the wife of Salmasius.’—This scrap of a letter cursorily relating in a private manner the flying rumour of the day, credulous Milton had taken for a sufficient foundation to build his public libel upon, before any particular inquiry had been made into the truth of either of these reports, and to abide by, after the falsehood of both had been discovered. He owns too, that the letter of Morus to the ambassador Nieuport, was shewn by him to Thurlow, and that two respectable friends of his, (*nobiles viros*) were sent to him, with

that letter, certifying and requesting as above. But still in vain : he had fixed his opinion ; he had written, and was, as Morus said, inflexible. All this he held for nothing more than his own personal denial. Grant it to have been nothing more, by the rules of just reasoning, as well as of judicial trials, does not the burden of probation ly upon him that affirms, and not upon him who denies ?

But, as if conscious of the insufficiency of his proof, and of his inability to produce better, he has recourse to a legal quibble, on which he chiefly rests his defence, for which he quotes the Justinian code ; ‘ If I shall find that you have written one page, or but one line of the book, or if you have contributed to the writing, or publishing ; if you have procured, or advised, or superintended the publication, or in the least furthered the work, while no other is to be found, *tu mihi solus totius operis reus, et author, et clamator eris* §, you alone shall be held by me to be guilty of the whole, the author and the crier !!!’

Among the latin letters of Milton, that were afterwards published, there is one addressed to H. Oldenburg, of Bremen, relating to this anonymous book. It is dated July 6, 1654, the year before Milton’s defence of himself appeared, and shews us one of his informers and confidants as to this false report, and also Milton’s hesitation of mind upon the subject, and his anxiety to have the fact ascertained. ‘ You have thrown a scruple into my mind,’ says he, ‘ as to the author : formerly, as often as we conversed together about this matter, when you had lately come from Holland, you seemed to entertain

§ *Oper. lat.* p. 111.

no doubt but that Morus was the author ; because it was commonly reported in those places, and no other besides him named. If, however, you have now at last attained to any greater certainty on this subject, I request you to inform me of it §. He complains in it of the contest unexpectedly imposed upon him, to draw him from more agreeable studies ; but he by no means accounted it a needless task.

So much for the first part of the process : and let the Reader judge whether Milton has not incurred the heavy forfeit to which, in a bravado, he subjected himself.

The second part of the accusation, though still more foreign to the original contest, in which Milton was engaged, was yet made by him the main one, to which the former was but subservient ; and as it was still more interesting to character, Morus had employed the greater part of his publication in obviating it. On some accounts, indeed, and at first view, it might have appeared, he says, not only an ungrateful, but an unnecessary task, to reply to such an adversary, on such a subject. His unfair and false dealing, apparent in the former instance, might have defeated the effect of his scandalous tales and lies in the other. They might have been suffered to pass in contemptuous silence, as proceeding from a known scoffer, or a railing satirist, throwing out reproaches at random. ‘ Let the barking cur alone,’ some friends said, ‘ or he will continue longer to bark. Respect yourself : why should you rage with those who are infuriated.— Railings despised will soon be forgotten ; and do no harm

§ ‘ Si quid igitur hac de re, certius nunc demum habes, me rogo certiore facias.’

to those on whom they are poured. Remember the Bauiufes, the Meuiufes, the Zoilufes, &c., and add Milton to the number.—Have patience :—the unhappy birth of Milton will not live long. In what manner could you oppose fuch an adverfary ? Would you enter the lifts into which he invites you, to fight him with his own weapons ; and return reviling for reviling ? You would undertake a hard task, and as an unskilful ftripling be obliged to yeild to fuch a champion.—To heap lies upon lies ; to feek fame on the ruin of that of others ; to afault any one who comes in the way ; to boast when there is no occasion ; falſely to detract ; to abuſe without end, and without meafure ; to make a ſmall thing great by fwelling words,—

Candida de nigris et de candentibus atras,

To make black white and white black ; ‘ Hæ Miltono funt artes :—In ijs ſibi placet, ſe circumſpicit, ſe jaſtat, cælum digito ſibi videtur attingere.’ Conviſt him of falſehood, and he will perſiſt in it, leaſt it ſhould appear that at firſt he had been wrong.’ From ſuch conſiderations as theſe he might have been ſilent, had not others more forcibly determined him to the other ſide. He returns Milton’s words, when he ſaid, ‘ that theſe things might rather have been treated with contempt, had they been only ſpread among thoſe who knew him well ;’ but, in this caſe, they were widely diffuſed amongſt thoſe who could not know whether they were true or falſe. His ſilence might have been interpreted do ariſe from a conſciouſneſs of the crimes :—His adverſary too required ſomething to abate his insolent pride ; and he ſhould endeavour to cure him effectually of his diſeaſe and evil habit, if he was not altogether incurable. Had it been

merely his own personal affair, he might have been dumb, after the example of his Lord; but the whole sacred order, were indirectly stigmatized, and the church of God, to which he had consecrated all his labours, was wounded through his sides; and even by weapons taken from the ecclesiastical armoury to do greater execution. As reproaches cast upon men in sacred office, have a keener edge, and furnish matter for scurrilous jests to the profane, and invidious, ‘you feigned one in that order, to be the butt of your obloquy and hatred; and he too must be a foreigner, one whom you never saw nor heard, one placed in a conspicuous station, preaching and praying often in crowded assemblies, and by word and writings contending for divine truth. What is judging another man’s servant if this be not?’

‘Our Synods,’ continues our author, ‘are little obliged to you; the noble Lords, by whose favour and munificence, I discharge a function, in a flourishing city, in which some of the most learned men of our age laboured before me; the States of Holland, and of all the confederated provinces, under whose protection, and under whose eyes I act, and who often grant me a favourable hearing when speaking from a higher place, owe you but small thanks, all of whom you accuse of the greatest negligence, or highest culpability, who know not or are unwilling to purge out from their premises, such a monster polluted with every heresy and crime. You do them great honour, truly, in supposing that they need you for an informer, and that at last they may become wise by your admonition. To them certainly the infamy, you would cast on me, must redound, who drew me from my former seats, bad me forget my own countty, and

not only suffer me, but fondly embrace me a stranger as a native, and honour me with no slight kindness and patronage. Why should I here mention foreigners? so many illustrious men, so many nobles, so many churches and academies, which either cherish or shew me respect, or who desire or solicit me? I should have suppressed this, if, at the moment when I am writing, I had not received letters, inviting me to the exercise of the ministerial office, and the profession of Theology, in an illustrious city. Although, if I should take as due to me, what the favourable suffrages of so many colleges would ascribe, I would entertain too arrogant and over-weening an opinion of myself, yet I ought to respect their judgment, and to the utmost of my power defend it; lest so many lights should be obscured by the clouds which one notorious enemy of truth would throw over them. Besides, what occasion have you given to the adversaries of our religion, to insult over our churches, as if they patiently could tolerate such shameful practices as are usually objected to their priests and popes? What matter of scoffing and sport do you furnish to the friends of Rome? what triumph to Satan, what scandal to the weak, what grief to fellow Christians, what injury to the faith?

On these accounts, Morus thought himself bound to reply; but in doing so, he resolved not to answer him according to his folly, and to render evil for evil. In his manner of writing, he would consider not what was due to him, but what was becoming himself. In the art of reviling and evil-speaking, which he was wont to call the rhetoric of devils, he would willingly yield to his antagonist the palm. Not as if he could not have retaliated in kind; or as if his virtue were invulnerable.

‘ You are not, friend,’ says he, ‘ one of whom fame is afraid to lie : and if it does not lie, none can go beyond you,—there is nothing more wicked than yourself ;—nothing more evident than that you judge of the dispositions and manners of others by your own. But I wish it may have lied ! For who could hear without the utmost grief, what indeed, I cannot bring my mind to credit, that there should be a man living among Christians who, though himself a compound of every crime, takes upon him to deal about his censure upon others and strangers ; while he is chargeable with every vice he accuses. Perhaps you tremble for yourself ; afraid lest I should disclose the history of your life and manners. But take courage ;—I free you from your fear. I tax you only with what is open and manifest : the rest are remitted to you. *Multi quidem ad nos venerunt, qui multa de te : quæ multa eadem scripserunt alij postea. Sed non ego credulus illis.* These things pertain not to me ; who have neither a right to pry too curiously into the affairs of another common-wealth, nor am constituted censor of your life. I would only admonish you, when you suffer, that if the things be true, they call for penitence, if false, they should be borne with patience ; and that henceforth you should write so as to refute the report.’

After a variety of other strictures, both on the matter and manner of Milton’s writing, he said, ‘ your book is full of grievous calumnies, which, as they are supported only by your bare word, it may be sufficient in a word to deny them : for whatever you object of this kind, you neither are able to verify, nor have you so much as attempted it. If it has been admitted as a maxim, ‘ that none would be guilty, if a mere denial was sufficient ;’—

it is no less true, that none would be found innocent, if a bare accusation were sufficient to condemn. But I will not avail myself of all the rights I might plead against such an accusation, and from such an adversary;—nor do I desire that you should give me credit upon my own word:—Nor yet will I produce private opinions, or the the surmises or whispers of this or that person. Let us appeal to public testimonies. It is more reasonable to credit all than some;—for individuals may be deceived and deceive: but no one has ever deceived all; and all have never been deceived.

As for the Genevan fable, which in a comic strain you rehearse, and from which afterwards you forge such base, but incredible things, you seem rather to have adopted it on purpose to entertain the ears of people, than to believe it in earnest. I will not spend time in any laboured refutation of what you, the most impertinent trifler, idly prattle, who, while you endeavour to add weight to smoke, here and there shamefully contradict yourself. For what end would it serve, were I to untavel this fable? You would instantly weave another. There are many here in Holland, who were familiar with me in Geneva, and know better than any, what repute I had there. But I resolve to call upon no private person, though there is not one of them whose authority might not destroy the force of your calumny.' He then proceeds to produce the testimonials, and to state facts, of which the reader is already possessed.

The first part of Milton's Defence of himself was written before Morus's exculpatory evidence was completed in his 'Public faith:'. In it he continued to assert, that by his leave to part from Geneva, he was freed from the

fear of a judicial process ; and that he had been deprived both of church and school, and of all salary there, for about eight or ten months †. And taking these, and other rumours, which his busy informers had thought proper to mention to him in private letters, for authentic, some of which it appears he had solicited,—he returns to declaim upon them, in the same abusive style as before, and even with additional fury, before he attempts to assign either reason or proof. He objects to him again the public registers in the library of Geneva, ‘in which near one hundred articles of his crimes were recorded for posterity.’ There were many respectable men in that city, he said, ready long ago to have borne witness of his crimes ; but all these testimonies against him he had fled and would still fly from. ‘But do you demand witnesses and proof from me who am a stranger ? Go back to Geneva :—Go and meet the punishment that awaits thee there for adultery, if the old religious discipline there be not now relaxed :’—That is to say, once more, Go and be hanged ! for this was the law formerly in Geneva. He repeats this in still more direct terms afterwards, telling him, that if he had received what he deserved, he would have been hung up long ago, by the magistrates of Geneva ‡. Referring to what Morus had given as a reason for writing, that the sacred order and the church were wounded through his sides, he exclaims, ‘O scortum et ganearum antistes !’ with more ribaldry following, that ought not to stain paper. ‘Through your sides, thou basest of men ? He tells him, that it was only by his connection with the

† ‘In eadem urbe scdis factis notatus detrectata cause dictione vixisti.’ *Opera*. p. 125.

‡ Page 144.

church and continuance in it, that it was wounded and contaminated; that all his own order, and especially the ministers of the French church, wished to see him expelled, and silenced: and he lifts up his voice aloud, calling them to drive that preaching wolf from the folds †.

At this strange rate does he go on through nearly half a hundred folio pages, throwing out, in almost every sentence unmixed abuse; without even attempting to authenticate any one fact upon which he may found it. Let us hear the scandalous tale as told by himself below §. As to the reasonable demand of his opponent, that he should produce witnesses and proof, he indignantly answers, ‘Nugator, quid tu testes ex me ubi non sunt, quæris ubi erant, fugisti?’ ‘Trifler! why do you require witnesses from me, where they are not to be found? Return to Geneva, where long ago you have been found guilty of these crimes.’ He holds pertinaciously to his first belief, though founded upon a mere *fama*, and that too either unknown or contradicted by the most respectable and concurring authorities in the place it was said

† ‘Abigite procul ab ecclesiæ septis concionantem lupum; vocem illam hircinam tot stupris et adulterijs inquinatam, populo verba dantem, imo vendentem, ne siveritis in sacro cætu amplius audiri.’ p. 126.

§ ‘Est Claudia Pelletta quædam pellicem posthac nominemus licet, nesico an tuam solum; quæ cum ancilla in eadem domo honestissimi viri Genevensis esset, in qua tu hospes eras turpissimus, cum calone et rhedario communis tibi fuit: ea muliercula, postmodum nupta, quod stupri tecum habuerat, commercio adulterio continuavit.’—‘Nec testes deerunt; Aderit in primis Hortulanus ille qui te vidit, cum in illum tigurinum cum sæmina solus intrares; vidit cum illa Claudia tua clauderet fores; vidit postea egressum te, amplexantem palam cum muliere impudica.—Aderunt et alij quos viri gravissimij qui tuum nomen detulerant, testes in promptu habent.’ Fol. p. 125.

to have originated, and to have been most flagrant. Private letters, relating to rumours, are his sole vouchers, though the writers of them he seldom ventures to name: on whose credit he publishes other things notoriously false, as that of suspension from office and salary for many months.

Yet witnesses, it seems, were not wanting, if any body would be at the trouble of travelling some hundreds or thousands of miles to seek them out, to summon them into court, and purge them of malice and partial counsel. A gardiner might still be alive at Geneva, who had seen the culprit walking with a certain married woman, Claudia Pelletta, with whom he had been familiarly acquainted, having lodged formerly for some time in the same house, where she had served; who might testify, perhaps, that he had seen them enter together into a little summer-house, and to shut the door—No:—Witness has forgotten, or his rehearser; and therefore must beg leave to correct the deposition:—they took not even the common precaution that the most shameless frequenter of the stews would use, to shut the door, or keep under covert; but witness would say, that he saw them come out, *et amplexantem palam*. There might be others found there, *virii gravissimi*, ‘respectable men,’ whether of the senatorial or ecclesiastical order, the libeller says not, who probably would have their witnesses ready, who had been kept for some years in concealment, and could not be found to be confronted with the delinquent, when all orders in the city were dismissing him with a load of honourable certificates. Or perhaps it might be found, that all those honourables and reverends, and chief citizens of Geneva, in their repeated testimonials of good

behaviour, and in their public cavalcade, were only acting a solemn farce, and took this method to execute a sentence of banishment against an infamous man, of whose villainies they were conscious, and whom they were glad to get rid of: for all this, Milton has the effrontery again to insinuate, or rather to assert: throwing hereby a load of more atrocious calumny upon the whole republic, and the most venerable names in it; whatever compliments he pretends in one passage, to pay to it †.

That Milton applied to those that were known to be at variance with Morus, and endeavoured, by their means, to collect all the scandal that was current, to aid him in making some kind of defence, is proved from some of his own letters, which were afterwards published. In one of them, directed to Ezek. Spanheim, at Geneva, dated March 24, 1654, he expresses his acknowledgements for communications on this subject in letters lately received from him, three months after date. After expressing his respects for him on his father's account, and as one esteemed by good men, and hated by the bad, with whom it had fallen to his lot to be at war, he adds,

† This encomium on Geneva, and another on the republic of Holland, are almost the only beautiful passages in this defence. ‘Semper ego quidem de Genevensi civitate, pro eo ac debeo, honesta omnia et sentire soleo et loqui: religionis cultum purioris, primumque studium, in republica deinde prudentiam, aequalitatem, moderationem, constantiam prope admiror; quo se tam arctis finibus, inter vicinios hinc inde potentissimos et imminentes, summa in pace ac libertate per tot jam annos conservat et tuetur; rectiusque in re vix mediocri et melius id agit quod civilis vitæ omnis principium atque finis est, idque populo suo feliciter præstat, quam summis opibus instructi, summis opinione hominum adjuti concilijs regis maximi fervientibus præstant suis.’ Page 134.

He desired Calandrinus to signify to him, that it would be very agreeable to him, if he would contribute his aid with his against the common adversary: which accordingly,' says he, 'you have kindly done in these letters, part of which, without naming the author, I have not scrupled to insert in my defence for a testimony, relying on your favour towards me §.' And he promised, to send a copy of his book to him, if he could find a proper opportunity, as soon as it was published.

Whether the letter, of which he gives an extract, dated from the same place, Oct. 1654, was from the same hand, is not certain; but it breathes the spirit of an adversary. 'They could not but admire,' says the writer, 'how Milton could know, and so well paint the inside (*interiora*) of a man otherwise unknown; even as well as any who were fully acquainted with him, could have done; and they wondered, that man, however impudent, could have ventured afterwards to appear on the public theatre.—*Non ficta vel ignota alias hominis scelera attuleres, sed quæ omnium et amicissimorum etiam ore decantata, integri cætus autoritate et assensu, immo plurium adhuc scelerum accessione luculenter possint corroborari.*'—What assembly is here meant, that by its authority and assent sanctioned Milton's charges, we are not told; any more that what those additional crimes were, that might have been adduced. But certainly the painter, as well as these judges, had well learned their art, who could look into a man's

§ 'Pergratum mihi fore, si contra *communem adversarium* tua subsidia mecum communicasses. Id quod his ipsis literis perhumaniter fecisti,' &c.

heart as well as his actions; and draw or discern an exact likeness of him both within and without.

Ezekiel Spanheim, as well as his brother, Frederick, was an eminent man. He became a distinguished statesman and ambassador, as well as a noted medalist. At this time, however, he was but a young man; and as he went to study at Leyden, in 1642, when he was but 12 or 13 years of age, he must have resided very short time in Geneva while Morus was there. As his father had been at variance with Morus, if he was indeed the writer of such letters, it is an evidence, that the son, as is too natural, had made the feud hereditary; and that in crediting and circulating such injurious reports, he had gone beyond what his father had ever done.

To collect all that Milton has offered in evidence on this point together at once, in the second part of his defence, written after Morus's supplement was published, for which, he says, he had waited with great impatience, he mentions Theod. Tronchin, pastor and professor of theology, among the respectable men who had accused Morus, at Geneva; as also, two other pastors, Marmilliodus and Pittetus, who, he supposes, produced many witnesses, (*multis opinor testibus adductis*): 'they accused you,' he says, 'of many crimes, and especially of that committed in a certain garden.' But this accusation, according to him, was posterior to the certificates granted him: and when he could not withstand the force of the evidence against him, he sought leave to depart, not absolved in judgment, but evading it by flight. Here he supposes an accusation and process begun, if not finished: of which nothing, however, has been heard from any other quarter, and which, had it been true, could

have been no secret to the church or council, at the time of his departure ; much less, if a judgment too had been passed, as he said elsewhere. Yet, of that time, he also had said, ‘ as yet there was no word of Pelletta, or the garden.’ The ample testimonial that was given him, the year before his departure, we are told, was signed by all the ministers and professors in the city, three only excepted : and it was confirmed a-new by the church at the time of his removal, in their letter to the church of Middleburgh, July 1649, and by another to the Walloon synod, which sufficiently refutes the above statement. If any of these pastors mentioned, had impeached him, (which requires other confirmation than Milton’s word) what they had proposed must have been reckoned unworthy of regard. Theod. Tronchin had been long a respectable character in that place, and was then of great age : and, if he had indeed, given ear to such a rumour, it is more reasonable to suppose that he might have been imposed upon, rather than all the company of his brethren. Dan. Tronchin was among the subscribers to the certificate. As for the other two pastors, the writer of this, has not before heard of their names. Probably they may be the two young ministers mentioned by Diodati; who, two years before had attempted to overwhelm Morus, under the charge of heresy, in which they utterly failed ; which might make them disposed to employ this other engine to accomplish his ruin, by circulating such diabolical calumnies as Sartoris speaks of in his letter.

Milton seems to be at a loss, even after his latest information, when to fix the time of the said trial, as well as about the issue of it, which makes him speak not only vaguely, but inconsistently on the subject. Bayle, as if

to aid him a little, says, ' It is known, that the most violent storm which this minister suffered at Geneva, arose after the certificates obtained upon the 25th of Jan. 1648; and a certain author has published, that the magistrates of Geneva made void the act of deposition decreed against Mr Morus by the consistory; and that they commanded the consistory to give him a certificate of his good behaviour.' But the greater part of the certificates were of a later date than the above, by some months; if such an act had been passed, it must have been in the interval between these and his departure in the summer following, unless we suppose him to have been arraigned, condemned and restored, after he had fled from a process, and was no longer in connection with that church. If such a change in the sentiments and conduct of the ministers and professors of that church had taken place in that short interval, how could both the senate and church send with him recommendatory letters to the church of Middleburg, and the Walloon Synod, dated in July 1649, as if no such thing had happened? Had they so soon quashed the evidence, or attempted to conceal notorious facts? Had the consistory belied their conviction, betrayed their trust, deposed and absolved without repentance, at the mere order of the civil power, to the reproach of the world and their own consciences? This was possible, but hardly credible. Nor is the authority to which Bayle refers, sufficient to establish it. This is Lewis du Moulin, formerly mentioned, in his ' Admonition to the builders of a state within a state,' which he reckoned the exercise of church authority independent of the civil to be. He lived remote from the scene of action, was a partisan in many things with

Milton, and would be ready to draw in any thing that had the shadow of favouring his own scheme. How he has represented the fact, and whether it has a respect to the question, I cannot stay to consult; but there is great reason to suspect that either he, or Bayle, must be mistaken in such an application. It is very probable that the interference of the council referred to has a respect to the doctrinal opinions of Morus, upon which the consistory demurred, until required by the magistrates to proceed to an examination and sentence, as formerly noticed †; even as Milton, through misinformation or wilfully seems to have confounded these two causes, when he repeatedly refers to the registers containing near one hundred charges against him.

This exception, therefore, to the force of the testimonials, that they were granted before the fama was divulged, or before an accusation in form was brought forward against Morus, must, even by the account of his adversaries, be given up. Milton has recourse to a variety of pretences and surmises, in order to invalidate their evidence, but wavers, and shifts his ground, not knowing on what chiefly to rest his objections against them. After some general observations upon the nature of public testimonials, and the little credit that is often due to them, with which he begins his reply to Morus's supplement;—‘he will not inquire,’ he says, ‘whether these Genevan letters were voluntarily granted, or yielded to the impudent demand of the man, when accused of crimes against which he could not defend himself;—whether they were given in a thin meeting, and not on the

† See before, p. 18, 19.

usual day of assembling;—whether he stood by when they were drawn up;—whether the names were subscribed in the convention, or whether Morus did not run about from house to house, solliciting the subscriptions of the members; and whether there were not some who opposed the granting of them in the meeting, and complained they were not heard;—he would mention none of these things, though some did, which made some, among whom was Fred. Spanheim, to give credit to them; but this only he would say, that the letters of Diodati, given six years ago, were now antiquated by Morus's evil practices since; as yet there was no noise about Claudia, 'Nondum increbuerat Claudia, nondum hortus:' therefore, he doubts not that the subscribers were imposed upon. In another place, speaking of these letters, he says, many opposed them, some were wearied out, and some were persuaded, some were afraid lest the ignominy should redound to the public, some were disposed to overlook the faults, and spare a learned man*. So many different, and inconsistent ways of accounting for the effect, shew them to be devised at pleasure, some of which are contrary to the express tenor of the letters, others too injurious to the honour of the subscribers to be admissible, and none of them satisfactory.

On the other part of his libel, if his proof be not more satisfactory, his language is no less abusive. As to the story of Pontia, he is indignant that he should be required to adduce evidence. 'Fama constans,' and general be-

* Expugnantur multi, partim fatigati, partim induciti, partim veriti, &c.—Page 135.

lief throughout the United Provinces, he reckons his sufficient warrant. But neither were witnesses, nor a sufficient number of letters wanting as to this; these letters, narrated the criminal conversation, he says, and also the perjuries, by the aid of which Morus escaped from judgment; while yet there was no oath required of him in that cause. ‘ There are many other witnesses that testify without voice, the night journies you often took from the Hague to Leyden; the nocturnal and stolen meetings with Pontia, from whom, it is said you have made a divorce, on account of unchastity.—Do you expect that I should bring forward your young servant, against you?’ This, it would seem, is one of these young men that Morus referred to, in his speech to the Synod, in which he was acquitted. This indeed was written before he had read the account of Morus’s trial and absolution before the Synod; and the things he refers to in both the defences appear to be nothing else than the old calumnious rumours that had been circulated by the faction, before the process and investigation took place, but which had become in a great measure dead and obsolete, in Holland, but being eagerly collected and revived by Milton, they appeared as fresh, among strangers who had no access to have had full information of what had been transacted. Hence, he insulted Morus, in the first part, that he had passed over what related to Pontia; and he supposed, ‘ he would also pass in silence, what, they said, he had attempted in a certain house, and in another house, when he was comforting a widow upon the death of her husband,—nor would he tell from what house he was seen to go out *cum scorto*, one night, in Amsterdam, by the woman whom he had deceived by his promises, and who

had brought an information against him to the presbyters; nor would he state the night journies he had taken to Leyden, with his servant, who, however, did not fail amply to narrate them, with many other of his notable achievements †. Thus the reader has now got the whole fund of Milton's opprobrious tales, which he had been at such pains to collect and heap up, except the scratching match and furious onset of Pontia upon the minister, said to have taken place in the house of Salmasius, and which excited so much his risibility, of which Milton gives such a ludicrous description, and with which he strives to make himself and readers merry throughout so many pages of his defence: the outlines of which, those who have a taste for such a scene, may find in his own language below ‡.

† Page 132.

‡ In return to what Morus had said about the poet's countenance, and his impudent brow, *perfricata frons*, he says, remember the time, 'in quo frons tua tam valde perfricata est, ut tibi tum multo maluisses totam frontem periisse. Meministi fortasse illius diei, cum tu Pontiam in domo Salmasium ultimum, ut opinor, convenisti tu illam, ut copulæ renunciare; illa te, ut nuptijs diem diceres. Quæ ubi e contrario pactum stupro conjugium dissolvere in animo tibi esse videt, tum vero tua innuba, non enim dicam Tesiphone, impatiens tantæ injuriæ, in faciem tibi atque oculos, non sectis unguibus, furens involavit. Tu qui (teste Cranzio et Deodato) *terribiles unguis ad tuam tutelam haberes*, pro virili tua parte ad sæmineum hoc genus pugnæ te comparas. Ipse Salmasius, in conclavi proximo decumbens pedibus æger, ut prælium commissum audijt, risu pene moritur. At heu nefas! imbellis noster Alexander, et Amazoni congressus impar, succumbit. Illa inferiorem nacta, in frontem et supercilia nasumque hominis tum primum superna peccat: miris capreolis, et Phrygiano opere toti jacenti vultum percurrit: nunquam tibi More, lineamenta Ponticæ minus placuere. Ipse plana jam utraque margine genarum scriptum et in mento nondum finitus ægre tandem sur-

These doubtless made part of the sackful of papers that were presented to the Synod of Utrecht, and read over and over again, and which were considered as containing so many *nænia*, and female squabbles and scoldings; on which we have heard the judgment of a venerable court pronounced. The judgment, at least, the absolution of such judges, is nothing to Milton. Had the object of his resentment been twenty times absolved, it would have been the same thing to him. He even made no account of the information of his clandestine correspondents in any thing that tended to exculpate Morus, but gave full credit to every syllable to his disadvantage, of which he furnishes an instance in the letter he inserts, written by Dury from Basil, October 3, 1654, where he was then in his expedition on the design of uniting the churches, in which he said, ‘ he had conversed with Otton, who did not give credit to the reports as to the conduct of Morus, though there were some who spoke evil of him, and his hand was against almost every man and every man’s against him; that the greater part of the Walloon Synod were desirous of his demission from the

gis: sed ne peniteat te, homo ad unguem factus; non jam professor, sed tamen doctor pontificus: jure enim poteras tanquam in picta tabula scripsisse, Pontia fecit.—Sensisti puto Ulaci tabulas Taugentium et secantium ad radium Cifarum nescio quot lugubrium in pelle tuo excudi: tu cum, More facie non integra domum te proripuisti et quantum potes, abdis te quoque, reconditæ ut posses dici homo literaturæ. Eho nosler Ecclesiastes ubi es? quid lates? expectant te jam nunc qui tibi aures a superiore loco dicenti accommodare solebant. Sed tibi misero nunc Pontia e superiore loco dixit tuisq aures unguis accommodavit. Redde nunc tuum vultum nobis, Ecclesiastes, antiquum sane et rugis venerandum, cur apocryphus vis esse cum ipsa Pontia Pontificæ canonicus jam maxime sis et rubricatus.’ Page 123.

pastoral office; and that the opinion at Basil was much the same with that of those who least loved him in Holland.'

In answer to the Supplement, Milton makes captious remarks upon the exculpatory evidence produced in it, but chiefly employs his weapon of ridicule. Mr Long, the co-pastor at Middleburgh, when he subscribed the recommendatory letters, was yet deceived by Morus keeping on the mask, but another hearsay must be set in opposition to them, that he had spoken in a very different strain since. He takes hold of the words in the deed of the Synod of Gouda, which mention some defects in the proceeding of the church of Middleburgh, and he would wish to know of what kind these defects were: which evidently refer to some informality in the manner, and not at all to the matter. As to the attempts to intangle him in the matrimonial net, he insinuates that they would not have adventured to do it, if he had not been one whom they thought might have been easily caught. He reflects on the Synod that acquitted him, alledging, that they shewed him too much favour, without any respect to his merits: 'In the whole of this judgment, he could believe, that there was more regard had to his person and order, than to his cause.' Such, in his opinion, was their equity and prudence. The witticism of the preses, referring to his name, he takes to be a mocking of him instead of absolution. When he had lost his pains in washing a blackamoor, he whitened him: and he exclaims, 'Hail now, Ethiops, or if you will, Thou whited wall!' The sentence itself, he says, scarcely absolves him. They do not recommend him to the churches, they only do not deprive them of their

liberty. But was not this sufficient, as he was not, now in Amsterdam, bound to serve any particular congregation? And they gave by their example, in employing him, a very strong recommendation. He scruples not to insinuate, that in the supreme court of Holland, the patronage of some whom he had courted and flattered, rather than justice and his own innocence had befriended him †.

For his former fallshood, that the magistrates of Amsterdam had forbidden him the pulpit, Milton makes but an awkward apology. 'I wrote it,' says he, 'not as certain, but as what I had lately heard, and that too upon letters worthy of credit: if it be not true, it is but a matter of small consequence, and about which I little care, and as to which you have no cause to exult.' This is but a sorry specimen of his other certain intelligence, by letters 'fide dignas.' He nibbles also at the certificate of the magistrates; they say, that nothing could be laid to his charge since he had come to officiate there, which he thinks of little force, if he had been chargeable before he came; and it was false, that he was (*sine nota*) free of all blame. 'Such a testimony in behalf of *Morus's* integrity, and blameless character, even from these Consuls, we make small account of, but reject as of no authority. The Consuls of Rome supported *Verres*.' As to *Hutton's* testimony, that the French church in Amsterdam, requested him to preach; *Hutton* wished to spare his own lungs:—And there are many who may be very engaging in their sermons, who may be very offensive otherwise in their conduct. Of the eulogium of the Curators of

† Page 140.

the school, he makes as light. ‘What you declaim, what you recite, or how you employ yourself, we need not care, nor is it any thing to the purpose.—You plume yourself upon these testimonials. Did you think by them to heal the wounds in your reputation,—or procure them as passports for ostentation? You gave no direct answer as to meetings with Claudia, or Pontia.’

But what answer did Milton require, or what other answer would have satisfied him? Had he even sworn in the most solemn manner to the falseness of every charge, would he have believed him? he who scruples not to call the oaths, which he affirmed, though falsely, that Morus had already taken in the affair of Pontia, by which he escaped, perjuries, and sets them down as additional crimes. Yet he has the impertinence, as if he had been constituted commissary-general for all Christendom to cite the minister to his tribunal, to take a solemn oath of purgation, of his dictating, that he had ever lived free from guilt with these or any other woman in the world*. There is one thing indeed in which Milton confesses that he had greatly mistaken, in calling Morus a professor of Greek, instead of sacred history: but this is only to vent more scurrility; ‘for it appeared to him altogether incredible, and a kind of prodigy, that one should ever have been professor of sacred, who himself afforded so much subject and matter for profane histories.’ He objects to Morus his passing from flock to flock; and for leaving the better office for the inferior.

* ‘Dic age in hæc verba: Deum testem invoco me ab omnibus illis flagitijs quorum insimulor, integrum atque intactum semper vixisse, me neque Claudiae, neque Pontiae, neque ullius omnino faeminae stupratorem esse aut adulterum.’ P. 130.

Taking occasion from Morus having mentioned (with rather too great an air of vanity, which his situation might excuse) the numerous invitations he had received, his unrelenting adversary compares him to empirics, recommending their nostrums; and even alledges, that he employed his friends to procure invitations for him to as many places as possible; and that sometimes the matter was so managed, that at any rate he should be invited, although on the express condition settled, that he should not come. ‘In this manner, I understand, you were invited to France, and if I mistake not, to Franeker, or Groningen (Gronham) which of the two cities I know not, but that it was the one or the other, I sufficiently know †.’

Milton wrote a tract, ‘for removing hirelings out of the church,’ and for abolishing not only tithes, but legal stipends. Morus had told him, that since his removal, he preached without salary or emolument; that his service to the church might appear more willing as it was more gratuitous; and that not only in Amsterdam, but also in the other churches, as there was occasion, he had thus freely, and as frequently as at any time before, bestowed his labour: sometimes thrice in one day, and not before a rude auditory, to the endangering his health, that the Christian people might not be deprived of instruction. As he had no other inducement to this than the public utility, all would think it commendable except Milton, who, of all men, if he were consistent with himself, ought to account it such, as he thought pastors should receive only the voluntary contributions of the

people. ‘Here,’ says he, ‘I was afraid of your praises, and that I should have suffered this new kind of reproach, unless you should chuse to forsake your own principles, rather than for once to speak with ingenuity. What at length will you find in me fit for your teeth, when even at this you bite, which in prudence you ought to have passed, if you had not consulted your affection more than your purpose †?’

The professor, indeed, had good reason to dread the praise of such a man. In one place, he is reviled by him for ‘selling *the word* ;’ and when he could not but know that it was dispensed gratis, he owns it was a very rare case, but then it was this that made his services to be requested. This too, gives occasion for introducing some fine allusions and apt comparisons from ancient lore: ‘By this noise once a week, by this fortuitous teaching,’ says Milton, the ex-minister thinks he fulfills the constant office of a pastor: like an itinerant singer, or sophist of old, he rehearsed when asked:—yea, he was like one of Cybele’s priests ‘nondum exsecutus,’ or one of the Cureti, freely employing his pipes.’—‘But he is a pretty and eloquent preacher’ ‘Just such a preacher, I believe, as he is an orator.’ and here he falls foul of Morus’s composition §.

In the like scoffing and puerile humour, he notices the titles of the books in the list mentioned by Morus; as that on the Gospels, where he says, he expected a fifth

† *Fid. Publ.* p. 222, 223.

§ ‘Ita credo ut est orator cui proverbialia si demas, et insul-
to versicolorum centones orationis ipso filo atque contextu
nihil inoratus, nihil incompositius nihil verbosius atque puti-
dus nihil ubi venustatem, numerum, atque nervos paulo discer-
sione homine dignos magis requiras.’ *Opera*, p. 145.

gospel from him, since he had long ago denied the four former by his deeds;—and that on the Sacred Scripture, ‘in which, it is said, you affirm many things to have been humanly and imprudently written;’—his *Notes on the New Testament*, ‘I wish you would also allow *Notes Pontia* to be published: ‘Last of all, remember, you have wholly omitted the other volume of your works that is still extant in the public library of Geneva.’

From the above, the reader may see in miniature, the whole matter of this formidable libel, and a sufficient specimen of the manner and spirit in which it was written. Whatever acquaintance Milton had with classical learning, and however severe he was upon the writings of his antagonists, it will be evident, that he often sunk into low buffoonery, false witticisms, and vulgarity of language. A little facetiousness, a portion of the attic salt, or acid, might have been allowed, if he had therein discovered the least tincture of good nature and candour, or a due regard to decorum, which he has so grossly violated. He sports himself with things that were no proper objects of sport or ridicule; and indulges levity in matters serious and important, and mixes the ludicrous with the religious in a very grotesque manner. This was too much the taste of the times, and of the court in which he lived, with which he was infected. In this, he resembles his master, Cromwell, who one hour could assume the most sanctimonious airs, and the next act the buffoon; who even at the moment when he had the pen in his hand to sign the death-warrant of the king, could not refrain from dabbing ink in the face of Sir Harry Martin. But the resentful and implacable spirit that breathes throughout, is that which is chiefly condemnable and

inexcusable. His jests and sportive humour are but the vehicle and thin covering of the deepest malignity, which he could not warrantably have entertained and vented against any man whatever, much less against one occupying a respectable place in the learned world, and an honourable station in the church of God, especially upon such slender prettexts, and defective evidence, and even in the face of unusual and overwhelming evidence to the contrary. To have his opponent dragged forth and exposed to public infamy, degraded from office, expelled from all honourable society, and even driven from among the living, had it been in his power, and to have had his name consigned to perpetual infamy, was avowed by him as the design of his writing, and what he expected as the fruit and chief reward of his labour. As he began by threatening, so he concluded the first part of his Defence of himself, by exulting in the thought of academies and churches concurring in the execution of what would have been so gratifying to his pride and malice, and at any rate he would console himself with the thought of having performed a most acceptable and meritorious service †.

† ‘*Quod si etiam ex privatis nonnunquam inimicitijs delicta publica animadverti et sæpe corrigi solent, et adversarium nunc non modo meum, sed pene omnium communem, hominem nefarium, reformatæ religionis et sacri maxime ordinis opprobrium, literatorum labem, juventutis perniciosissimum præceptorem, immundum in sacris Ecclesiasten, impulsis omnibus causis justissima vituperatione persecutus sum, eo necne cum fructu, quo oporteat viderint illi, quorum potissimum interest exemplum in isto edere, me quidem spero rem neque Deo ingratam, neque ecclesiæ insalubrem, neque rei publicæ inutilem præstitisse.*’ Page 137.

It will be difficult to find an instance among men of letters, of such an open and atrocious attack upon both the professional and moral character of a public man, and such a determined purpose, and so pertinaciously prosecuted, upon so little provocation, and so slight a shadow of evidence, as this of Milton; and persisted in to the last, in contempt of what is usually admitted as authentic and legal evidence to the contrary. Every one, upon the whole, will form what judgment he thinks proper; but there is sufficient reason for affirming, that whatever may have been the imprudencies or foibles of Morus, it belonged not to Milton to animadvert upon them as he did; that the fact he assumed as the original ground was merely supposititious, and that he himself had sufficient opportunity to know it †; that although Morus had been actually accused and convicted of the alledged crimes, neither the cause Milton was defending, nor his connection, nor the laws of Christianity, or the honour of religion, required or warranted him to proclaim them as with the reiterated sound of a trumpet to the world, with apparent satisfaction, and airs of derision; but that his offence was of a much more aggravated nature, in becoming himself the public accuser, upon vague reports,

† It is scarce necessary to notice what Bayle has inserted as an authority for ascribing the *Clamor, &c.* to Morus, that the Catalogue of the library at Oxford has given it to him. This cannot be any apology for Milton, as the catalogue to which there is a reference was not drawn up till the year 1674. Though the arranger of the catalogue bestowed nine years upon it, yet, amidst such a mass, there must have still been many mistakes; especially in assigning names to anonymous publications. Perhaps Milton's writings contributed to this mistake.

clandestine and partial informations, mixed with known falshoods and inconsistencies, and not only to continue to accuse, but to sustain every charge as if it had been decidedly proven and judged,—while yet he had not one testimony to produce to establish one article, that could be received in any court of law or equity: for who will say, that any one of the witnesses to whom he appeals, any one of the writers of letters which he quotes, has spoken directly to the point of criminality, or said upon their own knowledge, and as they should answer to God, that he certainly was guilty of one single instance? All that they testify is, what is but too evident, and which Morus did not deny, that he had enemies, who laid grievous things to his charge; that they had heard such things talked of, but whether truly or falsely the deponents know not: but woe would be to thousands, and even to men of the best characters in the world, if the mere fact of their being hated, suspected, or evil-spoken of, by individuals, or a faction, or even the world at large, were sufficient to bring them in as guilty. It is greatly in favour of Morus, that the reports or accusations referred to, were either reckoned unworthy of judicial inquiry, or that, after a trial or inquiry, he was legally acquitted by the competent judges. In opposition to these, private opinions, surmises, or public talk, are to be accounted of little weight. In cases of that kind, even without investigation, charity will always be inclined to the favourable side, as the law presumes every man to be innocent until he be found guilty: contrary however to a perverse, but too common disposition of mankind to believe the worst:

Conscia mens recti famæ mendacia ridet ;
Sed nos in vitium credula turba fumus.

Ovid.

But after a regular judgment and acquittal, against which nothing relevant can be brought to invalidate it, neither charity nor justice can permit the matter any longer to be considered as doubtful, or the character of the person as ambiguous, much less infamous in society. The critical Bayle, after veering a while, and balancing, in his sceptical manner, the evidences on both sides, had too much discernment not to see the frivolousness of Milton's defences on this subject, and the culpability of his conduct, and has given at last a juster decision, than some others have done, particularly in Britain, who have copied him in other things. It is in these words :

‘ But in short there are a great many more exceptions to be made to such defamatory reports, as an author like Milton is capable of collecting, than to certificates. So when all accounts are balanced, I should be of opinion that, considering the certificates which have been produced, in favour of Mr Morus by his party, and and the inconveniences which might justly be dreaded, if vague accusations, and such as have no legal proof on their side, should be reckoned more valid than formal justifications ; I say, I should be of opinion that Milton ought to be considered as a PUBLIC SLANDERER, except where he can make good the facts he advances by some authentic acts. Particularly I am of opinion, that the distich which he caused to be inserted in the London News-papers, deserves to be declared a DIABOLICAL PIECE OF EUPHOISTRY.’ And here he inserts the epigram which was given above, in page 121. He adds, ‘ Milton was obstinate enough in his hatred, as appears by a letter which he wrote, December 20, 1659, while Morus's affair was in agitation before the national Synod of London. He was of opinion, that though that Synod should decree nothing but the deposition of that minister, it

would have a happy issue, which never happened to any other Synod.'

If so much as one authentic act can be found produced by Milton, to exempt him in part from the odious character, to which he is here subjected by the critic of Amsterdam, let him have the full benefit of it. It must be sought for some where else than in his defences. The distich, which some may think barely to read or quote, is sufficient to fix a blot on the subject of it, Milton tells us, he received from a well known author in Holland, and he commends the humour of it. But who would appeal to poets and satirists as authentic historians, or as affording proper evidence of facts? The licence of satirists and writers of epigrams overleaps all bounds. For the sake of a witticism or pun, they will sport with any character, and not even spare their friends, how much less those to whom they have antipathy? They can caricature or distort any object in the mirror of playful fancy, without the smallest regard to truth. In their colours, Milton might have seen himself too, drawn as hideous as any monster, and as black as any *Moor*. A certain French divine and orator of no small reputation, has put his name on epigrammatic record in the following lines:—

In Miltonem.

Nil mirum rabido si reges impetit ore,
 Milto, vocat reges pagina sacra Deos.
 Est atheus Milto, regum hinc accerimus hostis
 Vellat quippe omnes tollere posse Deos.

Oeuvr. du Bossc, tom. 1.

Are we therefore to believe Milton to have been a very Atheist?

I confess the character of this eminent man never ap-

peared to me in such a despicable light, nor his conduct in any thing so base and dishonourable, as in the spirit he discovered, and the part he acted in this contest. It is hard to reconcile them to the character of an honest and good man. His other errors, great as they were, compared with this, appear venial. In them his judgment might have misled him, and his political delinquencies had the concurrence of thousands, and the shew of public good for palliation: but in this is seen great depravity of heart, rooted malice, and a series of deliberate injuries. What he intended against his opponent, when he said, that ‘in his own name, and in the name of the people of England, he would deliver him over to the censure of all succeeding ages,’ either has, or ought to have fallen upon himself. The arrows he throws, instead of doing execution, rebound, and wound none so deeply as himself. Dr Johnson, in his life of this poet, however opposite he was to his political opinions, is willing to allow, that ‘while he contented himself to write, he perhaps did only what his conscience dictated, and if he did not very vigilantly watch the influence of his own passions, and the gradual prevalence of opinions, first willingly admitted, and then habitually indulged,—if desire superinduced conviction, he yet shared only the common weakness of mankind, and might be no less sincere than his opponents:’ a plea, however, that cannot be admitted as to many things in the writings we have been considering. He proceeds to impeach his honesty, on suspicion of his having inserted a prayer taken out of the romance ‘Arcadia,’ into the book imputed to the king, ‘Icon Basilike,’—and ‘he charges the king with the use it,’ says the biographer, ‘in the indecent

language with which prosperity had emboldened the advocates of rebellion to insult all that was venerable or great.' Had this forgery, with a view to reproach the king, been capable of proof against him, it would yet have been of a trivial nature compared with those he has evidently adopted, and openly defended in this cause. But the forgery of the whole book referred to, may be clearly traced to an episcopal origin, and is more justly charged on the royal party, however the dogmatic Johnson, and even the sceptical Hume, might have been disposed, from the love they bore to arbitrary kings, to think it the composition of his majesty.

The Monthly Reviewers, while they find fault with the Doctor for charging Milton with this interpolation, go to another extreme in his defence, and are unguarded and ungrounded when they assert, that 'whatever might be his political errors, his moral character has been ever unimpeached; his regard to truth seems to have been inviolable; his religion appears to be free of every taint of hypocrisy †.' The assertions are either false; or they must be admitted with great abatement; though we have no inclination to enlarge on such an ungrateful subject. We see he has been impeached by different pens. In the survey of this controversy, what instances of the indulgence of evil passions, of disregard to truth, to purity, to charity, to justice, forcibly obtrude themselves to view? Of his belief of the holy Scriptures, and the great doctrines of Christianity, there is no reason to doubt. But of the religion, or 'wisdom that cometh from above be not only pure, but peaceable, meek, and gentle, full of

† Vol. LXI. 84, 85.

mercy, and good fruits without partiality, as well as without hypocrisy,' his was surely very defective. Of the sincerity of every man's religion, it belongs to the Omniscient alone to judge. But his irreverence on certain subjects, his contemptuous usage of men in ecclesiastical office, individually, or collectively, the countenance he gave to measures for depressing, if not abolishing, a regular standing ministry, his disregard, in the latter part of his life, to divine institutions, and all public and private forms of devotion, were certainly no favourable indications of his practical piety. For his biographers tells us, that 'he associated himself with no denomination of protestants; and that we know rather what he was not, than what he was,' in religion: 'He grew old without any visible worship. In the distribution of his hours, there was no hour of prayer, either solitary, or with his household; omitting public prayers, he omitted all.' And on this Dr Johnson, has justly observed, 'To be of no church is dangerous. Religion of which the rewards are distant, and which is animated only by faith and hope, will glide by degrees out of the mind, unless it be invigorated and reimpresed by external ordinances, by stated calls to worship, and the salutary influence of example.' We say nothing here, lest we offend the connoisseurs, or idolizers of Milton, of the strange freedoms he has taken in his capital work, with the religion of the bible, in intermixing with it such bizarre imagery, such gross fictions, descriptions sometimes so monstrous and absurd, respecting the invisible world, and invisible agents, as to fall little short of the fables and reveries of Homer.

In his Defence of himself, he gives a farther instance of his insolent and abusive spirit in the manner in which he treats Crantzius, on account of his introductory epistle, mentioned above, in which he expressed his detestation of Milton's falsehoods and calumnies, and exculpated Morus. For this unpardonable fault he meets with no milder usage than his friend. He speaks of him as a sick little doctor, (*doctorculum nescio quem Crantzium*) with his bed and pillow laid in the way as a mound or rampart to obstruct his approach to the book he was answering; who could hardly raise himself in bed, to vent his feverish dreams;—as one who had made his testament, because he had said, he had 'subscribed with his own hand, though sick in body.' *Age jam tu, si vis, animam nos resignemus.* 'Let your soul now depart if it please you: we can easily spare you.' He had indeed exposed himself in part to the lash of his satire by his incautious and incorrect manner of expressing himself*.

* He had said, *In Salmasio vix ipsi inimici aliud requirent, quam quod fuerit iracundior, et male conjugatus.* Upon which Milton says, *Quis mentis compos aut sententiæ suæ sic loquitur? Patere te doceri, doctorcule, quod pueruli sciant: Non requirebant illi quod fuit, sed quod non fuit.*

He scoffs at him too, on account of what he had said about the allegation of eunuchism: *Ais me eunuchum dixisse Salmasium, quod nunquam dixi. Nihil minus quam eunuchum fuisse affirmas: id mea nihil refert. Tu, tamen quid hac in parte solus tam audacter pronuncies, cave: Adeone legum nescins ac rudis es, ut ullam rem difficilius probare te posse sine duobus testibus arbitreris.*

When he had mentioned Salmasius's posthumous book that might sometime be published, he had exclaimed, *Dij boni! quam niger est Miltonius, si fides Salmasio.* Milton justly asked the doctor of sacred theology, How many good gods he worshipped? and was afraid, that in this he deserved rather

From the manner in which Crantz had praised Morus, he thinks he was but little obliged to him, as he had interspersed his commendations with so many blemishes, that he might seem to have dismissed non *Morum*, sed *Morionem*; as he expresses it, in his punning manner. And he takes leave of him, by telling him, that he had been more large in his animadversions, that he might pay his respects to him as a doctor of divinity with a very broad phylactery; ‘*Doctoribus autem mirifice delector:*’ ‘for I am wonderfully charmed with doctors †.’ The Usurper’s Secretary, indeed, though he had not told us, has manifested this in more instances and ways than one.

Since we are on the subject of Milton’s delinquencies against the clergy, we may notice the sarcasms thrown out against the Presbyterians, and the Scotch Commissioners at London, in some of his shorter poems; from which it may appear that this was an old, and had become an inveterate habit with him; and we do this the rather, that his commentators seem greatly at a loss to understand some of his references to names, and one of the most eminent of them has indulged in some blundering conjectures. These pieces certainly add nothing to his character in a poetical, and still less in a political or religious view. They are evidently the effusions of spleen and fermenting faction, without regard to truth, decorum, or the dignity of writing. Some of those against whom they are levelled, were very active in the great change, in behalf of the subject’s liberty, and to them,

to be called a catechumen, than doctor: adding, *Tibi si Dñi boni sunt, crit fortassis et bona Dea. cujus te sacerdos,* &c.

Milt. *Oper Lat.* fol. p. 115.

† *U. Supra*, p. 116.

and the party they acted with, any progress that was made in ecclesiastical reformation was chiefly owing. They prosecuted the great design in a more consistent, legal, and honest manner, than the faction with which this author embarked, and who were remarkable for nothing more than for their artifices, intrigues, treachery, dissimulation, and unprincipled, but successful innovations.' Some of the men who are treated with wantonness, in point of piety, were far that author's superiors; and some of them, though unequal in polite letters, were not behind him in the most useful and solid parts of learning. In this number may be mentioned the names of Rutherford, Henderson, Gillespie, so disrespectfully introduced in the sixth of the Miscellaneous Poems. Because they opposed the sectaries, and his own novel doctrines, this made him vent his resentment in no very sublime strains :

Men whose life, learning, faith, and pure intent
 Would have been held in high esteem with Paul,
 Must now be nam'd and printed heretics,
 By shallow Edwards, and Scotch What d'ye call.

A book was wrote of late call'd Tetrachordon
 And woven close, both matter, form and stile,—

———What a word on

A title page is this?———

Why is it harder, Sirs, than Gordon,
 Colkitto, or M'Donel, or Galasp?
 Those rugged names to our like mouths grow sleek,
 That would have made Quirtilio stare and gasp.

Hear the commentators; 'What d'ye call,' says Dr Newton, 'might be perhaps Alexander Henderson, or, as that

expression implies some hard name, G. Gillespie, a Scotch Commissioner, called Gelafpe, in Whitlock, and Galasp in one of the author's sonnets.'—But A. Henderson did not publish on these controversies, though Bailie, Rutherford, Gillespie, and A. Stewart, a Scotch writer, did. Is Gillespie indeed a hard name?

Gordon, Colkitto, M'Donel, and Galasp, says the same annotator, 'we may suppose were persons of note and eminence amongst the Scotch ministers, who were for pressing and enforcing the Covenant. Galasp, we know, was one of the Scotch ministers and commissioners †.' He was;—but I have never heard of any of the others named, among the eminent ministers of that time. But they may be found among the eminent chieftains, who, at the order of the king, massacred the people who had taken the covenants. The bishop perhaps had not heard of Sir Donald Goram, alias M'Donald, and the M'Donalds, and the Kittochs, who headed the band of Irish cut-throats that invaded Argyleshire, and wasted Scotland about that time, with fire and sword, in conjunction with the popish Gordons? In Walker's History of Independency, I think, there will be found a sufficient key to the hard name and story of Colkitto.

Had these divines indeed been chargeable, as is insinuated, with renouncing prelaey and a liturgy, with a view

To seize the widow'd whore plurality
From them whose sin they envied, not abhorred;

they might be said to deserve this usage; but who that knows the principles of the long parliament, while pres-

† Newton's Milton, vol. iv.

byterian, or is acquainted with the plan of reformation then adopted by the ministers of that denomination, will venture to say, that such abuses as those arising from pluralities were either pled for, or permitted among them. Had they meant to force consciences by the sword in matters of religion,

And ride us with a classic hierarchy
Taught them by mere A. S. and Rutherford ;

some degree of this severity might also be allowed to fall to their share : an establishment civil and ecclesiastical, doubtless, they contended for, in opposition to anabaptistical anarchy. But the sentiments and measures adopted by them on that subject, and that of liberty of conscience, were such as then had the general sanction of the protestant states and churches of Europe. The tedious contest carried on under the inspection of parliament, about what is called Toleration, will be found, when narrowly examined, to have little relation to the proper state of that question, but for the most part to be foreign to the subject as now understood. Though there were unjustifiable sentiments maintained by Presbyterians, and though some intolerant acts, were past by authority of that parliament, in which Presbyterians for a time had considerable influence, yet some of the most obnoxious of them, might be shown to have proceeded from men of other principles, and another description, than presbyterians.

The Annotator says, ‘ he knows not who is meant by A. S. in the line last quoted, though Rutherford is sufficiently well known, and is particularly levelled at here for his books on Church Government and Liberty of Conscience. Some book, he thinks might be intended

signed by those letters, and perhaps an equivoque might also be intended.' Here he is more fortunate in his conjectures. But if he had met with a political pamphlet against the Covenanters, published some time before, and written by the deposed Bishop Maxwell, under the feigned name of Lysimachus Nicanor, to which Rutherford made a full reply in his *Lex Rex*, he would have seen the enigma explained. There was one Alexander Sempill, it seems, whom the bishop represented as a very infamous person, who had written, what he terms a foolish but seditious ballad, called 'The Bishop's Bridles : ' ' And I marvel more,' says he, ' that the Covenanters have made this pattern of wickedness, to be their fittest man to present to England and Ireland their *pattern of the mount*.' There is a reference here to an expression in a paper of the Covenanters in answer to the Lord Commissioner's proclamation, wherein they say, ' they had never fought to impose their discipline upon England and Ireland, but only recommended to them the pattern shewn on the mount †,' meaning the rule of Scripture. This man Sempill, we are told on the margin of the Epistle, printed himself A. S., which gave occasion to the equivocal use of these letters ; for it there follows, ' This A. S., or Alexander Sempill, is so beastly and apish, that he can find no other matter or subject for his ballad, but to allude to one Rew's preaching on Balaam's ass, which they make to be the church of Scotland, that have thrown off the Bishops, their riders ; and therefore must sell their bridles. This preacher Rew, did not put shame

† Epist. Congratulatory of Lysim. Nic. to the Covenanters, p. 74, &c.

enough upon that church, but this A S. must second him and continue its shame. That of the wiseman is fit for them,' A whip for the horse, a bridle for the Afs, and a rod for the fools back ;' with more to the same purpose, where the equivoque is kept up, and the phrases of the wild afs in the wilderness, the afs knowing his master's crib, Saul's seeking his father's asses, and the burial of an afs, are hauled in. By the bye this seems to account for the language employed by Mr Rutherford, who had a sharp tho' not very polished wit, in answering another of Bithop Maxwell's libels against the Scotch Reformers, in *Lex Rex*, where he has repeatedly among other names, called him an afs, retorting thus his own language and low wit upon him.

But if this may not be thought the direct key for opening the satirical cypher, the following is at the service of future annotators, taken from the public disputes of that time. After the 'Apologetical Narration' of the five Independent ministers in the Westminster assembly, addressed to the parliament, was published in 1643, several answers soon appeared: besides that by the Scotch commissioners, there was one by Edwards, who afterwards published the *Gangrena*, the same whom Milton calls shallow Edwards, and another under the title 'Observations and Annotations upon the Apol. Narration,' in 1644, to which the author, Andrew Stewart, only prefixed the initials of his name, A. S. In this, and in another tract, the same year, intitled, 'An answer to a libel,' &c. he defended classical presbytery in opposition to the Independent model, and shewed the danger of the schism and licence for which that party were pleading. To this he prefixed his name. A reply was made, intitled,

M. S. to A. S., with a plea for liberty of conscience in a church way, against the cavils of A. S.' Throughout the pamphlet, Mr Stewart, is always addressed and quoted by the initials of his name, which are sometime used too in the equivocal sense; and doubtless were so by Milton, who had a wonderful respect to doctors, for such too, this A. S. was, having been chosen by the university of Leyden to be a professor there. This again was followed by 'Zerubbabel to Sanballat and Tobiah, or a Duply to M. S., *alias* Two brethren, by Adam Stewart: whereunto was added, 'The judgment of the Reformed churches of France, Switzerland, Geneva, &c. concerning Independants, who condemn them with an unanimous consent, published by David Stewart, 1645.' It is dedicated to certain lords, and men in public administration in Holland, by A. S.

Here Milton, then, took occasion to vent his satire, at once against particular men, and any model of national church-government, in room of prelacy, then abolished, which was the important work then in hand: he and his party, representing Presbytery, as a classical hierarchy. They became the principal obstructors of the public settlement of it: as they afterwards, when the power was in their hands, restricted the freedom of the higher ecclesiastical courts, in Scotland.

As among the letters from foreign churches, expressing their judgment of the principles and conduct of the Independents, inserted in the last mentioned publication by A. S., there is one from Geneva, written at the order of the consistory, by Mr Morus, and subscribed by him in their name, declaring the warrant, authority, and utility of classical and synodical assemblies, and strongly

reprobating anarchy, it is possible that then, if not before, Milton became acquainted with the name of his hated oponent; and it is not improbable that this decided condemnation of a faction and scheme he was now abetting, might contribute to that antipathy and virulence he afterwards discovered against him.

To conclude this long section, Morus certainly was intitled to have the matter of his reply as particularly stated as our limits could permit, not only as he was the defendant and so deeply interested, but also as his book is seldom to be met with, and is known to very few; while those of his adversary have been more than once re-printed, and are still in the hands of the learned. Tho' after the public vindication he had received, Morus says, any other from him might appear needless, yet he gave it, not only to Milton's importunity, but from regard to the ignorance and weakness of such as at a distance, had drunk in the poison of calumny; all whom, especially his friends and fellow-citizens, he intreated and obtested by all that was sacred, not hastily to give credit to report, much less to letters which his adversaries might send thro' all countries, or Milton might collect, thinking, after they were driven from their subterfuges where they resided, they might more easily make their lies to pass in places remote. He might at least expect, that persons of candour and impartiality would suspend their judgment, until a fair narration of the matter written truly and freely by a friend, might reach them, the publication of which had hitherto been kept back only at his earnest intreaties.—Whether this narrative to which the author refers, ever appeared, the writer of this does not know.

Under the cruel reproaches and persecution that this minister suffered, (one of the heaviest which a good man can be exposed to,) he discovered a spirit of patient resignation to the will of God, and of Christian forgiveness. Having mentioned towards the close, the profession of ecclesiastical history, in which he was with satisfaction engaged, he says, amongst other advantages derived from it, he was furnished with many examples to fortify his mind against such adversaries as Milton, and to teach him to bear without impatience what so many Christian worthies formerly endured. As the Lord had said, 'Woe would be to those of whom all men should speak well,' so the whole course of sacred history proved it. And here he recurs to the instances of Jerom, and Nazienzen, on whom criminal conduct was charged;—the accusation against Chrysofom before the Synod of Constantinople; and Athanasius in the Synod of Tyre, with the greatest effrontery maintained by suborned witnesses, and who was named by the fury of faction, *Sathanasius*; with others of the same kind: eminent men, who, through honour and dishonour, good report and bad report, amidst strife and envy, taught Christ. Since the heavenly endowments of such men, says he, could not secure them from calumny, why should such weaklings as we, who struggle continually with so many infirmities, desire better treatment? Whatever difference there be in other respects; and though we be inferior to such great heroic souls in almost an infinite degree, yet in one thing we may venture to claim a similitude, in that we suffer innocently.

In this manner does he, like Job, finish his defence, maintaining his integrity before men, and asserting that

his heart did not condemn him as to any of those crimes; yet he devoutly falls down, and charges himself before God, in the following appeal:—

‘ Having already produced abundance of human testimonies, what remains but to appeal to the divine. If conscience be instead of a thousand witnesses, instead of how many must God be ! ‘ My witness is in heaven ;’ —to adopt the words of the most patient of men. ‘ Let them think of Augustine whatever they please ; my conscience alone does not accuse me before God.’ Thus spoke Augustine. I on the contrary will say, let men speak, write, or think as they please, I am not conscious of any thing : yet I am not therefore justified ; my conscience alone accuses me in the sight of God. Milton, Thou hast overcome ! I am brought to confession ;— confessing many things, and even more grievous than the false charges you have produced, seeing there were so many that were true, remaining. If neither my solemn asseverations, nor public testimony be sufficiently credited, as the last resort I take thee, Lord God, for witness ; Thou searcher of hearts, who triest the reins, and explorest the innermost recesses of the soul, to whom all is naked and open ; I call thee, O God, even thee for witness, who hereafter wilt be my judge, and the judge of all, whether or not men do not see in this heart, what thou seest not ! I wish that thou also mightest not see in the same heart, what they cannot ! But woe is me ! that I should indeed be far more vile, than they feign. I humbly revere thy divine providence that justly permits, that I should be falsely accused before men, on account of so many secret faults of which I am verily guilty before thee. Thou, Lord, saidst to Shemei, curse David. Glory be to thy name, that hast been pleased to preserve me, exercised to so many griefs, that I might serve thee. Here a great sin presents itself to my mind, which I confess before all the world. I have not hitherto served thee to the utmost of my power. That small talent, which of thy free bounty, thou hast deigned to entrust to me, I have not yet put to usury : whether by

pursuing too much amusing studies [amœnitates studio-
 rum] or in repelling the reproaches of the malevolent,
 to which, (so it has been thy will) I have been continu-
 ally set for a mark, I have wasted too much time and
 labour. Overlook what is past, and direct in what is to
 come. Though cleared before men, I can never be so
 before thee, unless thy mercy succour. Against thee, I
 confess, I have sinned, and will do so no more. Thou
 seest this paper on which I now write all wet with my
 tears; pardon me, my Redeemer; and also grant that the
 vow I now make to thee, may be religiously performed.
 Let a thousand dogs bark at me, a thousand bulls of Ba-
 shan run upon me, let as many lions roar against my
 soul, with a view to destroy my darling;—I will make
 no farther reply, being sufficiently defended, if only I
 may find thee propitious. The time that is due to thee,
 and devoted to thee, I will not spend in trifles nor lose
 in driving away troublesome butterflies. What remain-
 ing years thou mayest be pleased to allow, the whole I
 give, and dedicate to thee, and to thy church. In this
 way we will be avenged on enemies †. Convert us all,
 Thou who alone can do it. Forgive us, and forgive them,
 and neither to us, or them, but to thy name be glory.'

But did this produce the least relenting in the heart of
 Milton? Far from it.—As the Psalmist complained that
 his humiliation and tears were turned to his shame, and
 when he wore sackcloth, he became a proverb, so to this
 adversary the minister's devotion and tears are made mat-
 ter of reproach. 'All at once,' says he, 'you become
 another man; from the rhetoric of the devil you pass
 to that of Julian, saying, *Vivisti Miltone.*' But he makes
 no account of his confession, if he would not acknow-
 ledge all that he had been charged with, that he was the

† 'Quicquid superesse volueris ævi, totum tibi, totum
 ecclesie tuæ, dico, addico. Sic ulciscamur inimicos.'

Id. p. 235—138.

publisher of the libel against the people of England, and all the rest. ‘ You confess many things, bewail many things,—but all these we have no concern with, being altogether secret : but even these can hardly be said to be confessed ;—had this been done in your closet, we might have begun to hope well of you ; but when it is done in the open street, it may be considered as designed for men rather than God ; ‘ et quasi ultima jacentis tue fidei publicæ suspiria judicari ;’—and I may take these for the last sighs of your expiring PUBLIC FAITH. Thus you would endeavour to wipe out known sins by unknown, the clear by the hidden : you confess the uncertain and concealed, that you may with greater impudence, deny the certain and manifest : you descend so low as to write this criminal libel against yourself, that hereby you may more easily evade the true accusation of others †.’ *Exit Milton.*

Let the Christian reader judge, who has acted the most culpable part, and which of the two has discovered most of the spirit of Christianity.

† Page 146.

SECTION SEVENTH.

*Morus receives and accepts of a call to the church of Paris—
Is accused, and cited to the Walloon Synod—Declines answering to them—Their censure of him—Proceedings in the consistory of Charenton and the Synods in France as to his admission—The appeal and final judgment of his cause before the National Synod of Loudun, in 1659.*

AFTER the public contest with Milton terminated, Morus continued but a few years in Amsterdam. In his reply, he had expressed himself as pleased with his situation; and whether he considered his predecessors, or colleagues in his charge, or what Milton had alone referred to, the annexed salary, he thought it sufficiently honourable, and rather above than below his desert. There was no seat in the United Provinces, in his opinion, more desirable than that in which he was settled; not because elsewhere his labours might be heavier, or because the emoluments might be much less, for things of that kind, he said, he did not greatly mind; but the splendor of the city, the love of the nobles, and above all, the respect to his office, which engaged him in the delightful and useful employment of unfolding and explaining the records of past ages, attached him to Amsterdam.

But even after the former troublesome processes were ended, he was not here long allowed to taste the sweets of repose. Scarce was the storm allayed than a new one arose. 'The jealousy of the Walloon Synod,' says Senebier, 'involved him in a thousand broils.' As to the pre-

cise origin or subject of these, however, we are in a great measure left in the dark. If they had, indeed, their rise from jealousy, they were less deserving of regard; but they assumed a very serious, and threatening appearance against our author, and were carried to a great extent. There is great reason to think that these new contentions arose out of the embers of the old. Morus, we have seen, had many who had no good will to him; the former faction was still alive, and would be waiting for some advantages, against him. The impudent assertions and invectives contained in the writings of Milton, industriously circulated, however defective in proof, may be supposed to have produced impressions on a number, not in his favour: and might tend even to excite jealousy in the minds of a majority of his brethren, lest the odious imputations, true or false, might bring discredit upon the body: and might dispose them, if they were not disposed before, to make him a sacrifice to allay the wide spread *fama clemosa*, as Jonah's associates, did him to allay the tempest. It is ever an unhappiness to be taken up in the mouth of reproaching talkers, and to be brought under suspicions; it is attended with this disagreeable effect, that the person's conduct is more narrowly watched, and every motion, word, or look is subjected to the most rigorous construction, and every new surmise is more readily listened to: And who can stand before envy?

But before he was publicly accused before the Synod in Holland, steps had been taken in France for his transportation to Paris. The church there, one of the most numerous, and in some respects, the most considerable in that kingdom, previous to the year 1657, had flourish-

ed under the joint inspection of five eminent pastors, J. Daille, J. Mestrezat, Faucheur, Drelincourt, and Gaches, all of them known to theological scholars by their sermons, or other writings. In April that year, two of them, namely, Mestrezat and Faucheur, were carried off within the space of three weeks, and application was made immediately after for such as were thought fit to supply their place. It was at that time, that the consistory gave an invitation to Morus, and sent Mr Daille and other deputies to prosecute the design to the Synod of the Isle of France, that met that year at Ferte under Jouare, though it was not till two years after that the affair was finally determined. The following year they sent a deputation to Caen, to obtain Mr Du Bosc, minister there, reckoned then one of the most eloquent preachers of that time; but their application, though powerfully enforced, and at different times afterwards repeated, proved unsuccessful: Du Bosc always refusing to remove without consent of his own church, by whom he was greatly beloved, and became still more so in consequence of this declaration of steady attachment towards them. The translation of ministers was, according to the discipline, very properly referred to the determination of the classes and synods; but though the consistory some time afterwards carried a renewed call before a provincial synod for Mr Du Bosc, he declared, that though the synod should appoint his removal, if his church should enter an appeal against it to a National Synod, he would reckon himself obliged to adhere to it‡. But the Parisians obtained, in 1658, Mr Daille, the son, who had

‡ Vie du Bosc, tom. 1.

been settled for five years one of the ministers of Rochelle, to supply one of the vacant places.

When the deputies from Charenton presented the call to Morus to the Synod of La Ferte, at which time he was not loosed from his charge in the school of Amsterdam, it appears that some impeachment had been brought against him, and they appointed that a licence to depart should be procured from the Curators, without requiring of him a testimonial from the church; for this, and for proceeding to judge in his cause, when he was not under their jurisdiction, they were afterwards found fault with in the National Synod.

The Walloon Synod that met at Tergou, in April 1659, summoned him to attend, and answer to some complaints that had been made against him. But though he went to Tergou, he did not think fit to appear in Synod; but gave the company to understand, that henceforth he depended only upon the French churches with which he had engaged himself. But this did not hinder them from proceeding to a condemnatory sentence against him. If he hoped by his declining them as judges to escape, as Bayle says, he was disappointed. It cannot be inferred from this step, that he either expected or wished wholly to avoid a judgment of his cause. All that he could reasonably propose was to obtain a sift or delay of judgment, by an appeal to another, and a superior, though foreign court: no doubt, from the knowledge he had, or the apprehension he entertained, just or unjust, that they would not altogether prove his impartial judges. We hear nothing of this synod calling for evidence of the facts, or waiting to hear what defence he might make in any form or place, before sentence was

given ; nor can we learn what were the specific charges ; but there is reason to think, from the terms of the sentence, as well as that afterwards passed at his exculpation, that some of them might be the dying echoes of some of those that had lately been so loudly circulating, or something of the same kind, as well as offences given some by his speeches or writing. Perhaps irritated by the appeal, as much as moved by other offences, they hurried on, without any formal inquiry, to declare, ‘ That he was not to be allowed to exercise any ministerial function among them, or to communicate with them, until he should make satisfaction for the great offence he had given †.’ This sentence doubtless tended to give a deeper wound to the reputation of Morus, than any thing he had yet met with ; and had not the whole cause afterwards been brought under deliberate review, before an assembly the most fit and competent to judge of it that could any where be found, equity would require that, in deference to the declaration of a synod, we should leave him under all the odium of it. But this having been rather the commencement of a process, than any regular termination of it, a temporary suspension on their part depending on a condition, and an appeal on his part, justice equally dictates, that we should still suspend our judgment, until the full result be heard before the tribunal, to which it was afterwards remitted, by the consent of all parties.

In the mean time, this procedure tended greatly to

† • La compagnie a declare que le dit A. M. etoit incapable d'exercer aucune fonction du Ste ministere de l'evangile au milieu de nous, et d'y participer a la sainte cene du Seigneur, jusques a ce que par une sincere repentance de ses pechez il ait repare tant de scandales qu'il nous a donnez,' &c. Art. 27.

embarrasses the cause. The professor thought, in the circumstances in which he was placed, that their authority and censure were null, and he did not desist on that account, from exercising his ministry as formerly, according as he had a call. In France there was no practical regard paid to the sentence: the church of Charenton still eagerly persisted in demanding his admission among them: although, as might have been expected, a party appeared there, and in other places, opposing his admission; at least till he had been regularly cleared. The provincial Synod convened at Ai, in Champagne, on the very month following that of Tergou, May 8th 1659; to which Mr Daille and other deputies were again sent, to insist upon his being admitted among them. This Synod were not ignorant of what had been done at Tergou; and they questioned the competency of that Synod to judge in that cause; and some severe speeches were made reflecting on their procedure and the judgment they had given; nor did they think it proper that Mr Morus should be remitted back to answer to them, as he was willing to have done, if it were reckoned needful: And notwithstanding the opposition made, the Synod enjoined the admission of Morus to be carried into effect. Against this appointment an appeal was made to the National Synod, that was to meet in the end of that year, by two members, Elders in the consistory. Notwithstanding which, the consistory proceeded to admission according to the order of the Synod.

The dissention ran high between the two parties at Charenton. When the consistory proceeded to the admission, Messrs. Papillon, and Beauchamp, advocates in parliament, and Elders in that church, the same who had

appealed from the sentence of the Synod of Ai, entered an appeal from the resolution of the consistory, for fixing Morus in the charge, notwithstanding their appeal, and for refusing to give him leave, which he had demanded, to return into Holland, according to his promise, there to justify himself from the imputations laid upon him. But instead of regarding this opposition and appeal, the consistory inflicted censure on these gentlemen on that account. They also dispatched letters to Holland, to advertise the Walloon synod of what had been done : another synod had been convened there, in September the same year, at Nimeguen ; when the letter intimating Morus's admission to the church of Paris, accompanied with the act of the synod of Ai, in May, ratifying it, were laid before them. That synod, however, without farther proceeding in the cause, thought proper to declare, ' that they judged the company in the former synod had sufficient reason for pronouncing that sentence contained in the 27th article, which they approved and ratified anew.'

As the Walloon synods had an independent jurisdiction within their own territories, they might be jealous of any encroachment upon it, as the proceedings in France might appear to be, on which account they might think it needful expressly to approve and confirm in this meeting, what had been done in the last at Tergou. The procedure on both sides had a tendency to mar the friendly correspondence and communion that subsisted between those churches : but as a National Synod was to convene in France, by permission of the king, within two months, and the Synod of Nimeguen, understanding that the affair of Morus would come before it by the

appeal from Paris, they made an addition to their act, which is of importance in the cause, though Bayle has omitted to mention it:—They agreed ‘to remit the whole cause unto the prudence, discretion, and charity of the National Assembly of the French churches to meet at Loudun, and to do in it what it should conceive would most contribute to the glory of God, the advancement of the kingdom of Christ, and the preserving that holy correspondence, which had always been betwixt the reformed churches of France, and those of the United Provinces.’ And this act was transmitted (together with all other papers that they thought necessary for casting light upon the cause, and for their own vindication) to that synod when it met, and was read in their presence, before they proceeded to judgment upon it.

This act was very expedient, conducive to peace, and while it was no resignation of their own particular rights, was consonant to the spirit and general rules of the ecclesiastical discipline and presbyterial government. The common bond subsisting between the several parts of the Christian church, and general edification, require that sister churches, whether constituted on the congregational or classical plan of government, though acknowledging no direct subordination, should be ready to give account of their procedure for the satisfaction of one another, especially in matters of common concern, and when differences and offences intervene. Besides, it is always desirable, and the presbyterial form of government provides for it in the best possible manner, that churches on a *par*, and when they are parties, should have some common authority to which they may refer their differences, and when these cannot be terminated in meet-

ings or courts consisting of a small number, that the more extensive judgment of the church by her rulers, ought to be sought, and acquiesced in, unless there be valid reasons for the contrary. Though particular organized churches are obliged to hold a more immediate and stricter fellowship, for better gaining all the more ordinary ends of union, and tho' they are of necessity, as well as for the sake of conveniency, restricted within defined limits, narrower or larger, according to circumstances; yet as the church is one, of which all the particular churches are but members, and either have, or ought to have the same faith, worship, and great rules of discipline, their external communion and co-operation, overleaping all these narrower limits, ought to be as extensive as practicable, and as the common good, and particular cases, may demand. A variety of causes has hindered this extensive co-operation; particularly the confounding or combining together too much the ideas of civil and ecclesiastical polity, and the little jealousies of princes for their prerogatives and independence; which remarkably appeared in France, producing not only edicts prohibiting divines from assisting at synods without the kingdom, and forbidding the admission of any not natives, or educated within it, to offices, but even restraining the National Assemblies of the French churches from their liberty of meeting, as often as needful. And this had been long the case before the indicting the Synod of Loudun. For 15 years before they had been allowed none, though often requested. In the long interval, grievances had accumulated, and many appeals from provincial synods had been lying over. All were glad at obtaining the much desired opportunity; and the variety of business that came

before them, occupied them for two months. And this synod was memorable on another account: it was the last the protestants there ever enjoyed.

Respectable as the Walloon synods were, they were not to be compared with an assembly consisting of the deputies of all the churches, throughout that extensive kingdom: they were but on a level with one of the provincial synods there, and by this voluntary reference they gave opportunity for all parties who had interest in the cause, to be heard before a judicatory, which all by their principles allowed to be higher in the scale of government, and in which the members might be supposed less liable to be influenced by the local prejudices, or personal animosities, which had been prevailing for a long time in Holland: the consideration of which, as well as that any sentence which might have been passed by a synod there after trial, would have been reckoned final, precluding the liberty of appeal, probably were the chief inducements with Morus for declining to appear.

The party in opposition at Paris were industrious, before the meeting, to obtain all the information and papers from Holland, or any other quarter, relating to the conduct of Morus, which they thought might justify their appeal. Several ministers in France also took part with them, and were prepared by the correspondence they held, to join in the attack upon him. Nor were Milton's wiles or good offices for his being expelled with disgrace, yet wanting, and his former labours, no doubt, had not been altogether without their effect in raising or increasing the violence of the storm. We learn from one of his letters, that some copies of his Defences had been sent to Saumur, and were re-

lished by some there. And what eager hopes he expressed in seeing his wishes gratified at the meeting of the Synod of Loudun, we have already heard, that by such an act they might be an exception to all other synods in doing some good, as to which his faith was not greater than that of Nazienzen.

The ambiguous manner in which the author of the *Historical and Critical Dictionary* speaks of the procedure in this cause, and the determination of it in this venerable synod, again deserves animadversion. ‘In the church of Paris,’ says he, ‘there were a great many who wished to see Mr Morus: there was also a great number who opposed him, and who presented themselves before some provincial synods, and afterwards to the national synod of Loudun, laden with whole bags full papers against him. All their accusations were eluded or found void: for he was received minister of the church of Paris.’ This is too vague an account, and leaves the matter in an unnecessary degree of uncertainty. There is a very great difference surely between charges being eluded, and being upon a fair trial, found void: and if they were merely eluded, either by the party accused, or by judges partial, artful, or over-awed, he could not be said ever to have been honourably cleared from them. But if it was otherwise, after a full discussion, this ought to have been fairly stated. It is needful therefore to enquire a little, which of these two was the case; as neither Mr Bayle, nor Mr Benoit, in his history of the Edict of Nantes, whom he quotes, have given, on this essential part of the cause, such a satisfactory account as in justice they ought to have done.

Even without the direct evidence of authentic records,

the nature of the cause, and state of parties, as above represented, afford a strong presumptive evidence that the charges neither were, nor could well be eluded, by avoiding inquiry, or withholding needful information. It was not in the power, nor does it appear to have been the wish, of the accused, to have done it. When the fama had been so widely spread, and already brought before different synods, it was neither consistent with the settled and strict rules of their discipline, nor with their own credit or that of the cause of protestantism, that the national synod should have eluded inquiry, or rashly established one in such a public office, and in such a conspicuous station, without due care to have him previously cleared, by a regular judgment, from criminal charges. The eyes of the churches,—of vigilant enemies, ever seeking a pretext to accuse,—the eyes of all classes of men, and of the whole world, were upon them. To have eluded, or slightly looked into the charges, and what was advanced in support of them in order to found a judgment, was hardly possible, considering how many had interest, and were now parties in the cause, and with what heat it was prosecuted on both sides; especially, as those who were at the head of the opposition were not destitute of ability or skill to manage it, nor unacquainted with legal forms of procedure; and we were just told that they had spared no pains to collect and amass papers from all quarters. It was peculiarly their part to see that justice should not be evaded.

But was free discussion and judgment precluded by the interposition of the royal authority? So the authors above referred to, seem to insinuate. Was the king, too, in a confederacy with the friends of Morus, to screen

him from censure? The king had no vote in the ecclesiastical assemblies of the protestants: much less had he power to controul their decisions in causes ecclesiastical. His encroachments, indeed, were unquestionable and frequent: but what appeared at this time, were in consequence of general views and edicts, and not designed to serve a purpose, or a party, in this particular cause: but whatever was the design of the court, the synod asserted and exercised its own rights; and not without effect in this cause. If a free judgment was prevented, it must have been either by the prohibition of foreign correspondence, or of remitting any of the subjects of France to be judged by any foreign authority. But whether in consequence of any of these, the full investigation or free judgment of the National Synod was hindered, or justice evaded, will best appear from a statement of facts.

The policy of the French court had, before this time, made it take several steps in order to weaken the power of the protestant party, particularly by discharging all mixed assemblies, or meetings of deputies from provinces for consulting about their common interest and dangers, or even circular letters to pass between them, as had at a former period been in use: it strove also, so far as in its power, to break the common ecclesiastical union between the reformed churches without and those within the kingdom of France, by refusing to admit any deputies from other churches to sit in the French synods, or any to be sent to assist as correspondents with them, which had also for some time been allowed. The four delegates that had been appointed to the assembly of Dert, were stopp'd by the king's order when setting out or on their way.

Excessive fear ever haunts the palaces of tyrants: and jealousy like the Hesperian dragon must ever guard their thrones, against even the most distant and often fancied dangers.* This was at last carried so far as to prohibit the synods from free correspondence by letters, or sending any young men to study in foreign universities, even in states that were in friendship and alliance with France; especially those in which they might breathe the air of liberty, which, if possible, was dreaded still more than heresy. Lest the effluvia of this, as a most deadly plague, should be imported and spread throughout the kingdom, every avenue was to be shut, every port guarded, with no less precaution than that which is used against the admission of any part of the cargo of a vessel arriving from one of the most infected places of the Levant, when not one of the passengers must be permitted to set a foot on shore without submitting to quarantine, nor a letter taken from any of the crew but by the medium of iron tongs, nor read, nor any bale opened, until duely smoked. The modern despot is not more intent upon hindering all communication with Britain, and to exclude from every port British manufactures, than Lewis and the crafty Mazarine were, at that juncture, to cut off even ecclesiastical and literary intercourse with neighbouring protestant churches. Such, it is granted, was the state of things at the time of the convocation of the synod of Loudun; which sat down Nov. 10th, 1659.

Loudun is a town in the province of Anjou. After Mr Desloges, pastor of the church there, had opened the synod by prayer, the Lord of Ruvigny, who had been appointed General Deputy of the churches, (though formerly the deputy was elected by them,) but recommend-

ed to the synod and approved by it, presented his majesty's writ for calling it, under the usual restrictions, that no other affairs should be debated in it, than those warranted by the edicts, and in presence of the commissioner appointed by the king, as had always been practised. After which the letters of commission from 15 provinces were given in by the deputies, who were two pastors, for the most part, from each; and as many gentlemen in the character of elders, among whom were several lords, and advocates, some judges and doctors of civil law. When the votes were taken for the moderator, Mr Daille was chosen, and Mr de L'Angle for assessor. The royal commissioner to this assembly, was the Lord de Magdalaine, counsellor in the parliament of Paris; who had professed the protestant religion from his infancy, and was now in advanced years: whom the moderator, in reply to his speech, complimented, as one 'who for piety and integrity, for faith and virtue, was renowned not only in their churches, but in the world itself.' After he had delivered the letters patent, he made a long speech, and declared the instructions he had received, several of which were only a renewal of those given to some former synods, and particularly the last at Charenton, in 1645. Among others, he was ordered,—

To forbid them to treat on any account of any secular or state-matters, or of justice directly or indirectly, but only of church discipline and of reformation of manners:—To forbid their reception of foreigners into the ministry among them, or their admission into their synods, or that they should so much as speak of their matters and restoration, who had been ejected out of their churches, by virtue of the decrees of parliament, and of his majesty's letters.—

'And to prevent that aversion to monarchy, which is

contracted by them who follow their studies in foreign states and common-wealths, such as Geneva, Switzerland, England, and Holland, there shall be a canon expressly made to this purpose, and observed, that such persons as have studied in any foreign universities, and offer themselves to be ordained, shall not at all be admitted.

And it is his majesty's will, that no letters shall be read in open assembly, till they have first been communicated to me, and that I have been acquainted with their contents, and that I suffer none to be read, which come from any foreigner.

'I received very lately,' he added, 'in my letters, an express and particular order.—There is an abuse committed by the provinces, in sending and communicating by their deputies letters from strangers. This his majesty declares to be contrary to his edicts, and prejudicial to the public peace and his own service. Wherefore I am commanded to be very careful, that none other matters be debated but such as ought of right to be so by all the deputies of the provinces of this kingdom, and those matters only which concern the provinces; and that you neither receive any letters from, nor hold any correspondence with strangers in any way or manner, or for any cause or business whatsoever, and you must be strictly forbidden to receive any writings of what quality soever coming from foreign countries, not under his majesty's jurisdiction, nor may any one dare, during the sitting of this synod, to publish or spread them abroad, in this town of Loudun. And in case such a thing should happen, and such papers be found, I am enjoined immediately to suppress them, and to proceed rigorously against such as vend or distribute them.'

To the speech of the commissioner, the moderator returned a respectful and appropriate answer; and after the assembly had deliberated upon the several articles of instructions, he, in their name, declared, 'that they never had deliberated upon any matters but such as were purely ecclesiastical, nor would allow it;—that though his majesty's predecessors had allowed foreigners to be chosen pastors in their churches, who had always departed themselves as dutifully as native subjects, yet since the pro-

hibition by the late king, they had forbore to admit them, and they had petitioned that a distinction should be made between those who were wholly strangers, and the sons of strangers, born in the kingdom, whom the parliaments in all questions about inheritances and succession, and other privileges, had equalized with other subjects; and though some of them had been educated in commonwealths, yet their religion taught them to submit themselves with all reverence to the superior powers under all forms of government.

‘As for letters which may be sent by strangers to this assembly, although there is none of our religion,’ he said, ‘in any nation, that solicit us to act contrary to our duty; we cannot but acknowledge that in some respects, as for public order’s sake, the lords commissioners may receive and dispose of them according to his majesty’s will: but yet as to matters concerning our religion, we hope that his majesty will suffer us to hold communion and correspondence with our brethren. For other letters coming from his majesty’s subjects to this assembly, relating to ecclesiastical matters, we doubt not but that he will allow us to receive those letters and memoirs which contain their information and instructions to us.’ He farther represented, that their churches had formerly been allowed to hold correspondence with their neighbours in matters concerning their religion and discipline, and as occasion offered, to send deputies to them; and that their correspondence with Geneva, &c. had never afforded reason for complaint, nor proved in the least prejudicial to the royal authority; nor would it, should the same liberty be granted them, together with licence for their students to visit foreign universities, which they humbly requested.

As for letters or writings from foreign parts, he said, they would not receive or peruse any of them, without the approbation of his majesty’s commissioner.’

None of these instructions were given, nor resolutions made, with any view to defeat or weaken the prosecution against Morus. In the former national synod, letters had been received from the professors of

Geneva, and Leyden, and from Diodati, with reference to his version of the bible, which were not opened, until they had been first delivered into the hands of the commissioner, who was pleased to permit the reading of them in the synod, but, at the same time, intimated, that it was his majesty's will they should not return any answers to them. Instead of obstructing a free examination of this affair, the commissioner departed from the strict rigour of his instructions as to the perusal of letters and papers, from abroad, in order that it might be fully before them. A committee being appointed to inspect all papers, and prepare the cause for the assembly, the commissioner found writings communicated to it by the appellants, which had been transmitted from Holland, in defence of the proceedings of the synods there, which, after perusal, he left with the committee, without detaining one of them in his hands, that they might be able to make a report of the whole matter: and when the cause came to the a public hearing in synod, he declared, that he had, in that instance, exceeded his commission, and that the delegates had also full liberty to peruse these papers and evidences as they thought meet, and freely to judge of it, according to the discipline and the edicts; but that they should not subject themselves to any foreign jurisdiction, nor send Morus, who was the king's subject, out of the kingdom, to be tried and judged.

The synod considering themselves as having rightful authority to take cognizance of this whole affair, and in so far confirmed the judgment of the inferior courts, which had reckoned it improper that Mr Morus should be remitted to Holland; and against this, there could now be no reasonable objection, since the synod there

had consented to a reference of it, and had, no doubt, transmitted whatever was in their possession to vindicate their censure. All papers were read; the appellants, and all parties were heard; Morus was allowed to make his own defence, which he did at 5 or 6 sittings; after which the cause was freely debated, on both sides, and three days spent upon it, before the court gave judgment.

The following abstract of the proceedings and sentence of the Synod, is given in the words of their own minutes, as recorded by Quick:—

‘ My lord, his majesty’s commissioner, before the committee appointed for the affair of Monsieur Morus had begun to debate it, and bring in their opinion upon it, declared unto the assembly, that before ever this business was pleaded, he had permitted both parties to produce all evidences that they should see fitting and needful for them; and having since found in the hands of the said committee writings, papers, and copies which were produced by the Sieur Papillon, and which the said commissioner took notice of having been transmitted from Holland in defence of the synods held at Tergow and Nimeguen against Mr Morus, which said writings and letters he the said lord commissioner had left with the committee, that they might be the better enabled to make a report of the whole matter, without ever detaining any of them in his hands, although he had order from his majesty to suppress all letters that were sent from Holland, or from foreign parts without the kingdom; and that he should not suffer them to be divulged or sold in this city of Loudun; and this he did, that neither the parties concerned, nor the synod itself should complain, that without those papers, pieces, and writings, they could not come to a perfect knowledge of the bottom of this affair, and to judge aright of it. In pursuance hereof, for these considerations, before mentioned, the said lord commissioner declared, that he did now also give full liberty to all the deputies who were in this synod judges of this matter, to peruse those aforefaid papers and evi-

dences as they should think meet, and give judgment according to the privileges granted by his majesty to his subjects of the reformed religion by the edicts, and according to the discipline received in our churches, and approved in France by the laws and customs of the kingdom; but without allowing them to subject themselves to any foreign authority, jurisdictions, or judgments; or to send Monsieur Morus unto any other judges than those of his said kingdom to be tried by them, and to undergo their judicial sentence, this being prejudicial to his majesty's authority, to his ordinances and edicts, as also to the weal, and rights, and privileges of his subjects. All which it was his lordship's pleasure should be inserted into the act containing the judgment of this national synod upon this affair.

The Sieur Papillon, advocate, in parliament, and elder in the church of Paris, being admitted to produce his arguments in defence of those appeals brought both in his own name, and in that of Monsieur Beauchamp, an advocate and elder also in the same church, from the judgments given in the synod of the Isle of France*, held at Ai, in May last of this year now current, 1659, (by which Monsieur Morus was conferred upon the church of Paris, to be their minister,) and from those members of the consistory of that church, who had ordained the said Mr Morus, to be confirmed in it, notwithstanding their appeal, and for refusing to give him leave, which he had demanded, to pass into Holland according to his promise, there to justify himself from those imputations laid upon him; and for that they censured him the said Papillon, for appealing from them: he was heard in this assembly, and the assembly took notice of what he urged on behalf of his appeal, and heard him patiently in whatever he had to offer against those judgments aforesaid. And also Monsieur Morus was heard defend himself, and explaining matters relating to him, as were the deputies of the province of the Isle of France, and those of the consistory of the church of Paris, in defence of their judgment, and in their demand of the

* The Isle of France is the name of the province in which Paris is situated.

ministry of the said Monsieur Morus. And there was heard the report made by the committee appointed for a more exact reading and verification of all papers and writings, and what judgment had been past on the excuses and denials of both sides; the examination of this important business, ate up several days. This assembly having rightful authority to judge herein, (and the rather for that the synod of Nimeguen, whose act was now read, had remitted the whole unto the prudence, discretion, and charity of this assembly, to do in it what it should conceive would most contribute to the glory of God, the advancement of the kingdom of Christ, and the upholding of that holy correspondence, which hath been betwixt the reformed churches of France, and those of the United Provinces,) did take and retain the cognizance of this affair unto itself; and declared, that it found no cause obliging it to condemn the said Sieur Morus, nor to blast the reputation of his person or ministry; but on the contrary, that it had sufficient reasons to dismiss him, justified from all those grievous slanders and accusations which were brought into this assembly against him. Wherefore it declareth him innocent of those crimes which were imposed on him; and having perused those advantagious testimonials given him by the magistrates, pastors, and professors of divinity in the city of Geneva by the pastors and professors of divinity in the city of Middleburgh, by the burgomasters and curators of the city and illustrious school of Amsterdam, and by divers pastors, and sundry other private persons, whose names and probity are celebrated, and well known to this assembly; and considering the great edification which the church of Paris received from his ministry, and their vehement desires urged with the greatest importunity that he may be continued to them, this assembly doth establish and confirm him in the said church to discharge the office, and perform the duties of an ordinary pastor in it. And making reflections upon what had been trans-

† There are different places bearing the name of Ferte in France. This seems to be the same with Ferte under Jouare, mentioned before, a city in le Brie Champenoise, on the river Marne.

acted in the synods of La Ferte au Col †, and d'Ai, and in the consistory of the church of Paris, on occasion of the said Monsieur Morus, it censureth that synod of La Ferte, for having judged the said Monsieur Morus, when he belonged not unto them, nor was under their jurisdiction, and only because an impeachment against him had been brought before them, and that they never exacted of him in order to his induction into the church of Paris, but a simple licence of departure from the curators of the illustrious school of Amsterdam, without making mention of his testimonial from the church. And the synod of Ai is censured for assuming to themselves a power of judging the competency or incompetency of the synod of Terrou, over which they had no authority; and that in speaking of that synod, they used very unbecoming expressions, and reflected unhandsomely upon their judgment, and confirming the censures issued out by the said synod of La Ferte against the consistory of the church of Paris, it doth ordain that the canons of our discipline about the election and confirmation of pastors shall be observed with greater exactness than hath been done in this call given unto, and reception of Monsieur Morus by the church of Paris. And as for the Sieur Papillon, the assembly hath taken off the censure inflicted on him by the consistory of the church of Paris, and do fully acquit him from it; and declareth that there was no reason for denouncing any censure against Monsieur Beauchamp. And after grave and serious counsels and admonitions given unto Monsieur Morus, about his conversation, which was not managed with that circumspection as was requisite, and advice unto him to be more careful for the future, that the mouth of calumny which hath been wide and loud opened against him may be stopped, he was enjoined more particularly to look to it, that he offended no man by his words or writings, and that he labour to the utmost of his power to preserve peace, and to calm and reconcile the spirits of men of all persuasions to himself, and to regain their love and amity from whom he is departed.

The following explanatory act was afterwards added:—‘It being represented unto this assembly, that their act made about Mr Morus, has been by some person misin

terpred; and that therefore they would be pleased to explain their sense and intentions of it. This assembly did explain itself thus; that by those grievous crimes and accusations, whereof there is mention made in their act, they understood all matters whatsoever relating to the purity of life and conversation of the said Monsieur Morus, of all which he was absolutely judged innocent. And as to those other points whereof he was impeached, as some sharp words spoken or written against his brethren, the assembly declareth, that the remonstrances and counsels were given him upon this account; and which having been accepted by him, he was also in this respect absolved and discharged.'

The author of the History of the Edict, after mentioning that the king's commissary, 'did not oppose the reading the informations sent from Holland against Morus, but even agreed that in examining them, the tenor of these acts should be kept to; and he caused to be inserted in the sentence of the synod a kind of protestation, importing that judgment should be given according to the laws of discipline, and the customs of the kingdom, without submitting the cause to any foreign jurisdiction or judgment,' says, 'by this means it was rather the commissary than the synod that judged of the affair, because, as the process was not prepared where the accusation arose, and the commissary's protest made it impracticable to send back Mr Morus to justify himself there, they could not procure informations sufficient to convict him. He was therefore absolved; and confirmed in the vocation that had been addressed him †.' But was there reason for speaking so? Was there any undue restraint laid upon the synod in their inquiry? And were they not sustained as the proper, the sole, and the supreme

† Tom. iii. l. 5. p. 115.

judges in the cause? The protestation was but a matter of course; and did not oblige them to adopt any measure that they were not, of their own accord, disposed to, and upon other considerations did approve. No good end could have been gained by remitting Morus to Holland; nor does it appear that any farther evidence could have been adduced there, but what had been collected during the dependence of the cause, and was now before the national synod: besides, Morus had been for some time connected with the French churches, and was under their immediate jurisdiction. It is not always practicable that accusations should be tried, and determined, in the places where they originated; especially where there is an extensive jurisdiction, and where appeals are carried before higher courts: nor is this essential to a fair examination and judgment. Written evidence, the documents and proceedings of inferior courts, and access for parties to be heard by papers, agents, or proxies; are, in many cases, reckoned sufficient to proceed upon in judgment, both in civil and ecclesiastical courts. Do not the courts of last resort in every kingdom, reckon themselves competent to determine appeals brought before them, from the most distant parts, without calling for *parole* evidence, and instituting a judicial inquiry into every particular *de novo*? Are not causes brought before the courts or councils of the imperial kingdoms of Europe, who have remote dependencies, and determined by them, from all parts of the world, Asia, Africa, or America, without remitting them back to the places whence they originated?

But besides the informations that had been sent up by the Walloon synods, or brought by any of the parties, to the synod of Loudun, other methods had been taken by

the civil authorities, about the time of its meeting, in order to procure the fullest account of what had been transacted in this affair, in Holland. *Monf. de Thou*, who was at that time the French ambassador at the Hague, whether in consequence of any application from the consistory of Paris, or any of the French synods to the king, is not said, interested himself in favour of *Morus*. He presented a large memorial to the States General, upon the subject; and they, by an act of April the 6th, 1660, which was communicated to the synod of *Haerlem*, ordered that they should give them an account of their proceedings in that affair. The synod deputed three pastors and two elders to the States General, to give them the information they demanded. ‘I believe,’ says *Bayle*, ‘they were satisfied with it, and made no further inquiry.’ But the national synod in France by this time was over: it rose on the 10th of Jan. 1660. Though the affair in this manner was terminated for the present, favourable in the main articles to *Morus*, there is some reason to suspect that it was still covertly kept alive by some of the adverse party, and it might be the same revived, that so soon after gave such trouble to the minister, and to the whole church of Paris, as in a little we will have occasion to notice.

No decision however well-founded and impartial, in such circumstances, can be supposed to have been pleasing to all; nor could a ferment that had risen so high among jarring parties, be soon altogether allayed. What *Mr Benoit*, has farther observed, may be very just; ‘It would be hard to say whether that vocation did more good or ill, because it occasioned so great a division in the consistory, and in the church, that the one party

called that edification which the other named scandal: there appeared great want of moderation on the one side, and great suspicion of partiality on the other; too much finesse to destroy Morus, and too much violence to support him.' This is but too often seen, when party contests prevail. But the equity of a decision is not to be judged by the effects that may follow: when there is danger of offence on both sides, the least possible is to be given, and the edification of the greater part to be studied. But it may be admitted as a rule, in reference to this part of church-policy, which experience and the history of churches sanction, that when there is a large minority of the people in a congregation, much more when there is a majority, against the admission of a minister among them, the settlement of him by authority seldom turns out for comfort and edification.

When the same author adds immediately after, 'that a provincial synod of the province of Berri determined the affair, by the king's permission; and that this synod was charged with having been somewhat partial in favour of the accused, and having taken too much pleasure in mortifying a consistory so celebrated as that of Charenton, which for the merit and capacity of its members, was at that time, as it were, the oracle of all the churches *;' he must here be confounding two processes distinct from each other, and different in time, and anticipating improperly the decision of the last of them; or else he considered the two as materially the same, and the great division that afterwards arose at Charenton, as owing to the former cause, and flowing from the old animosity.

* *Ut Supra, ann. 1659.*

But in this process before the national synod, the consistory of Charenton gained their main object, and were on the side of Morus; in the latter, it was otherwise; and the determination of it by the synod of Berri, did not take place till the year 1664.

In one of the letters of Mr Chevreau, author of a History of the World and other works, to Faber, at Saumur, he mentions the affair of Morus as being at that time before the synod of Loudun; and says, 'your minister has preached here;' and after a remark upon his manner of preaching, formerly noticed, he adds, 'the national synod is drawing to a close, and Morus will be avenged in it of all his enemies, by the aid of Mr Daille, who is his patron, and who will only need to speak to reduce them to silence. Madam de la Tremouille supports his cause with all her credit. See then Mr Morus out of court, and free from his process †.' This letter is dated from Loudun, the 13th of August, 1661. But there must certainly be a mistake in the date of the letter as printed, seeing the national synod ended in the spring of the preceding year; and there was no other national synod held in that place afterwards, nor in any other city: nor can we suppose that this refers to the new process, which had its commencement within two years after his settlement at Paris, for that was not brought before either a national or provincial synod at Loudun, nor was Daille in it appearing as his patron, nor was he there acquitted from it, nor for a long time after. But under the first, as he continued to preach, he probably had been appointed to do so before the national synod rose.

† 'Les Synode National est sur sa fin, et Morus y fera vange de ses enemjs,' &c. *Ouvres Melees*, tom. i. p. 60, 61.

The duchess de la Tremouille was allied by marriage to one of the most honourable families in France, descended, by her father, from the illustrious house of Bouillon, and by her mother, from William I. prince of Orange. She was highly respected, and had great influence among the protestants. Several of the sermons and other writings of piety, by their most eminent divines in that period, were dedicated to her. Du Bosc, in one addressed to her, says, 'All France was acquainted with the greatness of her soul, and the remarkable endowments of her mind:—and that he must be a stranger in the church of God who had not heard a thousand times the panegyric of her shining virtues.'

Mr Daille, for his active appearances in behalf of Morus, was soon after exposed, along with him, to the reproach of some envenomed pens of the Romish party, particularly of Mr Cottiby and F. Adams. But in order to judge what account ought to be made of accusations on one hand, or of praises on the other, it is often of consequence to know from what quarter they come, and what is the character and state of mind of those who vent 'them. This Cottiby was the son of a respectable minister among the reformed, had himself officiated as one of the ministers of Poitiers; and was a deputy in that national synod, in which the affair of Morus was discussed. But like another Judas among the disciples, tho' he had already formed the design of sacrificing his religion to his worldly purposes, he yet thought proper for a little to keep on the mask, and waited only for an opportunity to publish his apostacy. A national fast had been enjoined by that synod throughout their churches: he went home, and chose the fast day as the fittest time

to declare himself before his people, a profelyte to Rome ; and declaimed against the synod and his brethren. He ran greedily, like Balaam, after the wages of iniquity ; and soon after openly abjured. Such a man as this, in such circumstances, had viewed all their proceedings with a malignant eye, disposed to carry away the worst report possible, to gratify those whose favour he was courting. As none are more inveterate in their enmity, or more shameless in their abuse, than familiar friends when turned to be enemies, or more spiteful in their invectives than apostates, he published what he called an apology, in which he collected together whatever he thought might bring odium on the cause he once professed, and on his former brethren. Among other things he introduced the cause of Morus, as a handle of abuse against Daille. In this, and in the management of the controversy, he was supported and influenced by F. Adams the Jesuit (on whom the witticism passed, that he was ‘ not the first of men.’) These attacks produced an able and spirited reply by Daille to both their books, which appeared in 1662 ; and gave great satisfaction to the friends of truth, and covered his antagonists with shame. It may be proper to insert the passage relating to the subject, in which this eminent man was not ashamed still to avow the part he had acted, and the full conviction he had upon his mind, even after long reflection, of the innocence of the accused.

Cottiby had said, ‘ It surpriseth me to find myself accused by you, Sir, from whom I should have expected the utmost protection and support, if I should have had the misfortune to have committed some such fault, as might have obliged me to appear before those tribunals,

where you usually hold such an eminent rank: for what might I not reasonably expect of a man, who in the person of one of his brethren, has declared himself the defender and advocate of a man who has led the most debauched life in the world; and who, after having pleaded his cause in a provincial synod of the Isle of France, has also had assurance enough, in the national synod, of which he was the head, (a head worthy of such a body,) to support him with the greatest vigour, I shall not say against the faithful memorials of the ministers of Rouen, Caen, and Lyons, but what is more astonishing, against a crowd of accusations of some entire provinces, and all this by I know not how many sinister methods of a much less innocent nature than the villany of a lying tongue.’ F. Adams had spoke in a similar strain. To which Mr Daille answered; ‘ For what cause would you have had me to have condemned him, or judged him unworthy of the offices, which in charity we owe all our neighbours in time of need,—we, who have heard him, and not only so, but who, after having exactly informed myself of his cause, with all the diligence and application I am capable of, remain convinced of his innocence? Tho’ I owed these little duties only to my own conscience, its dictates are sufficient to justify me against the violences and the strange reproaches with which your profelyte attacks me upon this occasion. But you and he are so much the more unjust to blame my conduct in this affair, that I have done offices, which you impute not properly to my private opinion, but to the orders of my superiors; first, to the orders of the consistory of my church, which charged me and her other deputies with that affair in the Isle of France, which was that held at Ferte, under

Jouare, in the year 1657; and two years afterwards by the orders not only of our consistory and church, but also of the whole synod of those provinces held at Ai, in Champagne, in 1659.—I have done what the societies upon which I depend expressly enjoined and commanded me, and what my conscience, instead of being shocked at, approved of as just and reasonable. What crime have I committed in this? Certainly if the defendant were as guilty as I believe him to be innocent, it is still evident that I should have no part in the injustice, which in that case would appear in the two decisions which have justified him; for all my blame would have been this, that I defended a cause, which I then believed, and do still believe to be very just: I neither had nor could have any vote in the sentence which was then pronounced. I did the office of an advocate, not that of a judge. It is necessary that I add, that I did not act in quality of either the one or the other in the national synod, which passed the decisive sentence in that affair; for the defendant, who was present, pleaded his own cause himself, before five or six full audiences, with so much force and evidence, that, thanks to God, he had no need of any assistance †.

I may here add a few words concerning the after-
 fate of the defendant, this convert to the Romish faith, and his return to his apostacy. His change of religion was not the triumph to the catholics, as they had expected, or conquest. But neither his example nor his influence to carry one of his people along with him, or even his own wife stedfastly per-

† Reply to B. Adam. part iii. p. 154.

severed in her religion after his desertion. For his reward, he had the office of king's advocate, in Rochelle, conferred on him, in conjunction with a colleague. He exercised it with little honour: his colleague did all the business, and did not so much as consult him in it. He usually resided in a country house belonging to his wife, and only came into the city for forms sake, at the opening of the sessions, to make a speech. Gaming, and the company of the ladies, chiefly employed his time after he became catholic: and money quickly failed him; what little he had (for he was neither rich nor happy,) he squandered away at play. Respected by neither party, he died suddenly; having gone down alone into his wine-cellar to visit it, he was found dead in it, no one knowing how it had happened †.

SECTION EIGHTH.

Of the Church of Charonton—Miron's situation in Paris—New troubles—His journey to England—He is accused, and suspended by the consistory of Paris—Violent disorders in consequence—The interposition of the civil power—His cause before a Colloquy and Synods—Peace renewed.

THOUGH the edict that was ratified at Nantes, at the close of the civil wars, and the establishment of Henry IV., on the throne of France, which he owed to a great measure to the attachment and activity of the Protestants, secured protection and many legal privileges to them, yet these were granted under several restrictions, some of which were felt as great grievances, and be-

† Benoit, Hist. de l'Edit, tom. iii. L. 5. p. 323, 324, 325.

came injurious to the interests of their churches. That article which restricted them to certain places nominated for holding their religious assemblies, without liberty of building new places of worship, as there might be occasion for them, or in situations most commodious for their people, was one of that kind. They were not permitted to hold their assemblies in the cities or towns where the king and the court had their residence: in consequence of this, they were excluded from meeting within the walls of Paris. The preachers of the gospel of truth were thus laid under an interdict, similar to that intimated to an ancient prophet in Israel, when it was said to him, ‘ O thou seer, go, flee thee away into the land of Judah, and there eat bread, and prophecy there. But prophecy not again any more at Bethel: for it is the king’s chapel, and it is the king’s court †.’ This might have been more easily borne, if they had not been subjected to other restraints throughout the kingdom, which tended to prevent their increase. Those who embraced their communion, when remote from their allotted places of worship, were obliged to change their dwellings, or to travel to a great distance to enjoy the gospel, or to live without the ordinary benefit of it: while in several of the more populous towns, their congregations became disproportionably and inconveniently large. In some of them, as we have seen, a number of pastors were required to perform the necessary duties: and it was with difficulty, that such multitudes as were often convened in one place, could be accommodated, or made to hear. Our author, I think, mentions occasionally in one of his ser-

† Amos, vii. 12, 13.

mons †, that the audience he ordinarily addressed, consisted of about 7000 persons.

In several cities, towns, and bailiwicks where the profession of the reformed religion was allowed, they were obliged to build their churches some leagues distant from the cities. The distance assigned by the edict for the Protestants in Paris, was no less than five leagues; but afterwards, by indulgence, they were allowed to have their meetings nearer the city. The large village, or town of Charenton, situated near the confluence of the river Seine and the Marne, not above three miles from Paris, became the fixed place of worship for the church in that city and neighbourhood. It may then be supposed to have been one of the most distinguished in the kingdom, for numbers, as well as on account of the quality of many of its members: The principal nobility, gentlemen, and citizens, professing that religion, many of whom were engaged in the departments of the law, or employed in various offices under government, and who ordinarily or occasionally resided in the capital, belonging to it. Four, sometimes five ministers, officiated in it, who were assisted in the consistory, by a number of men respectable for their knowledge and talents, as some of them also were for their station in civil society. The charge of this church, in several respects, was the most important and difficult of any in the kingdom. Placed in the vicinity, and continually under the eye of an ill-affected and insidious court, which, in conjunction with an intriguing and intolerant clergy, was ever watching

† Sur le viii. chap. aux Rom.

for pretexts for new invasions upon their rights, and intent upon the destruction of the whole body; placed in and near a city where learning and politeness were cultivated as much as in any in Europe; in the midst of the utmost corruption of manners, and where every mode of temptation and artifice was employed to seduce the flock, both in respect of religious principle and practice, it called for the most solicitous attention, and required men of the first abilities, of firmness and zeal, accompanied with eminent wisdom and prudence.

At the time when Mr Morus was admitted to take a share in the superintendance of that congregation, a greater burden had devolved upon the ministers and consistory there, in consequence of the prohibition of national synods for the time to come, and the new and more violent measures that began to be taken for the suppression of the reformed. Then they had not only to guard against the dangers to which their own flock was exposed, but they were also called upon for advice and assistance to their brethren in all other parts, when litigious causes were multiplied, and frequent applications were made to the court or chambers, on account of daily infractions of the edict.

At any rate, capital or large cities, though on some accounts they may appear to many a desirable residence, yet to the diligent and tender-hearted pastor, they are not the most eligible situation for exercising a ministry, though not a few have been so imprudent as to covet it. Especially, there can be little prospect of repose and lasting peace, in entering upon public labours where the embers of dissention are still warm, and ever ready to kindle a-new.

The late sentence of the national synod, confirming the settlement of Morus in Paris, would be highly acceptable to the far greater part of the people, who had so earnestly desired him: his admission too appears to have been with the hearty concurrence and good-will of his colleagues; and the repeal of the censures that had been passed against the appellants that headed the opposition, with the disapprobation expressed with the uncanonical mode of procedure in the admission, would moderate the heat of that party, and tend to reconcile them. It may be presumed, that there was for a time an agreeable calm. Public broils having subsided, amidst the labours of his charge, and the disastrous occurrences of the period, it must have afforded our divine no small satisfaction, in the place where he had taken up his residence for life, to enjoy the intimate fellowship of such excellent and venerable men, as those with whom he was associated, and the conversation of so many eminent persons in that church, some of whom were of polished manners, and of high rank. A man of his erudition and taste, would reckon it an additional gratification to have frequent opportunities of intercourse with a number of distinguished characters, of both religions, addicted to letters, either resident in the place, or occasionally visiting it. With these, we learn, he had now and then private interviews, or correspondence by letters, in which they were wont to discuss, as in earlier years, some point of criticism, or literary question. There were some among the catholics then, who were raised above the bigotry of that age, who lived in the habits of literary intimacy, sometimes in formed societies, with learned protestants, as Bochart,

Blondel, Conrart, to whom we may add our author,— whose acquaintance was sought, and for whom they have left testimonies of their esteem. Of this description were Huëtius, afterwards bishop of Avranches, Chevreau mentioned above, some time preceptor to the prince of Maine, who as well as the former had travelled in the north of Europe, and conversed and resided for some time among protestants in Sweden and Holland;— the noted Pelisson, even after his revolt, Menage, and others. In the miscellaneous works of Mr Chevreau, we have two letters of his to Mr Morus, and others to their common friend Le Fevre, of Saumur, in which are some things relating to him. In one of the former, he speaks of a sort of literary challenge sent from their friend of Saumur; ‘but,’ says he, ‘as you want neither force, nor address, to bring you off in such a combat, let it be agreed that I should leave to you all the glory, and after you have done me the honour to choose me for your second, I will act my part a la mode d’Allemagne. I should injure you, should I do otherwise; and if I were to pique myself upon an indiscreet zeal in a rencounter, in which the same arms are presented to you with which hitherto you have been accustomed to beat others.— You need only to enter the lists, and it will perhaps be said of you, what a historian said of the Roman people, ‘Introisse, victoria fuit.’ In that case, we shall take particular care of all those things that your victory will demand;

Nec semel dicemus, Jo triumphe.

The redoubtable adventurer that now defies you, is at present a rural man, though urbanity be natural to him, and for the short time that he continues to cultivate his flowers and trees, it is not unlikely that he will give us

observations upon Varro, Palladius, and Columella.— Perhaps one of these days, I shall find you in the same state, three leagues from this ; and being taken in the fact, I shall hear you instantly exclaim ; ‘ Sic agrestes Curii,’ &c. †. This was dated from Loudun, the 24th of March, 1660. This city was the native place of Chevreau, where he now resided. In another, written in May the same year, in latin, to our author, he reminds him of a promise he had made him of writing to him, as soon as he should arrive in the city ; and complains of his being disappointed ;—forming, however, an excuse for him, from the returning duties of his public function, his intense studies, and a multitude of other things occurring to occupy him, and engross all his attention, upon his recent arrival, so as not to leave him a moment for writing, and to render perhaps his sleep shorter. ‘ Nor can I deny,’ says he, ‘ but those, who now partake by turns of your company, to compensate for your long absence, may avenge themselves in their manner, and indulge their earnest desire for your society, though at our expence. Let them therefore at leisure and securely enjoy your learned converse ; and gather and lay up, those precious stores of your mind and genius, which we now want by your departure. May those to whom such felicity is allotted, love you, and we will love them on your account.’—When, at length, you may be more at liberty, you may perhaps remember an absent friend : but should you still be hindered from writ-

† Oeuvres Melees, tom. 1. p. 40, 41.

ing,—this will not abate any thing of my former regard for you †.

At the time that this learned man wrote this letter to Morus, he wrote another in French to Mr le Fevre. It is to it and another that Bayle refers, when he says, that ‘the judgment which Chevreau has passed upon the character of Morus, is very agreeable to several other judges, and shews at the same time that people do not always write in the same strain concerning one to others, that they do to himself.’ That letter also shews, with what applause Morus commenced his ministry in the church of Paris: it farther affords a proof of the mutual esteem that subsisted at that time between him and Mr Daille, and is a refutation of what some alledged against him, ‘that he thought nothing to be well done, but what was done by himself.’ We therefore insert it.

‘I have wrote to M. Morus, and you may examine, if you please, my letter with all the severity of your criticism. It is of a flattering strain, more so perhaps than I could have wished, for the stile of a panegyrist, is not

† ‘Adeo pene in eo fui ut illud solenne exclamarem *Ubi fides?* Sed alternata officiorum tuorum necessitas, sed studia acrius repetita, et sexcenta alia quæis modo adveniens obrueris. tempora, quorum vel particulam nobis seponere poteras, tibi subducunt. et somnum faciunt fortasse breviorum. Neque vero recusarim, quin illi, qui nunc te per vices partiuntur, tam diutinam absentiam quæ te ipsis eripuerat in nos suo modo ultiscantur, et acre tui desiderium vel malo etiam nostro explcant. Otiose itaque ac secure fruuntur docto illo tuo congressu; pretiosas illas animi atque ingenij opes, quæis ex abitu tua carimus, colligant, condant. Si quid in ijs æquitatis erit, hoc fortasse meminerint, se nobis ejus boni usum quod publicum sit, invidere, qui et doctum illud et amabile literarum tuarum commercium nobis invident. — Te etiam ante amavi quam ad me scripsisses, idem ego te silentem venerabor. Vale More clarissime.

suitable either to my inclination, or talent, and because in this kind one never says enough, unless he say too much. But you know there are men who naturally love incense from whatever quarter it comes, who demand it as their due, and are so accustomed to it, that one cannot please them, but with a censor in hand. It is a weakness to be pitied; but it is a human one: besides our friend's profound erudition in the Belles Lettres, his exact knowledge of the Greek, and all the oriental languages, give him a title to be considered and distinguished from so many others, who resemble him only in his defect. What has always pleased me in the frequent conversations we have had together, is, that he always told me sincerely, that he reckoned himself infinitely inferior to Mr Daille, whom he thought to be a more solid divine than your Calvin. For all this, a certain probationer of your acquaintance, lately assured me, that Mr Morus is allowed by all to outstrip Mr Daille; that his flights and fallies of imagination in his sermons please much more by their novelty, than the eloquence of Mr Daille, who was fit to be his master. But as I have no side to take among them, we know, and it is no new discovery, that the voice of the populace is not ordinarily the voice of the wise; and if it be said in a verse of Ecclesiastes according to the vulgate, that the number of fools is infinite, it is not surprising if some of them may be met with among the many judges at Charenton. My fear is, lest he should be intoxicated with these extraordinary applauses; and that he should not have resolution to lay the least restraint upon himself in his free humour, but give way to his inclination—without regard to his character, his reputation or his fortune. *Ab dictum sapienti sat est: Dij voriant bene quod agat §.*²

But this divine was not long allowed quietly to converse with the muses, to entertain himself or others with literary combats, or to enjoy long repose in the learned or religious circles of Paris: he was called again to more

§ *Ut supra*, p 48, &c.

serious conflicts; and instead of receiving the incense of unmixed applause in private or public, his ears are again assailed with loud reproaches, and the jarring voice of faction, which for a time had been suppressed. ‘Hatred and envy,’ says Sennebier, ‘travelled with Morus §. He was at length embroiled with Daille himself; and if we believe this author, it was ‘parce qu’ il se attiroit la foule a ses sermons;’—‘because he drew the crowd to his sermons.’ But though all men have their weaknesses, we ought not rashly to believe that this gave rise to the fresh troubles at Charenton, or made the breach between these eminent men, whatever influence it might have to increase them after they had begun, and to cause a temporary alienation. The very favourable testimony given by Daille to his colleague, produced a little ago, was published posterior to the date of the commencement of the new charges presented to the consistory, as given by Bayle, which was in Sept. 1661. But Bayle’s account, too, contains an insinuation, unfavourable to both these ministers, as if the quarrel between them had been chiefly personal, and produced the party-contests in the congregation. ‘Mr Daille,’ says he, ‘who had served him with all his interest in several synods, was not long before he repented of what he had done. There arose a very violent quarrel between them, which occasioned a thousand partialities among the flock.’ I know no authority but this of Bayle for saying, that Daille ever repented of the good offices he had done, which he so strongly asserts to have been nothing more than his duty; and if, indeed, a violent quarrel arose between them, it is more probable that this

§ Hist. Liter. p. 200:

was occasioned by the party-differences in the congregation, than the cause producing them.

‘ In general,’ as Mr Bayle goes on, ‘ Mr Morus, amidst the applauses which his inimitable manner of preaching procured him from an extraordinary crowd of hearers, had the mortification, at Paris, to see his reputation attacked by persons of merit :—in September 1661, complaints were made of him to the consistory, but they came to nothing ; and perhaps this was owing,’ he adds, ‘ to his desiring leave to go to England, in December that year.’

I find no account of the particular matter of these complaints : Benoit only says, that ‘ they respected his conduct, ‘ qu’on soupçonnoit de n’être pas reguliere,’—which was suspected not to be regular.’ The same author adds, ‘ he believed that this storm would dissipate of its own accord, and took this time to make a voyage to England, either with a view of finding a settlement there, or in the expectation that the rumour which had been spread against his honour, would have been forgotten at his return. But neither the one, nor the other took place.† It is not very probable that Morus came over with any view of seeking a settlement in England. He had formerly been invited to London, and had declined to accept. The French church there was not in such a state as to afford him any tempting prospects ; especially to one who was now fixed in such an eminent station. His intimate connections, and chief friendships, had been formed and long subsisted on the continent. All things in church and state had, by that time, undergone

† Histoire, &c. tom. iii. p. 454.

a complete revolution in England, in consequence of the restoration : though the change in some things, might have been agreeable to his mind, in others it must have been the reverse. There is no reason to believe that he who was by education and principle a presbyterian, and had lived so long in the foreign churches of that description, was prepared, though offers had been made him, to subscribe to the terms of conformity to the English re-established church, to submit to re-ordination, or to take the oath of canonical obedience : and though he had been so disposed, his little practice in the English language, must have, in a great measure, disqualified him for performing the office of a preacher in it. He had been acquainted with many of the British, both of the episcopalian and presbyterian persuasion, who, during the interregnum, had fled beyond seas ; and he might have a desire to pay them a visit, and to witness the new order of things, when some of them were in offices and advanced to honour, and the royal cause was now triumphant ; which had partly occasioned his late ill-usage. Nor did he want some who had influence at court to have made application in his favour, if he had chosen to avail himself of it, with a view to settle in England, which we do not hear that he ever did. He has left a memorial of his acquaintance with that excellent statesman and patriot, Lord Denzil Hollis, who had been expelled the house of commons by the Cromwelian faction, and had been chosen speaker in the convention parliament, that recalled the king. In one of his poetical productions, in latin, intitled, ‘*Soteria, Laus Christi nascentis ex voto,*’ which was published next year, ‘after his return to Paris, he expressed his respect for that Lord, in the

dedication to him, who was at that time ambassador extraordinary at the French court. Nor is there reason to doubt but that he had been personally known to the king in his peregrinations abroad: as an evidence of his being favourably received, he was employed to preach before the king and his attendants, soon after his arrival in London, on the noted 30th of January, lately appointed and now begun to be celebrated, as a perpetual fast, in commemoration of the execution of the late king. This discourse, upon the text in Rom. viii. verse 28, is among his posthumous sermons; a short extract from which, in the original, will be given in the appendix, as a specimen of his style and manner.

The tables were now turned: and there was reason to recall to mind, the public admonition our author had given, as to the uncertainty and instability of a prosperous fortune, to the latin secretary of the protector, who had manifested such an insolent spirit when in office, and treated him with such indignity. He had heard with chagrin of Morus's admission to Paris; and in one of his letters to a young gentleman at Saumur, in 1657, when he heard of his being called there, he had declared, he would rather wish any other to have heard him in Charon's boat, than that he should have heard him in Charenton §. The man whom he had repeatedly consigned to the gibbet, he

§ TO H. OLDENBURGH;

— ‘*Quod autem audisti accersitum Ecclesiæ tam illustri erudiendæ antistitem tam infamem, id mallem quivis alius in Charontis, quam tu in Charentonis cymba audisses: verendum enim est valde ne toto cælo devius frustretur, quisquis tam fædo auspice perventurum se unquam ad superos putat. Væ illi ecclesiæ (Deus modo avertat omen) ubi tales ministri aurium causa potissimum placent, quos Ecclesia, si reformata vere vult dirigi, ejiceret rectius quam co-optaret.*’ *Milt. Oper.* p. 335.

had lived to see honoured even at the British court, where he himself durst not now appear, but was glad to lurk in obscurity, having hardly escaped the axe.

I think I have seen it mentioned some where, that Morus was engaged in the publication of one of his books when in London, which might be a reason for his coming over. However, he did not stay there many months, but returned to Paris in 1662. Soon after, the former complaints were revived; the consistory received them, and after different proceedings, they ordered that Mr Morus should be heard in his own vindication, but while the cause was depending, that he should abstain from preaching. This order enraged the minds of those who supported him, to such a degree, that a scene of disorder ensued, seldom seen in any religious assembly on the Lord's day. That party insisted that he should continue to preach in spite of the consistory: and on the Sabbath following all the avenues and stairs of the pulpit were taken possession of by musqueteers, aided by many of the lower class of people, who ranged themselves around. When the hour for beginning sermon was come, some laid hold upon Daille, the son, who was to have preached that day, and pushed him back with violence: others seized upon Morus, and would have carried him into the pulpit, in order that he might officiate as preacher. After great noise, and a scandal unprecedented, some persons of influence appeased the musqueteers, and made them retire. The disturbance was so great, that there was no sermon that morning; and every one was intent upon using means to prevent the consequences of the sedition.

The violence of the musqueteers, being reported, was very ill-taken at court; and afforded a pretext for the

king, to cashier all the reformed who served in the two companies of the higher and inferior order. The officers of justice were inclined to intermeddle in this affair as well as the men of the sword; and two counsellors presented themselves to the consistory, to assist in the deliberations and measures which they might take about it: but that company refused to admit them; giving as a reason, the prohibition in their discipline to call any there except the ministers and elders. The counsellors did not insist, but left the consistory to consult and vote at liberty.

But some of the more determined partizans of Morus, perceiving that their violence had not been attended with success, but that, on the contrary, as they might easily have foreseen, it had injured the cause of their friend, who would be held responsible for the scandal, and suspected, whether justly or unjustly, to have had some intelligence with the authors of it,—thought next to protect him by applying to a court of justice. They presented a petition to the chamber of the edict, demanding the annulling of the proceedings of the consistory, and the re-establishment of Mr Morus. They were supported in this application by 500 persons in the congregation, who authorised them to make this demand. The plea they employed was, that the consistory had not observed due forms, and that it had exceeded its powers in suspending from the ministry.

It may be proper for the information of some readers, to notice, that in certain cities, chambers were appointed by the edict of Nantes, for the greater security that justice might be impartially administered to the reformed, in civil and criminal causes in which they were parties,

wherein one half of the counsellors were Roman catholics, and the other half protestants, with a president; on which account they were called mixed, or chambers of the edict. The causes which were referred to them, among which those properly ecclesiastical, were not included, they had a power to decide without an appeal. The chamber of Paris was to consist of sixteen counsellors in parliament besides the president. The jurisdiction of these chambers was attacked, gradually weakened, and at last abolished.

After hearing the pleadings of the advocates for both parties, in this cause, Talon, the advocate-general, made a long speech upon it: After giving an abridged history of the process, he maintained;

‘ That the consistories were not subjected in their proceedings to the forms of ordinary justice; that they were bound to observe no other in them than those of their discipline; that they were companies lawfully convened, in order to inspect the scandals which might arise among those of their own religion; that the ministers of whom they were composed, with the persons who assisted them in ecclesiastical functions, were as fathers in their family, who might consider what was proper for them to do with respect to the conduct of their children; that they had a right of suspending from, and depriving of the sacraments, in the case of private persons, and consequently also over their brethren in office, who might be guilty of a fault, and so much the more as they were under stricter obligations to lead an exemplary life than others; and when they may act contrary to this obligation, there was greater reason for their being subjected to discipline than private persons:—‘ A distinction must be made,’ he said, ‘ between a definitive suspension, and one that is provisional, which is only a sort of exhortation and warning, to avoid confusion and scandal, which he compared to personal adjournments decreed against some officer of justice, which imported an interdiction

from the exercise of his charge until he should have appeared; that the suspension of Morus was of this nature, to which his own modesty and prudence should have taught him to pay deference; that it was to be presumed, the consistory would not have carried matters to such extremity, without some weighty considerations; and even though the consistory might have erred, Morus, nevertheless, should have submitted; because a colloquy might be held to review the judgment of the consistory; and altho' synods do not meet but once in 2 years, there was less inconvenience in keeping a suspected person from the ministerial functions, during the intervening time, than in re-establishing him before the suspicions entertained of his conduct had been removed.' In conclusion, he gave it as his judgment, with respect to this petition, 'that there was cause for dismissing out of court, the parties and the process.'

After this sentence, an order was given that the cause should be referred to a Colloquy §, and one was appointed, with consent of the king, to meet within three weeks, at which a minister and elder from the consistory of Charenton, not suspected of partiality on either side, should assist. The speech of the advocate-general, and the verdict of the court, have been considered by the impartial as equitable. The judgment of the cause was hereby left to the ecclesiastical courts, over whose sentences, as such, the secular court did not assume, and had no right to exercise jurisdiction; while at the same time, measures were taken in concert with it, for terminating the violent disorders, and the restoration of external peace and order in the church, for which purposes civil authority is competent. 'If those in power, had

§ Colloquy is a name used for a Presbytery, as consistory is for a congregational court, or Session, whether one minister, or more belong to it.

always shewed the same justice to the reformed' says the author of the History of the edict, 'as they did in this case, their churches might have enjoyed a long tranquillity in France. But it deserves to be remarked, that they entertained at court the same sentiments to the last in regard to the observation of the discipline; and that two years before the revocation of the edict, when, amidst the broils that arose, they would have carried complaints against the censures of the consistories or synods, to the parliaments, or council, they were not disposed to listen to them. What is yet more strange, the very same judges who refused to take cognizance of these complaints, did not fail to say, that the consistories and synods had no right to disgrace by their censures the subjects of the king. But the secret motive of this conduct was not so much to maintain the discipline of the reformed, as to exasperate the individuals against the censures, and to let them see what they might obtain by becoming catholics, namely, a relief from the punishment which they could not evade in continuing in the reformed religion §.'

Talon, the advocate-general, who distinguished himself in the above cause, was descended from a family originally from Ireland; a gentleman of that name; a colonel of a regiment, having settled in France, in the reign of Charles IX. There were several eminent men of that name and of the same family, in the 17th and the following century, especially in the law department. Denys Talon, who now occupied that high office, as his father and uncle had done, was the son of

§ Benoit, tom. iii. l. 7. p. 454—457.

Omer Talon, who died in 1652. As he succeeded his father in his charge, he also inherited his talents and reputation. He was afterwards made President *a Mortier* in the parliament of Paris, in 1689, and died in 1698. Some of his public pleadings were published, as well as those of his father. He was a strenuous defender of what were called the liberties of the Gallican church, and the Regale, against the usurpations and extravagant maxims of the court of Rome. At the time of the difference between the king and the pope, about the franchises of the ambassadors, when the pontiff excommunicated Lavardin, and refused to grant investiture to any of the French bishops named by the king, who had signed the noted articles of the clergy in 1682, denying the papal infallibility, &c., he made a spirited speech in opposition to the pretensions and arrogant proceedings at Rome, in consequence of which, he affirmed, there were, at that time, no fewer than thirty-five cathedral churches destitute of their overseers, being a third part of the whole in the kingdom; a very disrespectful and ungrateful return, he observed, to him who bore the glorious title of the eldest son of the church. As he had participated in the guilt of the court in reference to the protestants, so, on that occasion he sacrificed his better sense, his honour, and regard to truth, by joining in offering up the abominable incense, at that time so common, to the perfidious tyrant and persecutor on the throne, as the most pious monarch, little less than almighty, who 'by his favours and justice united, had consummated an enterprize that had been deemed impossible, by re-uniting near two millions of persons, who had returned to the bosom of the church, and

now acknowledged the legitimate authority of the see of Rome, which they had shaken off.' A declaration sufficient to cast under a deep shade the most brilliant reputation, to blot out the memory of many fine sayings and great actions, and to consign a man to perpetual infamy, in the moral world, though his talents were 'angel-bright §.'

But let us see what was the result of these commotions, and the process raised at Charenton; 'We must again behold Morus,' to use the words of the Literary historian of Geneva, 'comparing before synods, to hear his accusers, to make apologies; this was still his history: he escaped again, however, though through a thousand diffi-

§ The writer of this has a treatise bearing the name of Talon, the advocate-general and president, intitled, '*Traite de l'authorite des Rois touchant l'administration de l'eglise*;' or, 'The power of kings in Ecclesiastical matters;' printed at Amsterdam, 1700, in 8vo. It consists of several dissertations, with the speech in parliament, just referred to, in the front. The subject is considered both in point of right, and fact, in regard to the distinct jurisdictions, the temporal and spiritual; on which the author displays learning, and research into history. While he shews the absurdity of the church assuming temporal power, and asserts in the fullest extent the spirituality of the church, yet it is so explained as to be incompatible with its external subsistence as a society with distinct judicative powers; very different from the principle on which he defended the independent authority of the consistory of Charenton: and while one sort of supremacy is overthrown, another is established, to be exercised by princes over the church as a political constitution, or a department of the state, though not as mystically considered: common errors on the complicated subject, in modern times, especially among politicians, whether connected with, or separated from Rome.

But it has been said by some that these dissertations were not written by president Talon, but by one Roland le Vayer de Boutigny, who was Intendant of Soissons, and died in 1685. See *Le Grande Dic. Histor. de Mereri*. Edit. Amst, 1740.

culties, from the efforts of his enemies.' 'He escaped,' says Bayle, 'but so as by fire.' The colloquy that met could not terminate the affair. The writer last named says, it was determined in it, that Morus should be suspended from preaching for a year. It was carried by appeal, or reference, to the next provincial synod of the Isle of France, where Morus was not cleared; the former sentence,' it is said, 'was confirmed, and even aggravated by it.' The only resource now left for obtaining a revival and redress, was to appeal to the provincial synod of another province; as this was the provision made, in the prospect of national synods being discontinued, by the last which met at Loudun, when causes could not be terminated by the authority of a synod in one province, that parties aggrieved should be allowed to chuse one of two synods in neighbouring provinces, which was empowered to review the sentence appealed from; whose judgment was to be final, at least to continue in force provisionally, until it should be reversed by a national synod, when it might be permitted to meet. The deprivation of ministers, and excommunication, were among the causes as to which these appeals were allowed. Morus, having it in his option to submit his cause to the synod of Normandy, or that of the province of Berry, made choice of the latter. One was accordingly convened there on the 8th of May 1664, the king having granted his letters exprefs for that purpose. After an investigation, that synod exculpated Morus, and restored him to the exercise of his ministry; and commissioners were sent from the synod to effect a reconciliation between him and the consistory of Charenton, and to intimate the act of pacification to the church there, which was accordingly done,

soon after, by Mr James Gantois, minister of Sancerre, with happy effect.

The sermon that was preached on that occasion, at Charenton, by Mr Gantois, was printed that year, at Sedan. As I have met with a copy of that rare discourse, now lying before me, and as it is much more pleasant to hear the voice of peace, than the noise of tumult and fierce debates among brethren, let us accompany this herald of peace, and suppose ourselves, for a few moments, transported to that place, once so famous and venerable, but which has since been so long deserted, like the tents of Shiloh; let us suppose ourselves present in that august assembly, listening to some of the words that were then spoken §.

The preacher took for his text, the words of the Apostle Paul to the Corinthians, 1 Epist. chap. i. ver. 10. ‘ Now, I beseech you, brethren, by the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you, but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment.’ After beginning the exordium with the lamentation, uttered by the Saviour with tears, over Jerusalem, at the prospect of her calamities, and for rejecting the things that did belong to her peace, on which he briefly commented, he thus addressed that large assembly;

‘ My brethren, when I cast mine eyes upon this church, I cannot give it another name than the Jerusa-

§ The sermon was delivered the 6th of July, 1664, and separately published.— Sur l’imprime a Sedan, et se vend par Olivier de Varennes, demeurant au palais, en gallerie des prisonniers, au vase d’or. 1664.’

tem of God. Yes, you are his Jerusalem; his oracles have been committed unto you, his worship is established among you in all its purity. This is the place where the one sacrifice of Jesus Christ is brought back again to you by the preaching of the gospel. Here is the abode of priests who bear the Urim and Thummim, whose minds are enlightened by the sun of righteousness, and whose instructions 'are able to make you perfect, and furnished for every good work.' God treats you as his Jerusalem by the care which he takes of you. He has for a long time 'engraven you on the palm of his hand,' and he has 'set you as a seal upon his heart, and a seal upon his arm.' What had he done to Jerusalem, in his mercies, which he has not done to you? Yea, has he not done more to you than to her? You have the body and the truth of those things of which she had only the shadow and the figure.

But in admiring the kindnesses of God towards you, I acknowledge that there is also reason to pour out tears, and to express wishes and regrets. 'O that thou,' also 'hadst known, at least in this thy day the things which belong to thy peace!' I do not say, well-beloved brethren, that you have opposed yourselves to the Prince of peace. It is your glory to follow him: you have opened to him the gates of this temple, the doors of your houses and of your hearts. And you well know that it is in his company, we have peace, both in life and in death. Notwithstanding, you will not be displeased if I say, and I am obliged to do it, 'You have not known the things which belong to your peace.' For that peace is accompanied with the peace of conscience, and peace with men. That peace which is the daughter of heaven, the place of repose, when it is well established on earth, forms and disposes men to tranquility. But where has been that tranquility for some time past? Her enemy has banished her; or at least has so much confined or fettered her, that she has scarcely been seen to appear. Can you have kept this peace in your consciences, and experienced its sweets? Surely as a person who is sick favours not the sweetness of meats when his mouth is full of bitterness, our cannot well taste that of God, when the soul is tainted with the bitterness of irritation, hatred, and vengeance.

It is not with bitter herbs that this lamb is eaten. It is on this account, dear brethren, that we ought not to be sparing of tears; and this makes them seasonable. What! Fire is in the temple of God, and shall we behold the flames with dry eyes? The cry is heard to arms; and shall we feel no emotion? The sanctuary and its court are in trouble,—all is confusion, and shall we not be deeply affected and grieved? The report of your disorders has pierced the hearts of the good as soon as it reached their ears. Your brethren have bewailed them; other churches have been greatly distressed on account of them; and it is to testify the part which those of our province take in your affairs, that they have sent us to you to say, ‘at least in this day know the things that belong to your peace.’ We wish, say they, by our mouth, that all division may be extinguished;—that the Prince of peace may form you to his own temper, and that his holy Spirit shedding forth the oil of his peace and love in your souls, you may carry the symbol of it, the olive branch, in your hands. We regret what is past: Give us hopes for the time to come: in demanding of you this consolation, we already feel it in our hearts. For we speak to the children of the God of peace;—to Christians who know by experience the difference between peace and war; so that we persuade ourselves, that we shall not have reason to add, with Jesus Christ, ‘But now those things are hid from your eyes:’ but that knowing the importance of a true and lasting reconciliation, you will make it appear in the sight of God and his angels, in the view of the world, to the edification of all the churches, and to the repose of your own souls; that so we may have cause to say, in parting from you, ‘Ye are our joy and crown.’ It is in order to dispose you to this, that in executing the orders we have received from our province, vested, in the matter for which we are deputed, with the authority of a national synod, to which you owe respect, and with a view to fulfil that article, which enjoins us to endeavour a reconciliation among you, we have reckoned that we might and ought, as indeed we have the right, to ascend the pulpit, and to exhort you to it in the name of him who presides in all the holy assemblies,

under whose authority, all of you ought to bow. For this purpose I have chosen the words of the apostle, &c.

After discoursing on the different parts of the text, with a reference to that particular design, the minister, towards the conclusion, again addressed the different parties in that assembly, in the following terms:—

‘ My brethren, we are not apostles ; but we are servants of God, who have a right to speak in his name, and to press his authority to procure the obedience of those whom we instruct by our ministry. Wherefore, we whom you see in your assembly, might we not go farther than merely to say, ‘ We beseech you ? ’ For you are not ignorant of our commission : it has proceeded from a company which has a right to command ; and this I think will not be disputed. Yes, we are deputed from a body, to say it yet again, which has authority over you, seeing it represents a national synod ;—from a body which you have acknowledged for judges, with a promise to acquiesce in what it should ordain. We might therefore make use of these terms, We enjoin you ; It must be. But we have not hitherto made use of this authority, so we chuse rather to say, ‘ We beseech you, ’ &c.—We beseech you as brethren, as Paul did the Corinthians ;—a term of kindness by which the apostles were accustomed to gain men’s hearts.—The pastor and the flock, in this respect, hold the same rank in the church of God : they are all brethren—a multitude of brethren, conducted by a brother. Censures should be accounted brotherly warnings. As Joseph was sent to see how his brethren fared ; so are pastors sent to see if the flocks of Jesus Christ are doing well.—Their common relation and interest as one family give them right to intermeddle in the affairs of one another.’

‘ Allow me, first, to address you, My very dear and honoured brethren and fathers, companions in the work of the Lord. Speak all the same language. Acquiesce in the judgment which we have given in the fear of God, the judge of the world, to whom we have to give an account of our actions,—in the affair which has given so

much vexation, and caused such disquiet and apprehensions to this church. Receive, as you have promised by your deputies,—receive into your venerable company HIM WHOM WE HAVE JUDGED INNOCENT; not being able to determine otherwise, without acting contrary to the dictates of our own consciences §. Give him the hand of a sincere fellowship to take his part in the administration committed to you. Let there be this day a holy agreement between your hearts, your mouths, and your hands, and apply all together the shoulder to bear the ark of God. I take it not upon me to give you instructions; but I intreat you to do in this conjuncture what you would counsel others to do; and to sign all with one accord a peace allied to that of God, which is true and lasting. How will angels rejoice to see the men of his good will pronouncing a part of their song, ‘Peace on earth!’ They would immediately repeat the other, and we with them, ‘Glory to God in the highest!’ How will the devils be confounded, when they shall see their design frustrated: for they attempted to ruin this church, thinking to overthrow many others with it:—this church, I say, whose charity affords support and consolation to the household of faith. O what satisfaction will the faithful have, when they shall see the house of their Father free from debate and contention!—And O what joy will it give to you, the ambassadors of heavenly peace, to see the tempest ceased, the sea calm, and that you can conduct the vessel of Jesus Christ into the haven of salvation without apprehension of rocks and shipwreck!

I address myself to you in particular, my brother, who have experienced the help (le secours) of God, after the trials with which he has visited you. He says to you this day by my mouth, ‘Feed my sheep.’ Nourish them then with heavenly nutriment; hinder not the efficacy of it by bad conduct; and think on the account you have to give of their souls unto God. Cultivate peace with your colleagues. Prevent them with honour and

§ ‘Recevez dans votre venerable compagnie celui que nous avons juge Innocent, ne pouvans pas prononcer autrement, a moins que de trahir les mouvemens de notre conscience.’ *Serm.*, &c. p. 42.

respect. Love them, and enter again into good agreement and union with all the body, which represents this church.

You are doubtless disposed to concord, my brethren, who are elders, whom God hath called to the guidance of this flock. This day is a day of good tidings, seeing it brings peace; and shall you keep silence? Speak all the same language. If any high tones or disagreeable speech have been passing among you, let all pronounce the pleasing word of peace: and oppose yourselves, as your office obliges you, to those who would cause or keep up divisions among you. 'O how good and how pleasant is it for brethren to dwell together in unity!'

I speak next to you, my brethren, Christians and faithful in this church, 'Speak ye all the same thing.' Let not sharp and angry words be heard any more. Let there be no more any design in opposition to a company who ought to rule you: 'Let all things be done without murmurings and disputings.' Therefore let these criminal voices no more be heard, which have profaned the holy songs of David, and made them subservient to your passions. That royal prophet employed them formerly to calm the soul of Saul, and to drive away the evil spirit that troubled him: You have dreadfully perverted the use of them: And can I dare to speak it? Were you animated by the Spirit of the Lord, when you disturbed the devotion of souls by your inconsiderate and unseasonable singing, and when you interrupted the service of God? Love his servants who have grown old in labour in this house; who have fought as good soldiers of Christ: who have furnished, and still furnish the tabernacle of God with arms for us and for your posterity, for the ruin of falsehood, vices, and the corruption of the age. Encourage others to the same labours. Entertain sentiments of respect for all your pastors: accounting of them 'as stewards of the mysteries of God:—Leave the handling of the censur to him who has received it of God; and by continuing every one in his calling, things no doubt will go better.

You who hold a particular rank in this church by your offices, your birth, credit, riches, or understanding, employ all these things for its consolation. If you have at

any time procured peace to it, let the warmth of your zeal be redoubled. Let Plato be your friend, Socrates your friend; but let peace be your well-beloved: It is in her reign, that truth and righteousness, daughters of heaven whom you cherish, appear in all their beauty. Rear every where the altar of Gideon, JEHOVAH SHALOM. Seek the peace of the Lord; a peace accompanied with justice and holiness. Let these three sisters kiss each other, and inseparably accompany one another. In a word, we who are ambassadors of Christ, as if God did beseech you by us, we intreat you in Christ's stead, to be reconciled. I beseech you, in the name of the Lord Jesus, 'if there be any consolation in Christ, if there be any comfort of love, if there be any fellowship of the Spirit, if there be any bowels and mercies fulfil ye my joy,' &c. Phil. ii. 1, 2.—O happy moment of our lives, if we all say presently to God, who calls for peace,—Yes, Lord, I obey thee without resistance, I am ready to sign it! And as I wish to efface, by the tears of a sincere repentance, the scandalous disorder which has been too apparent, I intreat thee to blot out in thy love all the offences which have been committed by me and my brethren against Christian peace.' Thus you will answer to the design of Jesus Christ, who came 'to reconcile all things by the blood of the cross, and to make of all men but one new man:—and who has given us his Holy Spirit, the Spirit of peace, who descended upon the disciples, when, on the day of Pentecost, 'they were all with one accord in one place.'——'Lord! (subjoined the fervent minister) Give peace to this church. Preserve to it, its liberty, the bright lights which illuminate it, the zealous and faithful pastors who conduct it. Load with thy favours all the families and persons of whom it is composed. Grant to them all to persevere in the faith of thy Son, in calling upon the same Saviour, in the profession of the same truth; until we all meet together in thy house, in which there are many mansions,—where there is neither sorrow, nor crying, nor pain,—no war, nor rumour of war; where peace shall be eternal, charity perfect, holiness complete, and 'God shall be all in all. To the Father,' &c.

After sermon, the reconciliation was solemnly made in the church of Charenton †.

Benoit has told us, ' that some reckoned this synod somewhat partial in favour of the accused ;' but I know not on what ground. Do the commissioners from it deserve no credit, when they declared, that the sentence they passed was that alone which their consciences would permit them to pronounce ? The same author adds,

' Peace was restored to the church by this judgment, and by the prudence of those who thought themselves not so well used. Morus preached afterwards for some years with much reputation ; though his manner did not please every body, and his imitators almost always failed of success.'——' I could not refuse this short digression to a man whose name has made such noise, and who, as his device bore, had been so equally loaded with blame and praises, that it would be difficult to say which of the two parties had prevailed, that of his accusers, or that of his panegyrist ‡.'

† This notification is added at the end of the sermon :
' Apres cette exhortation, la reconciliation, que le synode de Berry tenu a Sancerre le 8. jour de May, et suivans, avoit jugee necessaire pour le bien de l'eglise reformee de Paris qui se recueille a Charenton, s' est faite solennellement dans le temple dudit lieu.' P. 53.

‡ Tom. iii. l. 7. p. 316.

SECTION NINTH.

From the acquittal of Morus by the Synod of Berry to his death—The decease of his aged colleagues—He pronounces their funeral orations—Increasing discouragements and dangers of that time—Morus's steadfastness in his religion—His sickness, and edifying death—Account of his last conversations, and dying words, as taken from his mouth.

AS in the history of states and kingdoms, scenes of public action, commotions, and broils, supply the most copious matter for narrative, and draw the attention of readers, more than the state of tranquility, and the ordinary tenor of life, so something similar may be observed in the account of particular persons. After the troubles were allayed, and the contests over, which marked the former period of our author's life, there is little remarkable to be recorded during the remaining years of it. After the reconciliation so solemnly ratified, it does not appear that the harmony between him and his brethren, or between the different parties in the congregation, was ever after visibly interrupted; or that repentment on either side was retained. One of his colleagues, Mr Raymond Gaches, was soon after removed by death; and Morus, in a sermon he delivered on the day of his interment, improved that event in a very striking and affecting manner. How feelingly he spoke of the loss, and what regard he testified for the character of the deceased, the reader may see from the discourse itself, as it is among the select sermons that are translated. He took

occasion from it particularly to recommend to his brethren the duty of the most cordial union and love in their ministerial service in view of their approaching dissolution, even as their brother, when dying, had charged it upon them †.

On the decease of the aged Drelincourt, a few years after, Morus paid a similar respect to his memory : his address to the people, on that occasion, may also be found among the translated Extracts, subjoined to the Select Sermons. He lived also to perform the same office to Daille the father, whom he survived but a short time. If animosity for a time had subsisted in that venerable fraternity, none of them carried their resentment to the grave : ‘ In their death they were not divided.’ This divine had an admirable talent for adapting his discourses to particular occurrences ; and on occasions of this kind, instead of affording any ground to charge him with being too sparing of just commendation, he may be thought rather sometimes to have exceeded in his applause.

In 1666, the celebrated Mr Claude, after he was prohibited the exercise of his ministry at Montauban, was called to take part in the ministry at Paris, and to supply, I suppose, the vacancy occasioned by the death of Mr Gaches. Our author was not insensible of his worth,

† ‘ Unissons nous de plus en plus au service de Dieu, et portons son arche d’ un meme cœur, et d’ une meme epaule, pour l’ amour de ce frere que nous allons porter en terre, qui nous en conjure : aimons nous, embrassons nous, et de bonne foi renonçons a tous les mouvemens de la chair et du sang. N’ entendes vous pas la voix qui erie, Nous portons ce tresor, en des vaisseaux de terres ; aimez vous l’ une l’ autre, aimez vous l’ une l’ autre.’ Sermon. ii. *des Roi*, ch. ii 9.

and so far from shewing any jealousy of his rising merit, he concurred heartily in his settlement. It was he who expressed the smart saying, after Claude had been preaching among them on trial, whose voice was not fine,— ‘That every voice would be for him, except his own.’

Mr Robert Robertson says, in his life of Claude, that ‘he had then for his colleagues at Charenton, Messrs. de L’Angle, Daille, and Allix †.’ But this author was too vivacious, and often spoke and wrote with too much rapidity, to be always accurate in point of argument or facts; and as he here seems to write from memory, in this he is not correct. Mr Daille the father, indeed, was still alive, and continued to officiate for three years after, as was also his son. Drelincourt too was a colleague with him till November 1669. And Morus was one of his associates for four years, or upwards. But neither Allix nor L’Angle, were settled there for some time, and not till after the death of Daille the elder, in 1670, when Mess. Menard and Allix were chosen. Mr L’Angle was called to Paris the year following, after he had been 23 years a colleague with his father in the church of Rouen.

A few days after the death of Drelincourt, Adrian Daille, the son, met with a dreadful accident by burning, by which he long suffered severe distress, and was disabled from walking, or performing his office, one of his legs having been almost wholly consumed, while he yet resided in his father’s house. Very soon after this, Morus was seized with indisposition, so as to be also rendered unfit for public work for the remainder of that winter: so that the great burden of the services for a

† Life prefixed to Essay, &c. vol. i. p. 21.

time fell almost wholly upon the aged Daille, who was then about the 77th year of his life, and upon Mr Claude. Thus Mr Daille the younger complains, in the abridged life of his father, that the church of Charenton, at the time of his death, which fell out in April following in 1670, instead of five which were ordinarily required for the service of it, had scarce one left, except Mr Claude, for officiating, 'Mr Morus not being then fully recovered from his malady §.' There were several, however, that gave their assistance occasionally, in that time of scarcity, as Du Bosc, Sarrau, Jaquelot, afterwards chaplain to the king of Prussia at Berlin, and who was for a time employed as an assistant in the place of Adrian Daille, during his confinement †.

Mr Morus was not fully re-instated in his health, when he was employed to preach on the day of Mr Daille's interment; which in itself was an evidence that the breach had been entirely healed, as well as the manner in which he acquitted himself in delineating the character, and embalming the memory of the deceased. It is not usual to employ enemies or those known to be at variance, for such a purpose. The son, who had met with some personal insult in the former conflict of parties, records, in terms of praise, Morus's performance of this last office to his beloved parent. 'After the sermon,' says he, 'delivered by Mr Morus, who introduced in it a magnificent eulogium upon the deceased, in which he touched at most of the things which we have above represented, but incomparably better than we have described them, the whole church being in tears con-

§ Abrege, &c. p. 54.

† D'Ancillon, Memoires Histor., &c. p. 105.

ducted him to the cemetery at the side of the temple, and saw him there interred beside his wife, and night to Mr Mestrezat †.

Besides his admired talent for preaching, Morus was noted for his acuteness in scholastic controversy, and his readiness in managing a dispute, which made him a formidable antagonist to the Romanists. There was a story that passed current in Paris, of an adventure which he is said to have had in the college of the Sorbonne, which at least shews what opinion was generally entertained of his erudition and the promptness of his genius in that way, and which his enterprising and somewhat excentric spirit might render credible, though it is not sufficiently attested. Perhaps his early and successful competition at Geneva, might be only revived in this new dress, or have given rise to it. It was, however, inserted in a publication in Holland, in honour of his memory, several years after his death. We shall give the anecdote as told by that author, and quoted by Bayle, with that critic's remark upon it. Speaking of the strength of Morus's genius, the anonymous author says,

“ The Sorbonne was one day quite surpris'd by an
 “ accident which did great honour to Mr Morus, and
 “ put all the doctors of that society out of counte-
 “ nance, and was esteem'd a kind of enchantment.
 “ A certain person whose face was altogether unknown
 “ to them, and whom they took at first sight for some
 “ country priest, being present at their disputes desir-
 “ ed the professor, who presid'd at that assembly to
 “ give him leave to propose some arguments. Which
 “ being granted, he acquitted himself so well, that he

† *Abregé de la Vie de M. D.* p. 76.

“ soon gained the esteem of all the doctors: and as
 “ this new antagonist urged his arguments with a sur-
 “ prizing force, and beyond what could be expected
 “ from him, their esteem was changed into admiration.
 “ But when they saw that this powerful enemy pushed
 “ them too hard, and that they could stand against the
 “ force of his reasons no longer, all their admiration
 “ and esteem changed into anger and indignation; and
 “ the dispute grew so hot, that if he had not wisely
 “ got out of so dangerous a place, he had reason to
 “ apprehend some mischief. But he imitated Jesus
 “ CHRIST our great master, when he went out of the
 “ temple to avoid the snares of the Pharisees, whom
 “ he had confounded. In like manner our Morus, af-
 “ ter he had stopped the mouths of the Pharisees of
 “ these latter ages, amused them with soft words, went
 “ out of their synagogue, and so left them. After he
 “ had made his escape, they ordered one of their
 “ scholars to follow him at a distance, and watch where
 “ he went in, and afterwards enquire what kind of man
 “ this was who knew more than all the Sorbonne toge-
 “ ther: which being observed by him whom they so
 “ much desired to know, he turned about to him who
 “ followed him, and said only those two words *memento*
 “ *Mori*, and went on: from whence those who sent
 “ him presently concluded, that he who had given them
 “ so much trouble, was that famous man who was one of
 “ the pillars of the church of Charenton, and the terror of
 “ the Romish church.”—‘ This is what I find in a book,’
 says Bayle, ‘ published about a year ago, well worth read-
 ing. It is now five and twenty years since I told this
 in the presence of a doctor of divinity, curate of R—,
 a man of wit, and well versed in the customs of his re-
 ligion. I was persuaded of the truth of the fact, for I
 had heard it told upon several occasions by men of good
 sense; and at the age I was then of, I scarce distrusted
 any thing that came from such persons. The doctor
 answered me, it is a very pretty story, and concludes
 very ingeniously: but assure yourself it is a romance,
 for they who propose arguments against the theses that
 are maintained in the Sorbonne, are always such per-
 sons as are well known, and graduates in the faculty,

and obliged to wear the habits or robes belonging to their society. Had the author of this story known thus much, he would have changed his scene.'

After all, the reason assigned by the curate is no effectual refutation of the story. It is told as a singular occurrence; and it is possible the singularity of the adventure and request, might make the faculty willing, for the sake of experiment, to dispense in one instance with an academical statute about the ornaments and badges of their degrees. This kind of scholastic disputes, then managed by grave doctors as well as their scholars, was often like the tilts and tournaments of former times, more for a trial of skill, or for entertainment, in which a knight-errant might be allowed to enter the lists, and break a lance, than serious combats in defence of truth, or for the real improvement of the mind: and they are happily now almost banished from the schools.

It is one of the grievous and unavoidable accompaniments of advanced years, that one must see so many of his former friends, and intimate associates of every class carried away, and laid one after another in the dust. Though Morus lived not to extreme age, yet he had often this grief to bear. And in the later period of his life, besides the infirmities of body to which he was subjected, and his other personal and more private afflictions, he had an increasing burden of the public evils that were falling upon the churches superadded. If he survived all these aged colleagues a short time, it was only to be a sorrowful witness of the farther and daily progress of the infernal scheme pursued by the dominant clergy, and perfidious profligate court, for the total destruction the reformed. New intrigues, and scenes of false-

hood, injustice, and cruelty, were from day to day disclosed; which are described in detail in every account of that church, particularly in the history of the edict. Their houses of worship were, on the most frivolous and false pretences, condemned and shut up, and greatly reduced in their number*. Every art was used to harass and vex the ministers;—to infringe their freedom of speech against the errors and corruption of the Roman synagoge. Unwearied efforts were employed to seduce their flocks, and to prevent them from making any more proselytes. Commissioned spies were sent to all their worshipping assemblies, and bigotted monks and missionaries were allowed to pester every house on the design of making converts. The door to posts of honour, or lucrative offices, was gradually shut upon those who would not turn. Proffers of gain and preferment were made with lamentable success to those of higher rank; while the inferior class were wearied out with accumulated grievances, dunned with importunity, or tempted by paltry bribes. The simple were imposed upon by the subtillies of crafty wranglers, or the insidious concessions and smoothing explications employed by the priests to draw them in.

Their churches internally as well as externally were

* In the space of twelve years previous to 1673, about one half of the churches of the protestants were taken from them. Of 123 in Bearn, there were left but 20. Of 63 in Poictou, there remained but one uncondemned: so that 80,000 people there were obliged to live without any public worship. In Guienne, only 3 of 80 were left. In the country of Gex 23 were reduced to two. In Normandy only 3 remained: And in Provence, only 3 of 16. Some were under the necessity of travelling 40 miles or upwards, to have the dispensation of baptism, or other ordinances.

visibly declining. Former zeal and courage in maintaining the faith were but found among few. The strictness of discipline was reluctantly borne, and was gradually relaxed. Apostacies became frequent. The contagion of licentious manners spread among the higher and lower classes; and a spirit of conformity to the world, and to any form of religion in fashion, became apparent. Faithful ministers may be continued, and 'a name to live' be retained, for a time, in churches who are dead, or ready to die. Near the time when the temple was to be made a ruin, the carnal Jews admired its external structure, saying, 'Behold what goodly stones, and what manner of building are these;' so when the persons and gifts of men, and the artificial embellishments of discourse, are more regarded than the spiritual glory, the wholesome truths, and hidden riches of the gospel;—when it is listened to as a lovely song,—or as a sounding brass or the tinkling of cymbals; when people factiously divide as the Corinthians did, saying, 'I am of Paul, or I am of Apollos,'—it is a glaring proof that they 'are carnal, and walk as men;' destitute of spiritual relish for the divine word, having the form without the power of godliness.

Symptoms of such evils were become too apparent in the church of Charenton, that was placed so near the vortex of corruption; of which this divine complains in some of his discourses delivered there near the end of his ministry. In those on the catechism, a course of which was regularly kept up, he taxes them with wearying of the length of public services, of coming to hear from curiosity, and with critical or censorious ears; with listlessness and inattention when a portion of the scriptures was publicly read from the desk, according to another

custom observed in that church;—of the reading of the bible in their houses, giving place to that of plays and novels;—of their slighting the explication of the plain doctrines of the catechism, and of the gentry hurrying away home to Paris, in their carriages, from these afternoon diets, that they might not lose a city-dinner. He charged them with the sacrilege of Ananias, in withholding one half of the Lord's day; or rather they reduced that day to an hour, though that hour seemed as long to them as a day †.

The faithful watchmen, who could not but discern the approach of the general calamity, and anxiously looked for the breaking of a storm that had been so long collecting, gave frequent warnings of it; of whom this

† Ce lecteur n'est non plus ecoute, que s'il estoit un livre commun, et ordinaire: Je ne scai pas meme s'il n'y a pas tel livre commun et ordinaire qui rencontreroit plus de silence, et plus d'attention,' &c.

' Nous mettons au dessus de la Bible un roman; apres le chapitre un sonnet, apres le psaume une comedie.'—Serm. 23. *sur le Catech* p. 94. 98. tom. 2.

' C'est asses de venir ici le matin, disent nos gens a carosse, mais apres dinee ce n'est qu'un catechisme: si bien qu'on s'en retourne, avant midi; bien plus vite qu'on est venu: Et il n'y a personne qui ait rien a faire de meilleur, qui croiroient se faire tort, et a leur qualite, si'ils passioient ici toute la journee. Cela ne leur arrive que quatre fois l'an, parce qu'alors il n'y a point de catechisme.—Ils committent le sacrilege en defalquant la moitie du jour du Seigneur. Que dis-je la moitie? Ils font ce jour d'une heure, de je ne scai qu'elle devotion. Il est vrai que cette heure leur dure autant qu'un jour, et qu'en s'en retournant, ils disent, que le preche a ete bien long: mais il n'a garde d'avoir ete aussi long que leur sabbat a ete court. Ils perdent le catechisme pour ne perdre pas un diner a la ville; mais pour augmenter tant soit peu leurs rentes, il n'y a point de repas ni corporel ni spirituel qu'ils ne perdent volontiers.' *Ibid.* Serm. 1. tom 1 p. 32. See also the Extracts added to Select Sermons, p. 156, &c.

pastor was one. The apprehension he expressed, in such a feeling manner, upon the death of Mr Drelincourt, he lived to see in part realised ; though his wish was granted, to be removed from the world before the final catastrophe, that hastened on more rapidly from the year in which he was laid in his grave. The churches had a respite for about fifteen years longer, but it was only to suffer a more lingering death.

It may be accounted, in some respects, a greater trial of faith and resolution, for ministers or private Christians, to continue steadfast in their profession, under a continued series of persecuting measures, and severities, tho' of a lesser kind, than when the attack is more direct and violent : and their integrity and firmness may be said to be more put to the proof in a declining state of a church, and in the wane and disgrace of a public cause, and amidst daily instances of desertion and falling, than in the beginning of a reformation, when it is rising like the morning light with lustre, and power, amidst the surrounding darkness, and in the face of ferocious and hated tyranny, awakening resentment and indignation in almost every mind, by inhuman butcheries. Discoveries of truth, when they appear new, take faster hold of the heart, zeal newly kindled has a fiercer blaze, and hopes of success are then more lively and ardent. The sufferings of those who lead the way, and even the death of such as fall martyrs in the good cause, render it more conspicuous, attract admiration, and have often animated others to maintain or engage in the same conflict : and they will be long remembered and celebrated among a numerous train of followers, when they reap the fruits of their labour and sufferings. But it is otherwise when

the brightness of the morning, and the vigour and splendor of the meridian have disappeared, and the sun is hastening to go down. Men's minds are differently affected: and nothing but discouraging prospects appear before them. Their efforts, are ready to grow languid in proportion as they appear to be fruitless; and their zeal to abate as the cause seems hopeless. The language of those mentioned by the prophet, is then heard, 'Wo unto us, for the day passeth away; and the shadows of the evening are stretched out.'

But instances of fidelity, in such circumstances, are peculiarly noble, and those who then keep the word of Christ's patience, are worthy of praise; as to maintain allegiance to a prince in a time of general conspiracy and treason, is more honourable than at other times. To endure a long protracted siege, when the walls are undermined, when breaches are daily made, and post after post taken, to retain courage, and persist in a vigorous defence to the last, even when there may be no prospect of eventual success, is no less heroic than to mount the breach in an assault, flushed with the hopes of conquest, or to disperse the forces of the enemy in the field, and to seize his standard with the hazard of life, amidst the shouts and applause attending victory.

Not a few of the ministers and Christians among the reformed in France, in the period referred to, became thus worthy confessors, some of them deserving to be numbered among those who had perished on the scaffold, had been slain by the sword, or expired in fires; and those who endured the previous trials, and persevered unto the end, when all to appearance was fast going to wreck, and every hope of being saved was taken away,

though they lived not to see all the houses of God in the land, raised to the foundation, may be ranked with them who afterwards suffered banishment, the loss of their goods, imprisonments, or tortures, for the same cause. Of this number was Morus.

When the zeal for profelytism ran so high, not only among the clergy, but at court, and among many of the quality, attempts were made to gain over any who were eminent for reputation and learning. We need not wonder therefore that he was assiduously courted, and had tempting offers repeatedly made to him, and had he been so disposed, he might have obtained, according to the language and estimate of the world, good terms for himself. He was exposed particularly to these solicitations, when his process was depending, and variance subsisting between him and his brethren. But neither the chagrin, or what he might reckon the hard usage, that he endured among those of his own profession, nor the flattering proffers made to him, could ever shake his attachment to the protestant faith. A writer of the other religion, and one of his literary acquaintances bears witness of this. Manage, of the French academy, says, 'Mr Morus declared before his death, that no one had tempted him more than he had done to change his religion. The duchess d'Aiguillon ordered me to offer him a pension of 4000 livres from her. I prevailed with the abbe Goudin to mention that affair to Mr de Peresix then archbishop of Paris, and he spoke of it to the king. His majesty said upon that subject, that it was not a proper season, that it would be doing him an injury to attempt it at a time when he had a process depending with his brethren.' That writer adds, who could not, however,

be a competent judge of the origin of the former disputes, 'Morus occasioned disputes wherever he went. He had raised schisms in Holland and all other places, and even at Paris. One might compare him to Helen, who kindled wars wherever she went §.'

If Morus was able to officiate during the summer after his lingering indisposition, in autumn he was seized with his last illness, which put a period to his troublesome course, and carried him where men's love and hatred, and strife, perish. Under the continuance of his malady, he enjoyed the free exercise of his faculties and speech, and employed them much to the edification of those who attended him, or came to see him. Upon the intimation given him by the physicians of his approaching end, he not only shewed the greatest resignation and willingness to depart, but expressed the highest comfort and joy at the prospect. While he made a solemn declaration of his innocence as to the matters of which he had been accused, he, at the same time, declared, that he had forgotten all past injuries, and heartily forgave even those who had been most keenly engaged in opposition to him. He invited them to come among others to visit him, that he might assure them of this with his own mouth. Persons of all ranks, and of both religions, testified their regard for him under his distress, and many visited him.

Among others, the Marechal Grammont, one of the peers of France, and brother to the count de Grammont, whose adventures are not unknown to English readers ‡, having been sent by the king's order to visit

§ Menagiana, p. 153.

‡ He married a lady belonging to the family of the Duke of Hamilton. The 'Memoirs of the Count de Grammont,'

him in his extremity, upon his return, his majesty asked him how he did? The Marschal replied, 'Sire, I saw him expire: He has died a good Huguenot: but what makes me regret him the more is, that he has died in a religion, which is as unfashionable now-a-days as a sugar-loaf-hat †.'

He died in September, 1670, in the house of the Duchefs of Rohan, who was one who continued firmly attached to the protestant cause, as her illustrious family had long done; and who interested herself in the welfare of the suffering church in that kingdom, after so many, through timidity, or love of the world, had 'put away a good conscience, and concerning faith had made ship-wreck.'

As Mr Morus never was married, it does not appear that he had, in France at least, kept a separate house and family of his own. His prudence in this may be questioned. The single life, however favourable, in some respects, to literary and studious persons, is yet less suitable, in other respects, to those in public office, and who are obliged to move in the social circle: besides, as it exposes persons more to temptation, and to reproach, this might have given the rumours disadvantageous to him, more ready currency. But whatever men's sentiments might be before, the manner of his death so edifying, tended to obliterate all unfavourable impressions: 'It was accompanied with such circumstances,' says Benoit, 'as satisfied even those whom he called his enemies ‡.'

were embellished by the pen of Count Hamilton, one of the fashionable writers of the age of Lewis XIV.

† *Suite de Menageana*, p. 82.

‡ *Histoire, &c.* Tom. 3. l. 3. p. 316.

OF THE MOST interesting concluding scene, we shall translate and insert here part of the more circumstantial account that was given of it, and some of his discourse preceding, by one who attended him; which was afterwards published, but is now rarely to be met with in Britain, under the title,

LES DERNIERS DISCOURS DE M. MORUS †, &c.

The last Discourses of Mr Morus, reported in a Letter written from Paris the 7th of October, 1670; by a gentleman of quality to his mother.

‘ MADAM,

‘ IT is with extreme grief, I inform you of the loss of my dearest friend that I had in the world, the illustrious Mr Morus, our dear pastor, who died the 8th of September last, aged 54 years. He ended his days at 8 o’clock in the evening; and thus finishing his course at the setting of the sun, he saw the sun of righteousness arise to enlighten the first day of his eternal rest. I attempt not to represent him such as he now is in heaven all shining in glory: I wish only to show him to you such as he was in his earthly pilgrimage. I confess, I have not colours sufficiently lively to paint him to the life: but I shall essay, to give at least a faint sketch of his character.

‘ This faithful minister of Jesus Christ had a great and rare genius, and an elevation of spirit altogether singular. Nothing escaped his knowledge, or his memory. He appeared at his outset so extraordinary, that he saw himself both minister and professor, at an age

† Amsterd. ches Dan. Elzevier, 1680. There is a copy in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

when the most excellent wits are only scholars. From these glorious beginnings, he continued to make such progress, that his reputation spread, in a little time, thro' all Europe, of which he became the admiration. Switzerland, Holland, Italy, Sweden, and England, gave the most authentic tokens of it; and their republics, princes, and kings, bestowed glorious monuments of their liberality. God had enriched him with such excellent talents for preaching the gospel with efficacy, and for establishing the truth of our religion, that he constrained mens minds by a gentle violence, and fully persuaded their hearts. He had a manly eloquence, which soothed not the senses, but penetrated to the very bottom of the soul. Nothing could resist the admirable force of his reasoning. He awakened the most sleepy consciences; and if the adversaries, who came very often to hear him, durst not confess their defeat, they were forced at least to admire him. He always preached with applause. Who among us ever heard him, without having the heart touched, and without returning to his house edified? Did not our heart burn within us, while he opened to us the scriptures? Would to God we could still hear that voice of thunder arraigning vice and falsehood, with such awe, in the chair of verity. The ancients clipped the wings of victory for fear it should have fled away from them. But it would have been unjust, as it was impossible, in order to have detained that great man among us, to have clipped the wings of his faith, by which he was carried up to heaven.

‘ With these great gifts, he had also his thorn; least, no doubt, he should become too proud of them. His life had been traversed with great and vexatious troubles,

So much the more insupportable in a man of his profession, as he was innocent of the things laid to his charge. He had the lot of extraordinary men to be attacked by envy; but he had also the advantage of confounding its efforts; and in dying he finished his triumph over it. I have always observed in him much of openness and freedom, which seldom can accommodate to the age: but above all, a fund of admirable probity.

‘ It is difficult to find words to express adequately his merit. All that I have said is only a faint shadow of that excellent man. It is nothing to hear one speaking of him: it would be needful to have heard himself, discoursing on the principal mysteries of salvation, and the grounds of the Christian religion.

‘ I have profited, to my great comfort, by his salutary and edifying conversations during his illness, particularly in the interval of an apparent convalescence, which for fifteen days made us hope for the re-establishment of his health. He spoke to me so many excellent things at different times; and uttered so many to those illustrious ministers of his church, who crowded in to see him during the last days of his life, that I cannot refrain from imparting some of them to you, as a precious antidote against the vanity of this world, and as food proper for nourishing the Christian life.

‘ He spoke particularly against the vanities of the world.—He shewed the truth of the Reformed religion, and its conformity to that of the holy Apostles.—He vindicated the clearness of the holy scriptures.—He deplored the blindness of the men of the world.—And from the consideration of his own condition, took oc-

casión to speak of the manner of comforting the afflicted.

‘ I shall report,’ says the writer of the narrative, ‘ his own words, from which you may see that this illustrious man when dying, preserved to the extremity of his life, the same genius, full of fire, and all burning with love for heaven, which made him to be admired.’

The narrator, then, at some length, records the speeches that dropt from his mouth, on each of these subjects, of which, though worthy of being detailed to the Christian reader at large, we can only here give a few extracts as a specimen.

On the first of these, he said, ‘ Solomon, the wisest of men, after having considered the vast extent and instability of this lower world, justly cried out, ‘ Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.’ In reality the glory of this world is only a vapour, which dissipates as it rises. It is a shadow that flies; a dream that passes, and which leaves nothing more than a light impression of imaginary enjoyments with which it flattered our hopes. Our hands are empty and wearied in our course; and our desire, insatiable after the treasures which it believed it possessed, complains and is grieved in having found nothing but wind.’

Having observed that no condition in which mortals can be placed, or employment in which they may be engaged, is exempted from vexation and trouble in the world, he exemplified this in the office in which he himself had been engaged,—that of the holy ministry, and in the public civil office in which the person he addressed himself to was employed. After having noticed the excellence, and authority of the gospel-ministry, in

the language of the New Testament, as the light of the world, the embassy from heaven, &c.—he touched on the cares, the labours and painful duties and requisite qualities of those that exercise it: the opposition and contempt to which they are exposed from the world; he added, ‘ We may say truly, that our reign is not of this world: on the contrary, our Lord said to his Apostles, ‘ Ye shall be hated of all men for my name’s sake:—In the world ye shall have tribulation;’—we see it, we feel it still to the present day: but we are comforted as they were with the words he subjoined;—‘ Be of good courage, I have overcome the world.’

The gentleman to whom he spoke being a counsellor in the court, to him he said, ‘ As for you, tho’ you be vested with magistratical authority (*la souveraine magistrature*) and clothed with the purple, though God himself calls you gods on earth, you must lose your repose in order to give it to others. The higher your elevation is, the less will ye be disposed to look into yourselves. That high rank to which you are raised loads you with chains, honourable indeed to those who know how to support the weight of them, but disgraceful to those who drag them along. In order to give himself to the public, he must renounce himself, and his liberty. He must have clear perceptions of justice, in order to free others from iniquity: he must not take phantoms for truths, or the shadow for the body. You ought ever to watch over your actions—which will continue engraven on the memory of men—And, in fine, you must give an account of your administration.—You are yet young; detach yourself betimes from the vain honours and grandeur of the earth, whose smoke vanishes as it a-

scends. All these perishable enjoyments cannot constitute your felicity: Their glory is deceitful, and of short continuance: 'As the flower of the grass they do pass away:' but 'godliness hath the promise of the life that now is and of that which is to come: Trust not in uncertain riches;' be careful to 'lay up treasure in heaven, where the thief cannot enter.' What will it avail worldly men, when dying, that they have amassed treasures on earth,—or that they have made their name to be carried to the end of the world? or, even 'to gain the whole world and lose their own soul?'

'Christ is the true gain,—which all should seek to win. It is that only which can be retained when dying, and which can be enjoyed after death,—death which strips man of all greatness, and brings him to his primitive nakedness. Man loses all earthly good upon quitting the world, and as he 'brought nothing into it, so it is certain he can carry nothing out of it.' But the faithful, who has longed only for spiritual blessings, and who has truly gained Christ, will then find himself clothed with immortality. He will carry with him that glorious gain he has made by a holy commerce between earth and heaven.

'The covetous makes his treasure his god, the voluptuous places his happiness in his pleasures; and the ambitious makes his honour his idol: We ought to change the object of our love, and should seek neither our honours, our pleasures, or our riches except in Christ. The Christian, in a word, makes his God his treasure. It is not flesh or blood that has revealed these things to us, but the word of God: it is the same religion that has commanded us to have only one God, and one king: to acknowledge Jesus Christ for the King of kings, and after

him our sovereign monarch, for whose service we should have an inviolable fidelity.' Here he shewed the obligation upon magistrates to maintain and inculcate this duty, and of ministers to preach it : vindicating the protestants in that kingdom, on this head, against the calumnies of their enemies ; as having always been submissive to the laws, and respectful and obedient to his majesty ; and ' though indiscreet zeal,' he added, ' should blacken their most blameless actions, as it had formerly done those of the ancient Christians under Trajan ; our great monarch, more just and good than Trajan, who knows our good intentions, and that we pray God, with all our heart, for the prosperity of his person, the glory of his arms, and the duration of his reign, will allow us to live in peace under the shadow of his laurels.'

But how far was he mistaken in these most reasonable expectations ; and in the true character of that *grand monarque* ! that blot and perpetual infamy to the name of king, by his perfidy, ingratitude, ambition, lust, bigotry, and relentless persecutions.

On the head of the DIFFERENT RELIGIONS in the world, he said,

' Having carefully considered them, and examined their fundamental grounds and principles, the greater part of which were supported by the policy of states and their different interests,—there were none comparable to the Christian religion ; which did not consist merely in mysterious doctrines of salvation ; but must be a living principle, effectually influencing the believer. It is properly the union of the Spirit of God with the heart of man, making them by adoption the children of God, of which Paul speaks with such energy.

' But among all Christians, I have found our belief purely orthodox, and wholly detached from worldly interest. It is only founded on Scripture, the pillar of

truth: it always takes the part of God against the creature, and never parts the honour of the Creator between them. Being wholly divine, it cannot admit the traditions of men; for every man is a liar; and the word of God alone is infallible.

‘Remember still that religion is above reason, and depends wholly on revelation. Yet when I consult my reason and my senses, as well as my religion and faith, I can see that it is the greatest abuse in the world, to call that religion, especially the Christian religion, which is a wisdom purely human, which is occupied in pomp and ceremonies; of which it may be said in allusion to the language of the psalmist, ‘This is not the doing of the Lord, yet it is wondrous in our eyes.’ Nothing has a greater appearance of being reasonable; and the Roman empire is still at present, what it has always been, the most admirable thing in the world. But what faith the Spirit of God when we consult him?’—

And here he shewed from different parts of scripture, how high the thoughts and ways of God are above those of men, and how different from them,—in the means, the methods, and the persons he has chosen, to promote the interests of his kingdom, and to enjoy the privileges of it; closing with the words of Jesus, when he said, I, thank thee, O Father! because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes, even so because it seemed good in thy sight.² ‘Such,’ added he ‘is not our reason, such is not our judgment; but if such is the good pleasure of God, and if the Son of God himself acquiesces in his good pleasure, how can we have the audacity to cavil, and to demand of him the reason?’

To pass other topics on which he spoke, eight days before his decease, according to the opinion and advice of the physicians, intimation was given him of his approaching death. He received the message as a true Christian. He said,

‘They had brought very joyful news; and that he had long been preparing for that great journey from earth

to heaven. With that view, he had daily meditated on these beautiful words of Paul, 'My desire is to depart and to be with Christ, which is far better.' I am useless to the world: my days are full of grief; I shall be delivered from the persecutions I have endured.

I do not wonder that the men of the world have such difficulty to quit it; they have chosen it for their habitation, as if they were to remain there for ever. For my part, I quit it without regret: heaven is my country; here we have no continuing city. If we reflect seriously on the shortness and miseries of this life, we will find that a great part of it is spent in sleep, which is a kind of death,—the rest in afflictions, in troublesome affairs, in vexations and maladies. And the life we live, ought not to be called life, if it be not employed in the service of God. This should be the only employment of the Christian in the world, which comforts him in his toils and in the midst of his sufferings, while he calls to mind, that *to serve God is to reign*.

But to how many temptations are we exposed? How many crosses must be borne? How many enemies have we all to combat? Persecutions without, and passions within, produce a continual war: every one in his heart sacrificing to his predominant passion, rears there an altar to his idol. 'The flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh.'

Happy is he, who meditating upon his earthly house, on his poor vessel of earth, and on his bonds, can say with the Apostle, 'Christ is my life, and for me to die is gain.' He had far greater tranquillity in his chains, than Nero had upon his throne.

How much more joy has the believer in tasting the consolation of heaven in afflictions, than sorrow and bitterness, under the sense of his miseries. 'Christ is my gain in life and in death,'—said this apostle of grace. With him the balance hung in *equilibrio*. Some saints have wished for life, as David, who said, 'Those who go down to silence and lie in the grave cannot shew forth thy praise. Others have wished to die, as Job, who was wearied of living in his miseries, and said, My soul chuseth death rather than life. Paul alone accounted life and death to him indifferent, so much was he resigned to the will of

his master. 'Be ye followers of me,' said he, 'even as I am of Christ.' After his example then, Christians must pass their life in patience, and wait their death with joy, and glorify God in the one and in the other. And as by man corrupted, 'sin entered into the world, and death by sin;' so the death of the faithful is the grave of sin. Why then should we fear what delivers us from all that separates us from God?

It is wrong to say, that there is a remedy for every thing but death: death is itself the remedy for all our evils, and sufferings. We ought therefore to render it familiar to us, since it procures such great good; and to think often upon it, for it will come whether we think of it or not. We ought to get acquainted with it, that when it shews its terrible face, it may not frighten us, but that we may receive it as the messenger of good news, and that makes such a happy change in our condition—taking us from this dark world to the Father of lights, and from a mortal and perishable life, to that which is eternal. 'I know that my Redeemer liveth,' &c. I know that 'he who raised up Jesus from the dead, shall also quicken our mortal bodies, by his Spirit that dwelleth in us.'

'See me,' said he farther, 'at the point of appearing before the tribunal of God, the great judge of all, to whom account must be given of what he has committed to our trust, even of every idle word. For I have often told you, the last day of every man's life is the day of the great judgment to him. The hour of his death is the hour of his destiny: such as he shall be found then, such shall he be at the coming of the Lord. We ought to join the moment of death with that of the resurrection in body and soul; the long interval of time between the two, serves nothing for repentance. Mortal men should so watch over their actions as if they were every day at the very eve of the day of judgment; and who knows but he may say, 'this night thy soul shall be required of thee?'—'To-day, if ye will hear my voice,' &c.

This to-day is ours, to-morrow is the Lord's. Let us improve time: diligence is necessary as to other affairs of the world, much more as to concerns of salvation. None ought to defer to the end of his days the care of

repenting; nor consecrate his youth to the world, and keep his old age for God.

The world and its pomp should be early renounced, even to-day; for who can promise himself one moment. Those who say, they will repent before they die, promise more than is in their power, and contrary to their intention.—The hour of death may arrive to-day.—And how can they flatter themselves that God will give them the grace of a time to repent, while they give themselves to their lusts, and all the disorders of the flesh?

Those who think to prolong their days by denying the truth which they profess, on account of the evils with which they may be threatened, and the punishment that may be prepared for them, ought to remember, that nothing is theirs but the present. The history of the three martyrs, who were exposed naked on the ice, that they might die of cold, while at the same time a great fire was made for them, should be ever present to their memory and their eyes. One of them, after having remained a long while exposed, chused rather to deny his faith, that he might warm himself at that material fire, thinking to save his life, than suffer courageously a cruel death, with his companions, for the truth of Christianity. But he was deceived in his expectation; for the cold having already seized him, he did not escape death. Think what must have been his despair, to have lost his life, which he thought to prolong, and at the same time to be for ever deprived of eternal life! To-day then without delay, let us make a general review; and examine our conscience. There is no longer time for disguise. To what purpose will it serve to act the hypocrite? Doth not God see our heart? and must we not judge ourselves?

Here followed a declaration of the state of his own conscience; particularly in reference to the matters of which some had accused him, in the following terms:*

‘ But because truth never blushes for having been

* *Mais parce-que la verite ne rougit jamais d’avoir ete cachee, je me sens obligé de vous dire, sans pour tant vouloir faire mon apologie, que je suis innocent des choses dont on*

concealed, I feel myself obliged to declare to you, without meaning however to make my apology, *That I am innocent of the things of which I have been accused*; and that I could not in conscience, make the declaration that some would exact of me. Nothing is more terrible, nothing more cruel than the torment of an evil conscience. It is a good conscience that gives true joy. It is as the eye of the soul: if a thorn be in the foot, the pain may be endured; but if it be in the eye it is insupportable. Conscience is so tender and delicate, that the least thing mortally wounds it.

Though God has proved me by great and severe trials, he has always supported me: I would without doubt have sunk under them, if I had been guilty of the things

m'a accuse; et que je n'ay pu faire, en conscience, la declaration que l'on a voulu exiger de moy. Rien n'est plus horrible que le tourment d'une mauvaise conscience, rien n'est plus cruel. C'est la bonne conscience qui donne une veritable joye. Elle est comme l'œil de l'ame, &c

Quoy, que Dieu m'ait eprouve par de grandes et de rudes epreuves, il m'a toujours soutenu: et j'aurois sans-doute succombe si j'eusse ete coupable des choses que l'on m'imputoit. Enfin, Dieu a permis que la verite fut connue, et mon innocence averee, et rendue public par le jugement de ceus qui en estoient les juges competens et legitimes.

Mais quoy-qu' innocent des choses que l'on m'imputoit centre la verite me reconnoissant pecheur devant Dieu, Je lui demande tres ardamment pardon de mes fautes et de tous mes pechez, &c.

Il ajouta ensuite, qu'il pardonnoit de bon cœur a tous ceus qui l'avoient offense, sans aucune exception, meme a ceus qui l'avoient poursuivy avec le plus de chaleur, &c.— Que si dans sa juste defense, il en avoit offense quelques-uns, il les priot de lui pardonner d'aussi bon cœur qu'il pardonnoit, de sa part, a tous ceus qui lui aviiient fait tort, et qui lui avoient ete le plus contraires.

C'est ainsi que le mourant s'en est aussi explique dans son Testament, qu'il fit quelques jours apres, avec une grande tranquillite d'esprit. Il les envoya tous prier de le venir voir: ils y vinrent l'un apres l'autre. Il leur parla, et dit qu'il avoit tout oublie. Il se reconcilia derechef avec eus, et leur donna sa benediction, sans cesser de mediter avec joye sur le jour de son trepas, &c.

that were laid to my charge. In the end, God has permitted that the truth should have been known, and my innocence avowed, and rendered public by the judgment of those who were the competent and lawful judges of it.

But though innocent of those things that were falsely imputed to me, acknowledging myself a sinner before God, I most earnestly ask of him the pardon of all my offences and sins, supplicating him with my whole heart, to be merciful to me through the merit and intercession of his Son, my Saviour, and only mediator, Jesus Christ; and that when my soul shall be separated from my body, he may be pleased to receive it to his holy paradise.'

He added afterwards, 'that he heartily forgave all those who had offended him, and without any exception, even those who had prosecuted him with the greatest heat, being willing charitably to believe that they had done so with good intentions, though he was innocent of the things they laid to his charge. Yet if he had, in his just defence, offended any, he requested them also to forgive him, with the same sincerity as he, on his part, forgave all who had injured him, even those who had been his greatest opponents.'

In the same manner did he express himself in his testament, which he made some days after, with great composure of mind. He sent to them all intreating them to come and see him: they came one after another. He spoke to them, and told them that he had forgotten all. He was reconciled to them all; and gave them his benediction; and continued to meditate with joy upon the day of his departure,' &c.

'In the last conversation he had with his brethren and beloved colleagues, he repeated again a solemn avowal of his innocence, addressing them thus, 'I should be very miserable at present, at the very point of death, if along with the troubles I suffer, my soul were subject to inquietudes and remorse, that might hinder the happy intercourse which I have with my God.

I again protest with sincerity, and for your edification, that I am innocent of the charges that have been brought against me. It is enough for my comfort, that my conscience is pure, and has nothing to reproach me with on that head. I have consigned to oblivion the names

of the persons and the things, and I desire no more to remember either the one or the other.

Though otherwise a great sinner, yea, very great, I have made my peace with my God. I have obtained my pardon of his great mercy: and I feel, by his grace, in my heart, 'a joy unspeakable and full of glory.' 'My soul thirsteth for God. When shall I drink and be satisfied with the rivers of his pleasures?' 'O when shall I enter, and appear before the face of my God?'

'These words gave occasion to the pastors who remain with us, (says the narrator) the very worthy successors of their brother, and to whom the holy Spirit has also imparted very excellent gifts, which have rendered them famous every where, and made their works to be regarded by the finest geniuses of the age,—to testify to their dying colleague, their unspeakable regrets at such a painful separation. They were so edified by his great resignation to the will of God, accompanied with such confidence in his mercy, that they wished to be exhorted themselves by him for their consolation. And when they spoke to him of the efficacy and usefulness of his ministry, he replied, *Je scay a qui j'ay cru, et pource ay-je parle.* 'I know in whom I have believed, and therefore have I spoken.' It is not enough that a minister preach the gospel with approbation; it is not enough that he persuade others, he must persuade himself. It is not enough that he have eloquence, fine wit, and learning: knowledge must be accompanied with a good conscience, and the inward practice of the holy doctrines that he teaches.

'My dear companions,' he continued, 'never depart from the purity of what you and I have preached during the course of our ministry. Imitate rather St Paul, who though preaching at Corinth, that city so famous, and one of the most polite in his time, said, 'When I came to you, I came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of God: For I determined not to know any thing among you save Jesus Christ, and him crucified.' And my speech †, &c. Keep then, my dear colleagues to the language of the holy Spirit, whose force is always victorious.

'I have now seen controversy and preaching fall at

† 1 Cor. ii. ver. 1, 2. 4.

my feet : beside the knowledge of salvation, all the rest is nothing. Other sciences and shining gifts are extinguished by death ; and are buried in the tomb. ' Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth' our neighbours in this world, and follows us into the other, where love must inflame our hearts while we behold the eternal God ' with open face,' even Jesus Christ crucified. This is the whole science of the Christian. Jesus by his death has testified his greatest love to us and the whole human kind †. He entered into the tomb that he might open to us the gate of paradise, and obtain for us eternal life. I am assured of this by his Spirit, by which I see already the heavens open, as clearly as in a mirror from which the curtain is drawn aside. I see my Saviour at the right hand of the Father, who intercedes for me. Though I perceive the stinking sores of my body to run, and tho' my sins be still more loathsome and horrible, I know that my soul is for a sweet favour before the Lord. I have within me, ' the white stone, which no man knoweth but he who receiveth it.' I am assured that neither death nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate me from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus ‡. Yes, (he exclaimed, lifting up his hands) *Ouy, je me cramponne §, a JESUS CHRIST mon unique Sauveur ; I fasten upon and cleave to JESUS CHRIST my only Saviour.*

' The next day, which was the day of his death, he gave his pastoral blessing to his church in general and in particular ; and supplicated that of the great and living God for it, with incomparable zeal. He afterwards exhorted to perseverance several illustrious members of which it was composed ; and spoke to the last with admirable presence of mind and fervour.

It was then he addressed his speech to a person of quality, who was present, and said,

† This expression is rather ambiguous. ‡ Rom. viii. 38, 39.

§ The word is very forcible, signifying to fasten as with a cramp-iron.

‘ I am not in a condition here to pronounce your eulogium, or to offer you the incense of flattery. You have committed a great sin: (and he pointed out the circumstances of it.) Humble yourself deeply before God. Send up from the bottom of your heart, the most ardent sighs to the throne of his grace; that he may hear them, and smell therein a favour of pacification (*une odeur d’apaisment.*) I have often observed in you the marks of a bitter grief: your tears confirm this to me a-new. If your repentance be sincere, fear not: God will grant you his mercy, and pardon this great offence with all your other sins. Continue firm and unshaken amidst all the agitations of the world, in advancing still towards the end of your faith and holy calling. You must seek the peace of heaven, and peace within you, which can only be found by being at peace with God.’

After several other exhortations to godliness, and in commendation of the divine peace, that attends it, too long to be here inserted, he added,

‘ It is by this peace and this sweet tranquility that I find myself wholly detached from the earth, and am truly made free from the spirit of bondage, and enjoy the liberty of the sons of God. It is such grace as partakes already of glory. By this free and gracious access to his throne of grace, by the intercourse which I have with my God, I have heard his Spirit saying in my heart, - ‘ My grace is sufficient for thee,’ with a voice as intelligible as mine is now heard by you.—Every one will not believe it; but I am no visionary; I speak the truth. Breathe after this precious peace: ask it of the Prince of peace, who will give it not as the world giveth. Go in peace, believing soul, and the God of peace shall be with you, and one day with your posterity. Possibly you may not see it, but doubtless this must be the crown of your wishes.—Hope, persevere and you shall infallibly obtain: though God for a time, may drive back the flame of your prayers, it is to excite greater ardour, and to render them more vehement.

To others he said, you have gloriously resisted the temptations of the world. Beware lest it allure you by

its false delights, and by the high examples which strike at first view the ignorant, and draw those who rely like them on the arm of flesh, blindly to follow them, without examining the motives of their change. You may lose much with respect to the world; its wealth, honours, and dignities. But one should know how to lose in order to make gain, and a great gain:—to lose what is most dear in this world, to gain Christ, who declares in the gospel, that ‘whoever loves father, mother, sister, or any other thing in the world, more than him, is not worthy of him.’—‘If you deny him, he also will deny you.’ ‘This is a faithful saying, if we suffer with him, we shall also reign with him.’

When you may see a thousand fall at your right hand and on your left, let not the fall of these illustrious unfortunates, shake you: They had only a temporary faith, which the thorns choaked in its growth: when the wind of temptations did blow, they were unable to withstand its violence, and drew back. They were among us, but they were not of us or with us. The Lord could not suffer any but good workmen and vessels in his house; and therefore has rejected them. He has separated the chaff from the wheat, because their faith continued wavering, their hope was divided between heaven and earth, and their love waxed cold.

Shut your ear to those accommodations the world proposes. ‘None can serve two masters.’ ‘The world passeth, and the lusts of it.’ ‘But be ye faithful unto death, and God will give you the crown of life.’ Think well of it; if you change, your conscience will reproach you for it; and you will remember me at your dying hour.’

To one of his friends, a Roman Catholic, present, who bore a distinguished office, he said, ‘I am very much obliged for the honour you have done me: you see a poor creature in the extremity of his life, who has not forgotten all that you have done for him. The obligations I am under to you are present to my memory, and I make request to heaven for the prosperity of your person, notwithstanding your change, which I cannot approve; recommending you to God with all my heart,

that he may convert you, and make you return to him again.'

You behold me brought low with a long malady ; and this mortal body that decays, draws near to its deliverance. But I feel myself strengthened by grace : and ' this light affliction, which is but short, works for me a far more exceeding, and an eternal weight of glory.' I thank my God for confirming me in the faith he has bestowed, and has made me prefer the word of Jesus Christ to the treasures of the earth.—Nothing is able to shake me : were I to see all the most cruel punishments that the malice of men could invent, on the right hand, and all the riches and honours of the world, in all their pomp and brilliance, on the left, I would not take one moment to deliberate. Without hesitation or wavering, I die with joy in the religion I have preached, and constantly professed ; for ' Christ is my gain in life and in death.'

In this manner spoke the dying pastor, to every one, according to his state and need ; notwithstanding the weakness of his body, afflicted by a long and grievous disease, which he bore with admirable patience, without any diminution of the vigour of his mind, which God preserved to him, by a singular kindness, that he might shew the evidences of his faith to all, and confirm even to the last moment of his life, the truth of our religion.—He did this with so much success, that his dear flock were established by his constancy, while he edified his brethren by his humility, confirmed the wavering by his firmness, shook the incredulous by his hope, and confounded his enemies by his charity.

In fine, to finish gloriously his ministry, he spoke on his death-bed to his last breath, with the same presence of mind, and with the same eloquence as in the pulpit. So that stretching forth his hands to his colleagues, our

dear pastors, (who are the witnesses of his combat and victory,) as if to bid them the last farewell, and lifting up his eyes to the chief shepherd and bishop of souls, he was taken from among us, pronouncing those suitable words of the royal prophet, ‘ Into thy hands I commit my soul, for thou hast redeemed me, O God of truth.’

‘ For myself, (says the author of the account) in the extreme grief I feel in having lost this faithful friend, it gives me comfort that I have seen him die, so assured of his religion, and of eternal life. I am comforted in the blessing I received from that excellent pastor, for myself and for my family. I am consoled, finally, by the prayers he presented to heaven to draw down favours thence: I hope the great God, to whom they were addressed so ardently, will hear them on earth, and grant us grace to bring up our family in his fear, and to renounce the world, and all its lusts, that we may learn henceforth, ‘ to count our days, that we may apply our hearts to wisdom;’ so that after finishing our course, we may die the death of this righteous man, to be on the back of it admitted into the heavenly Jerusalem, and hear there, like him, these agreeable accents of our Master, ‘ Good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of the Lord.’ *Amen.*

The name of the gentleman who wrote this memoir is not affixed. If the information of Mr Benoit may be relied on, it must have been the noted Pellisson. He says, ‘ Morus protested his innocence when dying, and made a confession of his faith, and of the persuasion of the truth of the religion he preached, which greatly edified his church; ‘ mais dont son ami Pellisson qui la lui tiroit de sa bouche profita moins que personne;’ ‘ but of which

his friend Pellisson, who took it from his mouth, profited less than any other †.' This must be meant of Paul Pellisson Fontanier, that elegant and accomplished scholar, who in his youth had begun the course of his studies, and was a companion of Morus at the academy of Castres, over which his father was principal, who filled so many offices, became secretary, the historian, and president of the Royal Academy, and was made a counsellor, who about this time professed himself a convert, was pensioned, made king's historiographer, and became a zealous converter, and royal almoner for the distribution of the monies appropriated for buying off poor profelytes. But this must surely be a mistake. For though he was descended of an honourable family, and had been carefully educated by his father, who was a counsellor in the chamber of the edict at Castres, and afterwards by his mother, in the protestant religion, and had long professed it, yet for some years before the decease of Morus, we are told, he had resolved on the change, which that year he so publicly declared. The writer of that account speaks as a faithful member of the church of Charenton, and well-affected to the reformed religion, in behalf of which, he recorded the arguments and testimony of his dying pastor with approbation, expressing his earnest wishes that he and the family he belonged to, might hereby profit and be more established. Can it be supposed that this Paul Pellisson, even tho' he had condescended to act as the minister's amanuensis, hypocrite as he might be, could have spoken in this strain;—he whose apostacy, by this time,

† Hist. tom. 3. . 7. p. 457.

probably was no secret, and who within a month after his friend's death, went to Chartres, and in the cathedral church there, made his abjuration on the 8th of October, 1670, in the hands of the bishop of Comminge. The date of the letter is of itself sufficient to refute such a supposition. It was dated from Paris, the 7th of October, and the abjuration was made; at a distance from that place, on the very next day. It is probable, however, that he was one of those referred to, who visited Morus, and was faithfully admonished by him; the one whose sin and fall he regretted, and for whose recovery he prayed, whatever effect was produced.

There was a Paul Pellisson (whom I suppose to have been of another branch of the family) an attorney in the parliament of Paris, about this time, who also had formerly professed the reformed religion, but had turned catholic for his place, and in the fury of his zeal, had made his son a shaveling at the age of thirteen, in order to engage him in the church; but upon his son returning to the reformed religion, in which he had been born and educated, the unnatural father accused and prosecuted him as a relapse, got him transferred from one gaol to another, and at last obtained a sentence against him in the parliament of Paris, August 29th, 1672, condemning him to perpetual banishment out of the kingdom, under the penalty of death and forfeiture †.

But there was a George Pellisson, the elder brother of the former of these gentlemen, who was of a differ-

† Laval's History of the reformed churches of France, B. viii. p. 1122.

ent spirit, and a more exemplary character. It is likely that he was the writer of the account. Bayle, in the article relating to him, say the compilers of a later edition of the *Great Historical Dictionary*, shews, ‘that he had but little knowledge of him.’ After mentioning that he wrote on some subjects in philosophy, he says, he died young. His inaccuracy was corrected, and his deficiency supplied, from some manuscript memoirs of the family of the Pelliffons, communicated to these compilers. He was born in 1624 or before it; and died in 1677, and so some years after Morus. He had a liberal and religious education, and in genius was not inferior to his brother; and might have made as great a figure, if he had affected as much politeness, and been as ambitious of preferments. But he was more addicted to study. While he resided at Castres, he, as well as his brother, was a member of the learned academy formed there, of an equal number of catholics and reformed, ecclesiastics, and others, in which any question might be discussed, exclusive of politics and theology. There was a particular regulation settled, very honourable to the elder brother, that he should always speak last on every subject, because he scarce left any thing to be produced by those who followed him. He gave up some posts obtained through the interest of his family, and afterwards was made a counsellor of state, for which he took the oath, June 1660. After this, he spent the remainder of his life at Paris, immersed in studies, and seeing only a few of the learned §.

The following Advertisement was prefixed to the Letter when published:—

§ Moreri *Le Grande Diction*. Edit. Amst. 1740.

‘Mr Morus held a rank so considerable among the finest geniuses, and the most learned men of the age, as well as among those of his own profession, that all who have any name in the empire of Belles Lettres, will be very desirous to know what was the end of that illustrious man. We are under an obligation to one of his best friends, a person of quality, for having written his *Derniers Discours*, as he had heard them at times from his mouth. Those who knew Mr Morus, will discern through the whole of them, his genius, and they will not suspect the fidelity of his friend. If any should doubt of it, there are abundance of witnesses of what passed on that occasion, to ascertain the truth of the account. The piece (*‘la piété in the original, I suppose, by mistake,‘*) was communicated only to a few persons. Having fallen into my hands, I reckoned it would be doing a service to the public to impart it.’

SECTION TENTH.

Concluding remarks on the character of Mr Morus—A catalogue of his writings—The different estimate of his pulpit discourses, and posthumous Sermons.

IN relation to the moral and religious character of Mr Morus, which is of principal consideration in every man, especially every public man, enough has been advanced to enable the reader to form his own judgment. Without recurring to the particular evidence, on the principles both of charity and equity, he may be held acquitted of the criminal charges alleged against him. If ‘against a presbyter in the church, an accusation ought not to be received, except at the mouth of two or three witnesses,’ and if no such charges were thus established against him, to the satisfaction of proper and authorized judges, they are not intitled to regard from the public or posterity. In-

stances of flagrant scandals in the church, and of flagitious conduct in persons in sacred office, that are undoubtedly, are sufficiently numerous, though others, founded merely on suspicion or unsupported accusation, should not be super-added. Repeated sentences of acquittal in form, after deliberate trial, corroborated too by such solemn protestations of innocence at the point of death, ought to over-balance public clamour, and the virulence of accusation, whatever unfavourable impressions they may have made for a time. And it must, upon the whole, turn out not a little to the honour of a character so aspersed, that after various attacks, and repeated narrow scrutinies into a man's whole life and conduct, nothing more at last should have been found chargeable upon him, than certain imprudencies, some common infirmities, intemperance of spirit or language, and under circumstances of peculiar temptation.

From the general tenor of his life, the spirit that breathes in his writings, and which he so strikingly displayed in his end, as well as from testimony, he appears to have been a man of probity, and of sincere and fervent piety. A passage in another letter of Chevreau to Faber, in which he indulges himself in some splenetic and severe strictures upon his temper and conduct, with an insinuation as to his religion, that has also been inserted by Bayle, is not of sufficient weight to the contrary. After proposing a correction on a passage in Ovid, in which the minister agreed with him, he says, 'Morus has a great deal of learning and genius, but little religion or judgment. He is unpolished [malpropre], ambitious, restless, fickle, bold, presumptuous and irresolute. He understands latin, greek, hebrew, and Arabic, but knows not

human life †.' The letter is without a date; but it was probably written when the clamours were loud and industriously spread against him, to which Chevreau was disposed to listen, before the prosecution, which for a time, obscured his reputation, was terminated. But the writer can hardly be admitted as an unexceptionable witness on the head of religion, while with all his learning, and professions of friendship to a hugenot, he had not divested himself wholly of the prejudices and spirit of the Roman catholic on that subject. Though he and his friend might agree in a criticism upon a classic, they would widely differ as to the proper definition of religion. To please the king, he could upon occasion, assume the office of Converter, and boast, as Paul Pellisson did, of his activity and success in the art of proselytism. While he was a visitant, or rather a secret agent, at the court of the Elector Palatine, where no priest or monk was allowed to enter, he had the chief hand in seducing the electoral princess, in order to prepare the way for her marriage with Monsieur. Though no strangers were admitted to see the princesses in their apartments, he, like one of those 'who creep into houses, and lead captive silly women,' found means to see her, and for the space of three weeks, employed four hours a day in that good work, without the least suspicion, until he obtained her abjuration in form, and sent it to France: so that F. Jourdan the Jesuit, when appointed to that service, found the business done to his hand §: though a heretic would be ready to allege,

† Oeuvres Mel: p. 409.

§ Chevreana, tom. 1. p. 186.

that both of them were relieved from the greater part of their trouble, by the irresistible argument of a royal match.

It belongs not to our design to enter into an examination of the literary or theological works of our author, published in his life time. A catalogue, or very short notices of them, shall only be given.

In his answer to Milton, he mentions Annotations he had written on some profane authors. We have heard above of an edition of Libanius with Notes, the joint labour of him and his learned friend Gothofredus, the noted writer in Jurisprudence, and commentator on the Theodosian Code. He speaks too of some things he had formerly written in his native language, without specifying the subjects, and which are not mentioned by his biographers.

His three latin Orations were printed at different times :

1. Calvinus, Oratio Genevæ habita, &c. Accessit Calvinus ad Lutherum, epistola nondum edita; cum alijs nonnullis. Juxta exemplar Genevense, apud Phil. Gammontum. An. 1643.

The additions, at the end, are testimonies extracted from different authors, Davila, Bodin, Melancthon, &c.

2. Oratio de pace, 4to. Mediob, 1652. In which, Senebier, after Bayle, says, he covertly attacked Spanheim, and Amyrault.

3. De duobus Genevæ miraculis, sole et scuto. 4to. 1652. See Select Sermons, p. 104. in the note.

The following Theological works were also printed at Middleburgh :

De gratia et libero arbitrio. 4to. 1652.

De Scriptura Sacra, sive de causa Dei Exercitationes. 1653.

Victoria gratiæ ; sive, De gratia et libero arbitrio, Disputationes Genevenses adversus Petavium. Editio altera priori multo auctior. 4to. 1652.—This is inserted in Senebier's catalogue as a different article from the former *De gratia* ; but they are only different editions, with variations.

Fides Publica contra calumnias Joan. Miltoni. Hagæ. 12mo. 1654. Supplem. 1655.

Commentarius liber ad quintum, quod dicitur. evangelium, Efaïæ chap. LIII.

Notæ ad loca quædam N. Fœderis. Fol. Londini. 1661.—These were afterwards printed with the *Myrothecium evangelicum* of Cameron ; at Salmur, 1677.

His poetical works were the following :

Epinicia de insigni Venetorum victoria anno 1665 de Turcis reportata. 4to. Paris. 1663.

Soteria Laus Christi Nascentis, ex voto. 4to. Paris. 1663. This was composed as a thanksgiving poem upon his recovery from sickness.

Alexandri Mori poemata ; 3vo. Paris. 1669.

Besides these, some others are mentioned by himself, in his *Fides*, as either finished, or in preparation for the press. ' *Liber de primatu Pauli ;—Historia Christiana ;—De pijs fraudibus dissertatio ;—Explicatio locorum quæ maxime favere videntur Ecclesiæ Romanæ ; Rei confitentis, sive Romani Protestantis ;—Axiomata quibus ex veteri N. fœdus illustratur ; Theoremata practica ;—Onomasticon sacrum ;—et Orationes argumenti sacri cum poematijs.*' How many of these were afterwards published, we are not particularly informed.

Senebier says, he had composed a History of Geneva, so early as the year 1641 ; but the council thought proper to suppress the manuscript in 1648 §.

§ *Hist. Liter.* tom. 1. p. 73. This was probably written jointly with his friend Gothofridus, as a MS. with that title, was found among his papers after his death, which was made use of by J. Spon, in his history of Geneva.

An edition of Scaliger's work on the Chronicle of Eusebius, was published in 1658, to which Morus prefixed a preface, from which it appears that he had also employed himself for a time, as several others in that age had done, in making animadversions upon the Annals of Baronius. After observing it was no difficult matter to find faults in books, even of the greatest men, and that some thought it sufficient to acquire fame to themselves to censure, or mark a blunder in such a writer as Scaliger, he takes notice of the innumerable errors that were to be found in Baronius: 'Baronij Annales is quem dixi Blondellus, mille castigavit notis, aliquando prodituris,' &c. Blondel, whom I have mentioned, made a thousand corrections on the Annals of B., which may sometime be published: he wrote them on the margin of his copy, which the magistrates of Amsterdam have bought and placed in the public library. But besides these corrections, and some made by other authors, those which I have also made, would almost fill a volume.—'Quæ sub notavimus etiam nos justum fere volumen implerent.' Perhaps this might be the same work he had mentioned, under the title of *Historia sacra*.

His critical notes on the scriptures, were in considerable repute among the learned. The Lutheran divine, Budæus, commends them for having some things original and uncommon in them, and that deserve attention. His Axioms of Theology have been much esteemed. In his tracts upon the polemical subjects in theology, he is acute, and forcible, though they are written too much in the dry scholastic manner. Great skill in languages, and acquaintance with the ancient and general literature, seems on all sides to have been allowed him. His latin

style will be found not so fluent as that of Calvin, Turretine the younger, and some others. It is interlarded too much with Greek phrases, and broken too often by references or quotations from ancient authors. His narrative in 'Fides publica,' is so concise and abrupt, as to be frequently obscure; while his wit is keen and cutting. We have seen what account Milton made of his composition and oratory; but all had not the same contemptible opinion of them. Bayle styles the three orations he delivered at Geneva, 'beautiful,' though he says, 'the latinity of them is more learned than elegant: he delighted in uncommon phrases, and meanings of words, of which we find few examples. The poems that he wrote on the birth of our Saviour, and by way of thanksgiving, after a violent fit of sickness, are in considerable esteem. Mr Perachon, who was then a protestant, translated them into French verse, and published them. I do not remember to have seen any other verses of Mr Morus in French, than the reply which he wrote on the same rhymes to a sonnet which Corras addressed to him, after his abjuration.—I must not pass in silence,' says the same author, 'that the illustrious Mr Huet bestows very great encomiums upon Mr Morus in some latin poems, which he addressed to him. See the poems of this learned prelate, the Utrecht edition (which is the 4th) in 1700, p. 30, and 77.'

There is a fine Eucharistical poem at the close of the oration in defence of Calvin, which as a specimen of the author's composition, in this kind, will be found in the Appendix.

A small piece in French was published after his death, along with 'Les Dernieres heures d'Alex. Morus,' with

the title of 'La disposition et priere pour obtenir de Dieu la vrai foi.' The former was first printed at Geneva, in 8vo, 1670: and afterwards annexed to a volume of Fragments of Sermons.

But as his pulpit-discourses, for which he was so much admired, have chiefly occasioned our attention to his life and character, of those that were published, a more particular account may be given. No collection of his sermons appeared in his life time. He always resisted the importunity of those who desired them: and even when dying, requested his friends not to print any of his productions. Those whom he named as executors of his testament, among whom was *Monf. Bernard de Bouilly*, advocate, in the parliament of Paris, to whom his manuscripts were entrusted, exactly complied with his intentions, during their lives. The depository of the manuscripts, which he considered as a precious treasure, apprehending that they might not be safe in France, amidst the dangers that afterwards arose, sent them out of the kingdom to one of his friends who had become a refugee for religion. But many having complained of the detention, that friend, and any into whose hands any of his manuscript sermons had come, thought themselves at liberty, after the death of the executors, to consent to their publication. Some volumes of them appeared at different times.

A Sermon which *Mr Morus* preached at *Charenton*, on the 24th of June, 1660, soon after his admission into that church, was printed or re-printed some time after, with a dedication prefixed to *Madam Jaqueline de Caumont*, Countess of *Vivans*, &c. §, with the author's name,

§ This lady was daughter to *H. Nompar de Caumont*, se-

dated by him at Paris, the 20th day of September, 1665, in which he says, † that zeal and piety, which she had always manifested in their religious assemblies, and which edified the Hotel de la Force, joined to the extreme regard which he had for her, obliged him, contrary to his inclination, to publish that single sermon—(de mettre au jour ce seul sermon.) If the above dates be right, that in the catalogue of Senebier must be wrong: he says the sermon *La Naissance*, &c. was published at Geneva, in 8vo. an. 1659. It is the only one I have seen, or was ever published by himself. It appeared afterwards at Montauban, bearing date in 1677: to which edition there is an advertisement prefixed, which shews what a general desire prevailed to see a number of his Sermons, though posthumous, printed. ‘During the life of Mr Morus, there was scarce a person in France but had a desire to see him in the pulpit, and those who could not have that satisfaction, earnestly demanded to see some of his sermons in print. He never would consent to satisfy the public in this, for reasons, no doubt, known to himself. It was hoped that, after his death, those who were in possession of his papers, would let them go abroad: but

cond son to the duke de la Force, who bore the name of the Marquis de Castlenau, till after the death of his elder brother, in 1675, when he succeeded to the titles. The religious lady Charlotte, spouse of the marshal Turenne, and who had great influence in keeping him firm to the protestant religion, while she lived, was daughter of the elder brother. Jaque'line, was married to Henry de Vivans, count de Pangeac, and died in 1702, at the age of 91. One of her brothers, Armand de C. marq. de Montpouillan, was gentleman of the bed-chamber to the king of England, and lieutenant-general of the armies of the United Provinces: and had a daughter married in England.

they have been pleased hitherto to conceal this treasure; ‘*et mettre ces grandes lumieres sous le boisseau*.’ the public feels extremely disobliged at this procedure, and with great reason. In this passionate and universal desire to see the sermons of that great man, this, which has fallen into our hands, we were persuaded would be received by the reader, with no small pleasure.’ After declaring it to be a genuine production of the author, a few passages excepted, it is added, ‘I know well that this is but a drop which cannot quench the great thirst.’ ‘*Mais les plus alterez ne font pas marris qu’on leur presente une goutte d’eau pour rafraichir le bout de leur langue.*’ ‘Perhaps this will serve to excite others, who have similar writings of the same author, to send them to the press. We intreat them to do it with all our heart; and we do it in the name of an infinite number of persons, who will be extremely glad to be able, at their leisure, to read what Geneva, what Charenton, what the king of England and his court, heard with admiration: And that they would not plead in excuse, that it is difficult to decypher the characters used by Mr Morus, or that those who wrote his sermons when he delivered them, could not avoid leaving great chasms or void spaces in them. No matter;—let them give were it only such fragments; we will esteem them more than whole books which do not come from a genius so elevated, and we will make more account of his lines, than of pages of another.’

The first collection was printed at the Hague, or Geneva, in 1685, under the title of *Fragments of Sermons*, with the letter annexed. The first edition of the letter must have been published soon after his death, as Se-

nebier makes the date of it, 1670. These fragments were reprinted in the latter city, with the title ‘*Sermons et Fragmens,*’ &c. in 1676; pour Sam. de Tournes. The editor informs us in his preface,

‘That the fragments that had been formerly published, having been well received, he thought he would be performing an agreeable service to give them to the public a-new. In that second edition, he had included all that were contained in the former volume, with the addition of some entire sermons, and several other fragments. Altho’ that great preacher had not committed them to the press himself, yet the true genius of the author could not but be discerned in them: these last were extracted from the originals, which he had lent to some of his friends. So many rich and beautiful thoughts, and so many traits of a sublime eloquence, are to be found in them, that it is not possible to doubt of it: and the interesting subjects of which he treats, are explained with such erudition, and in a manner so replenished with all the beauties of discourse [*d’une maniere si pleine de toutes les graces du discours,*] that they cannot be read without much pleasure and profit. He doubted not but the work would meet with so much the more applause as it had for a long time been so earnestly desired by very many [*une infinite de gens*] from the knowledge which they had of the great merit and reputation of the author: and that when they now saw what they scarcely expected, they would think themselves obliged to him who had made the research, in order to procure them that satisfaction.’

This volume contains Sermons on the following subjects:—

I. On *Isaiah*, chap. xl. ver. 6, 7, 8. ‘The voice said, Cry,’ &c.

This Sermon was preached at the Hague, upon the death of the father of the Prince of Orange, which took place on the 6th of Nov. 1650.

II. On *Rom.* viii. ver. 27. ‘We know,’ &c.

At London, before his Britannic Majesty, Jan. 30th, 1662; on the fast for the execution of Charles I.

III. On Heb. xiii. 20, 21. ' Now the God of peace,[†]
 &c.

This discourse is without a date; but it appears evidently from the strain of it, and from different passages in it, to have been delivered before some of the synods in France, wherein the differences were composed that had arisen in the church of Paris, in which he himself had been so deeply interested. It might have been at the close either of the national synod of Loudun, or the provincial synod of Berry, before which he probably had been appointed to preach before rising. In the beginning, he expresses what ground they had in that assembly to turn their wishes and prayers for peace, into joyful thanksgivings, for the termination of disputes, and mournful strivings; which ' God had brought about by his grace, and the interposition of his servants: ' and he addressed the ministers, in language of gratulation and benediction, as ' angels of peace,' reckoning himself happy ' in publishing the peace of God, and in bearing the olive branch into the ark, after such a deluge of woes; when one deep had been calling unto another §.'

He afterwards introduces an extravagant eulogy on the young monarch.—' the mirror of kings,—the victorious and pacific,—the delight of heaven, the admiration of Europe, &c.—of whose goodness they participated, and of which they had experienced the extraordinary effects in that assembly; which may be applicable to any of the forenamed synods, having been obtained upon the earnest application of their churches. In the end, he prays

§ ' O que leur pies sont beaux sur cette montagne, leurs mains ne le sont pas moins sur cette table; hereux les pies qui nous apportent cette paix de Dieu; hereuses les mains qui ont fait la paix entre nous; hereuse et trop encore la bouche qui a l'honneur de publier aujourd'hui l'un et l'autre, et de porter la branche d'olive dans l'arche apres un deluge de maux et de malheurs dont la memoire puisse etre a jamais eteinte. Un abime apelloit l'autre abime, au son de ses canaux: mais une grace appellera tantot l'autre grace de Dieu ||,' &c.

for all blessings, particularly the Spirit of peace, to descend and abide upon his brethren, and those who had come from neighbouring* places : exhorting them to be at peace among themselves, and so far as possible to follow peace with all. ‘ What a precious treasure, in the course of life,’ he says, ‘ this peace is, those only know or can duely value, who for a time have lost it.’ Addressing his brethren, he pronounces an affectionate farewell; ‘ Go, go in peace, every one to the tribe assigned him.—According to all human appearance, at least as to many of us, we may say, that we shall see your face no more, until we all meet in the unity of faith, in the great assembly of the first-born, whose names are written in heaven, gathered out of every nation, tribe, and language, where the Great Shepherd shall preside, and the Lamb shall be on the throne : there shall be no more process or debates ; there we shall see an eternal peace flourish ; there we shall indeed be perfect, and God shall be all in all.’ ‘ A Dieu donc, M. F., a Dieu, Je vous recommande a Dieu, et a parole de sa grace. Allez en paix chacun.’ ‘ Go every one in peace.’

He added, ‘ Let all pray for all, that each may have the end of his life like that of Moses :—that God may be to all of us the God of peace, and we may be able to say at the hour of death, as Simeon, ‘ Let,’ &c. O what secure defence against the fear of death ! This God of peace, and this great Shepherd raised to heaven by his resurrection, and that blood which cries incessantly better things than that of Abel, and which fills with shouts of victory, joy, and blessing, all that eternal sanctuary. May he, in that last and interesting moment grant the sprinkling of it on our hearts and consciences, and we shall without fear see the destroying angel pass.—That, in fine, each of us looking behind him upon the earth, may be able to say, ‘ I have fought,’ &c. ; and then looking before him into heaven, may add, ‘ Henceforth, there remaineth for me a crown,’ &c. ‘ Je la voi, je la tien, j’y ai deja la main dessus, et nul ne me la ravira ; fidele en peu de chose, mais fidele jusques a la mort, je m’en vai ouir cette douce voix, Je t’établirai sur beaucoup, entre en la joy de ton Seigneur.’ I see it ; I

take hold of it; I have my hand already upon it; and nothing shall pluck it from me.—To finish this discourse then as I hope another day to finish my life, let us say, and learn to repeat, this good prayer both in life and in death, ‘The God of peace,’ &c

Thus the minister anticipated joyfully the end he was blessed with, not many years after.

Serm. IV. on the Gospel of John, chap. i. ver. 14. ‘The word was made flesh,’ &c.

V, VI, VII, VIII. on Gal. chap. iv. ver. 4, 5, 6. ‘When the fulness of time was come,’ &c.

IX, X, XI. on Isaiah lxiii. verse 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. ‘Who is this that cometh from Edom with died garments?’ &c.

XII, on Hebrews xiii. verse 10. But we have an altar,’ &c.

XIII, on Philippians i. verse 21. ‘For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain.’

XIV, on Romans viii. verse 2. ‘For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus,’ &c.

XV, ————— verse 20, 21. ‘For the creature was made subject to vanity,’ &c.

XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX, on Revelation ii. verse 17. ‘To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna,’ &c.

The next volume was printed at Amsterdam, in 1691. It contained, XVIII Sermons on Romans chapter VIII.

The next collection, intituled, ‘Sermons Choisis,—sur divers textes,’ was published at Geneva, in 1694.

The publishers say, ‘they thought it unnecessary to prevent the public in favour of these sermons, or to speak of their illustrious author: whoever read them, would readily acknowledge them to be Mr Morus’s. There were few persons to whom God had given more excellent gifts, than to him, especially for the pulpit. He had preached in all the most famous auditories of protestant Europe, and even before crowned heads; and had always been heard with admiration, and universal applause: yet he was always averse to impart any of his sermons to the public, and even at his death, intimated his will that it should not be done.’ After giving an account of the disposal of his manuscripts, as mentioned above, he says, that the friend of Mr Bouilly, who had become a re-

fugæ for religion, to whom the manuscripts had been sent, reckoned himself to be now at liberty to publish them; and was very willing, from zeal for the glory of God, and the edification and consolation of souls, to take care that it should be done. They are all from the originals, as the author had written them with his own hand. They were not all indeed in the most finished or perfect state; but the public might be assured, that nothing in them was changed, but they were given such as they were found in the bureau of the illustrious deceased. They intimated that, ‘as many remained as might make several volumes, and if that was received as it deserved, as it contained the most beautiful sermons of Mr Morus, that had been printed, the subsequent volumes would not be long delayed.’

Sermon I, on Luke chapter ii. verse 8 to the 14. ‘And there were in the same country the shepherds abiding in the field,’ &c.

II, on Mathew chapter xxiv. verse 28. ‘For wheresoever the carcase is,’ &c.

III, Ephesians ii. verse 4, 5, 6. ‘But God, who is rich in mercy,’ &c.

IV, on 2 Kings chapter ii. verse 9. ‘And Elijah said unto Elisha, Ask what I shall do for thee,’ &c.

V, on James ii. verse 12. ‘So speak and so do,’ &c.

VI, on 1 Peter chapter iii. verse 8. ‘Be of one mind,’ &c.

VII, on Psalm i. verse 6. ‘The Lord knoweth the way of the just,’ &c.

VIII, on Psalm xiv. verse 1. ‘The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God.’

IX, on Psalm xxi. verse 2, 3, 4, 5. ‘The king shall rejoice in thy strength,’ &c.

It was preached at Paris, upon an occasion of public rejoicing; on which, however, he said, they were not to expect to hear a panegyric upon a new Trajan, in artificial strains of eloquence, which would be to sing *Te Regem*, instead of *Te Deum*. This did not suit them who led their flocks in green pastures by the still waters, and resounded upon their oaten pipes in their

desert the psalms of David, and the sweet songs of Israel. Here are no thunders of the artillery, nor the founds of trumpets, nor the sweet accents of the concerts of music, which yesterday celebrated the royal triumph of this great city: though it must be owned that there is nothing parallel on earth, in Europe or Asia, to the magnificence and glory of our Lillies;— Yet all these things, and the world pass away.’—‘ How often has the song of triumph in the evening, been succeeded by the song of mourning in the morning: In the midst of caroufals, and tournaments, some fatal stroke has sometimes suddenly changed the public joy into public grief. Such is the wheel and vicissitude of human things, from which kings themselves are not exempted.’

After an animated description of the cares and burdens attendant upon a crown, which might make even the best and wisest, as David, Solomon, Augustus, to sigh to be relieved from it; such as if men knew them, no person would chuse to take up one were it lying in his way; and a sketch of the sad and miserable life of a tyrant, ‘ who never rejoices †,’—he yet lavishes too much incense on the young king, whom he compares to his grandfather; whose steps he was gloriously following, even as he pretended to have taken him for his model. But he ventures to remind him in the end, ‘ that after all his career of glory, and victory,—after so many cities taken, provinces conquered, &c.—if he would entirely resemble Henry the great, he must regard his protestant subjects, with the same favourable eye as he did, shut his

† *Jamais un mauvais roy n'eut aucun sentiment de vraye joye, il n'y a point de tyran joyeux: ils tremblent au milieu de leurs gardes comme la feuille; leur songes les epouvantent; ils craignent leur ombre: une feuille d'arbre les fait trembler, mais le juste est assure comme un lion. Au milieu de leurs plus superbes festins, ils voyent toujours ou comme Damocles une epee nue pendue a un crin de cheval que menace leur tete, ou comme Beltsafar, une main volante qui ecrit contre la paroi leur condemnation. Ils ne rient jamais que d'un rire Sardinien, et du bout des levres ils folatrent, ils ne sont pas joyeux: il faut etre sage, et sobre, et severe pour se rejouir, et pour se rejouir en la force de Dieu.* page 364—5.

ear to their enemies as he did, and let their flocks feed and repose safely under the shadow of his edicts and laurels, as he had done.'—But for refusing to hearken to this salutary admonition, and for other accumulated iniquities, the glorious lillies have faded, and the crown has fallen from the head of his unhappy race.

In this discourse, the preacher has failed to touch the sublime mystical sense of this prophetic psalm. The application of it to the victory and honour of Christ, is fully as obvious and proper as to admit a supernatural and mystical sense, as well as a literal, of the words of the text of the second sermon, 'where the carcase is,' &c. as he does; applying it to Christ crucified, and believers feeding upon him.

X, on Psalm li. verse 3. to the end.

This is a brief descant or lecture upon that penitential psalm.

XI, on 1 Peter chapter ii. verse 9. 'That ye should shew forth the praises of him,' &c.

XII, on Psalm lxviii. verse 18. 'Thou hast ascended on high,' &c.

XIII, on Hebrews chapter xi. verse 20. 'For he looked for a city,' &c.

XIV, on Hebrews chapter xi. verse 40. 'That they without us should not be made perfect.'

XV, XVI, on 2 Corinthians chapter iv. verse 7. 'But we have his treasure in earthen vessels,' &c.

Two other volumes followed this, in 8vo, printed at Geneva, in 1695, from the same manuscripts committed to the friend of the trustee. The greater part of them consist of discourses upon different sections of the catechism of the reformed church of France, which had been delivered by him at Charenton, in his course, according to the custom of that and other foreign churches. Discourses of this kind occasionally delivered may be very instructive to old and young: even an appointment of a stated course of them may be particularly needful where

examination of families apart, or by convening a number of them together without distinction of age, makes not a part of the regular exercise of the ministry, as has been the laudable practice of the church of Scotland, which appears not to have been the case in that of Paris. But to restrict ministers by canon always to observe this form of instruction in routine, to occupy one half of the time of public worship on the Lord's day, as well as on another day for stated weekly sermons, as was done there †, may not conduce so much to edification. A rigid adherence to forms prescribed by human authority, and compositions drawn up in the words of men, in the public worship of God, whether comprising doctrines to be taught, or prayers to be used, has been found to produce at least the hurtful consequences of listlessness and gradual neglect, and of rendering the services less impressive. Of these the author, notwithstanding the attraction of his manner, saw cause grievously to complain.

Amongst the sermons of different divines in that language, some have been inserted on some particular sections of the catechism, as those of Du Moulin, Faucheur, Allix: but I know of no series of these that had previously been published, much less any course, upon all the several heads, except the homilies of J. de la Croix, pastor at Delft, intitled, 'Le Tresor des ames Chretiennes.' It contained 64 homilies on the Heidelberg catechism, approved by the Walloon synod, in 1622, and printed in 1629, with a number of recommendatory verses by Polyander, Rivet, and other divines. Another collec-

† At least one of three, or four of their sermons, was catechetical exposition.

tion of the same kind, on the French catechism, was published soon after that of our author, more complete, in 3 volumes octavo, Geneva, 1701. The greater part of them were composed by Mr Daillie, and kept in the hand of his son, who had begun to prepare them for the press, when his bad health and subsequent death prevented their publication for a time. As several of his sermons on some sections were amissing, the deficiency was supplied from the manuscripts of his eminent colleague, J. Mestrezat, in the possession of Mr Mestrezat, counsellor of Geneva, son of Philip Mestrezat, professor in the academy there.

The preface to this collection of Morus, bears 'that as their catechism contained the principal articles of faith in the reformed church, and the controversies which occasioned the separation from that of Rome, the public had long wished to see these subjects judiciously treated and explained by the hand of some able divine: and made some eagerly to search for works of that character: and that at last this desire was about to be gratified through the pious and charitable pains of that friend of Mr Bouilly. 'Of all that Morus had written,' it is said, 'nothing had been left so entire as these sermons upon the catechism, although they were only upon some of the principal sections. The admirable talent he had of rendering engaging, matters the least susceptible of ornament, enabled him to find the way, on such subjects, of fixing the attention of persons the least disposed to it. The clearness and force of his thoughts, were supported by expressions so lively and touching, that he easily triumphed over the most obstinate. In short, the method he constantly followed, of mixing the agreeable with the useful, was a secret which made Mr Morus, a preacher of the most distinguished order, and altogether inimitable. As he had a familiar acquaintance with the fathers and church history, he employed these to advantage by bringing proofs from venerable antiquity, to establish the doctrines opposed by those of the Romish church: yet it

was only from a spirit of condescension to those gentlemen, and from a superabundance of right, so to speak, that he sometimes made use of human arms in the defence of a cause altogether divine.'

As these sermons were not sufficient to complete the two volumes, ten others were added to the second volume, on different texts. The applause with which the sermons formerly published had been received, was thought sufficient warrant for expecting a favourable acceptance of that work.

The catechetical discourses are XXVIII in number, on XXX sections, not all of them following each other in order.

The subjects of these sections are—The chief end of man;—the creation and providence—the conception, sufferings, death, sepulture, resurrection, and ascension of Christ:—the catholic church;—communion of saints;—good works;—repentance; the moral law;—the sanction to the second commandment: on the third commandment, two sermons; the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th commandments: the use and perfection of the law;—the invocation of God alone;—on prayer,—the preface to the Lord's prayer;—the word;—sacraments—self-examination—ministerial office;—and church discipline.

The sermons subjoined are on the following texts :

I, Acts vii. verse 56. 'Lo, I see the heavens opened, &c.

II, Acts viii. verse 26 to the 36. 'And the angel of the Lord spake unto Philip,' &c.

III, 2 Corinthians xii. verse 2, 3, 4. 'I knew a man in Christ about fourteen years ago,' &c.

IV, Psalms lxxiii. verse 23, 24, 25. 'I am continually with thee,' &c.

V, VI, Luke ix. verse 28 to 35. 'He took Peter, James, and John, and went up into a mountain,' &c.

VII, Mathew xvii. verse 6, 7, 8, 9. 'And when the disciples heard it, they fell upon their face,' &c.

VIII, IX, 2 Corinthians xii. verse 7, 8. 'And lest I should be exalted above measure,' &c.

X, Psalm cxxvi. verse 1, 2, 3, 4. 'When the Lord brought again the captivity,' &c.

Of these, or of others preceding, our room admits not of any analysis. The Select Sermons, with the Extracts, that are translated, with a few more Extracts in the original language, that may be found in the Appendix, will serve to give some competent specimen and idea of the author's general strain of doctrine, and of his manner and style.

Of all the means which ever have been employed for the instruction and benefit of mankind, that of preaching may doubtless be considered as the chief. The propagation of Christianity in the beginning, and the conversion of nations from the idolatrous and immoral system of paganism, were, by the attendant influence of the Spirit, principally owing to this. What diffusion or preservation of divine knowledge, what power or practice of true religion, have continued in posterior ages, may also be ascribed to the same mean. By this was the protestant reformation at first promoted, and energetically supported, through the various kingdoms of Europe, where it happily gained admission or settlement. The press did much, the schools and colleges contributed their aid, but the pulpit did still more; as it exhibits and adapts its lessons familiarly to all classes of men; to the numerous vulgar and illiterate, as well as to the learned. However useful the learned may be by compiling systems, or writing critical or polemical treatises in an ancient language, which may be of great utility for elucidating the scriptures, defending the truth, in furnishing the minds, and directing the views of those who are to be teachers of others; whatever fame may be acquired by academical orations, disputations, or discourses to clergy, yet this certainly is the 'more excellent way,' whereby

to profit and excel. The direct effect of the former is more limited, and the immediate benefit comparatively confined, like waters shut up in a fountain head or cistern, or percolating thro' the veins or hidden channels of the earth. It is when Christian knowledge breaks forth, and is diffused abroad among the populace at large, *viva voce*, in language intelligible to all, that they enrich the moral soil. It is when the healing waters of the sanctuary flow in copious and incessant streams, and in every direction, from the pulpits especially, that their salutary and fertilizing effects are felt, and 'every thing lives whithersoever they go.' On the regular supply and purity of these waters, in these channels, do the welfare of churches, and the spiritual health of their members, eminently depend.

The genuine gospel is in itself invariable, but the mode of preaching it has varied exceedingly in different periods and places, even as the manner and gifts of individuals employed in it, are always very diversified. But it ought never to be forgotten, that it produces its salutary effects, not as administered by men, but as a divine ordinance, under divine agency. While the proper matter of it is retained, and the regular commission and essential requisites for preaching it, are presupposed, 'neither is he who planteth any thing, nor he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase.'

Yet since the era of the reformation, it may be allowed, that what is called the art of preaching, has been carried to a greater degree of perfection than in any former age posterior to the apostolic: and not only in different nations, but in the same nation successively, it has undergone various modifications, sometimes to the better, at other times doubtless to the worse. Many in

this line have appeared in the foreign churches, as well as Britain, shining each in his degree of light, and in the use of his own proper talent; and while uniformity in the great doctrines of the gospel has appeared, and the great design of preaching been attended to and promoted, the particular mode of treating subjects, and the taste and forms of composition, ever changing, should be considered as matters of inferior moment. In these respects an invariable model is not to be prescribed; nor are all to be judged by the same standard. What has at one time been admired, has again become obsolete and antiquated; what has charmed in one place, and one class of auditors, has been disrelished and disgusting to others. The quaint and affected have often passed for fine and beautiful; the brilliant for elegant, the superficial for solid; the obscure for learned and sublime. As the populace are usually little qualified to judge of the chief excellencies of discourses, though prone enough to it, so the learned and polite have their biases and prejudices; and professed critics are not always exempted from false taste, or false rules of judging, and often will rashly pronounce upon mere common fame. The estimate of none of them can be admitted as a decisive test of merit, especially when they widely disagree in their estimate of the same persons and objects.

The principal and more permanent excellencies of sermons, soundness, scriptural simplicity, plain but expressive language, just perspicuous arrangement, serious and earnest address, are too ready to be overlooked by all, particularly the multitude, 'for all public assemblies,' says Chesterfield; 'are *sub*,' (though there have been many honourable exceptions) while the glare of words,

points of wit, the play of fancy, the gaudy or swelling metaphor, the modulation of voice, the violence of sound, and the affected gesture, are often more regarded.

That Morus enjoyed an uncommon degree of popularity, among very different classes of hearers, is sufficiently apparent: we have heard his praises resounded from various quarters, and by some who were not to be ranked among the mobility; so there is no need to add a syllable more on that subject. But to what causes he owed chiefly his applause, and whether he had a just title to the full measure of it bestowed upon him, has been questioned: and those who form their estimate only from his published sermons, will probably be inclined to the opinion of the party who judged less favourably of his merits, and allowed him a much more moderate praise. Let us hear how Bayle has expressed himself on this topic, and the divine to whom he appeals as his voucher, who was of the same church with Morus, but far from being a flatterer of him: and their verdict has usually been adopted by succeeding biographers. ‘The beauty of his sermons,’ says the critic, ‘consisted in certain fallies of imagination, containing ingenious allusions, and I know not what air of paradox very well calculated to surprize the hearer, and to fix him in perpetual attention; but the manner of delivering his sermons was the principal charm. Hence it is that they lose a great deal in the reading, and that most of those who proposed him for their pattern have made a ridiculous figure. The ambition of imitating him, which began to spoil a great deal of the young preachers, obliged the synod of the Isle of France, in the year 1675, to make an act, which was read in the pulpit of Charenton, and elsewhere, by which

preachers were commanded to avoid flights of imagination, &c. in expounding the word of God. The reader will be pleased to see here the judgment of an historian who is beyond comparison a better judge of those matters than I.

‘ Alexander Morus,’ says he, ‘ was a man much celebrated for the particular gifts which made him excel in preaching. He was extraordinarily followed by the people ; and they who were least qualified to discern what deserves admiration, were nevertheless his most passionate admirers. It was matter of dispute among people of good taste, whether what was reckoned most beautiful in him, was sterling or tinsel (solide ou apparent) or whether it ought to be called a flash of lightning, or light ? But even they who pronounced against him could not help hearing him with pleasure, and feeling the same emotions which he raised in others. Some were of opinion that he had much less erudition than was commonly imagined : but it was never disputed that he had the art of displaying to the best advantage that which he was master of, and to give a great lustre, to whatever he exposed to the judgment of the public. However that be, no man ever received more flattering applauses than he ; and what was said of another could never be better applied to any one than to him, that if he did not deserve the advantageous judgments that were given of him, he at least deprived his hearers of the liberty of making disadvantageous ones. Among his fine qualities, he had some which did him no honour ; he was imprudent, imperious, satirical ; and scarce allowed any thing to be good but his own works, and the praises of his admirers †.’

Senebier also inclines to the unfavourable side, when he says, though not very consistently, ‘ that his learning was vast, but superficial ; and he thought every thing was accomplished when he had displayed address, or a tiffue of founding phrases ‡.’ And copying after the darker

† Benoit, Hist. tom. 3. p. 454,

‡ ‘ Son savoir etoit vaste, mais superficial ; il croyoit avoir

colouring of these critics, and Chevreau, he says, ' That he had genius (l'esprit) with the vices that accompany it, when it is not guided by reason: he was fickle, imprudent, proud: if he excited envy by his talents, he procured hatred by his haughtiness.'

To these may be added, the opinion of Professor Ostervald, expressed in a treatise *De l'exercice du ministere sacre*, in which he gives a short character of the chief writers of sermons in the French language previous to that time, and while he passed encomiums on several of them, yet found fault almost with them all. ' Mr Morus, he says, ' made much noise. He was an excellent man, a good divine, a good humanist, learned in antiquity: but as for his sermons, there is not much to be found in them. He had, as it were, thunder-claps, which strike. He acted the part of the fine wit, and offended by affecting a play of words and points, against which one cannot be too much on his guard †.'

These lectures indeed on the office of the ministry, were only taken down from his mouth by some of his students, and published without his knowledge or revial, and abounded, as he afterwards complained, with such errors and defects, that he could not acknowledge them for his: though in the later edition quoted, he made the publisher correct some of the grosser faults. But the sentiments expressed of the French preachers are very

tout fait quand il avoit montre de l'adresse, ou tissu de phrases sonores.'

‡ ' Mais pour ses sermons, c'est peu de chose. Il avoit comme de coups de foudre, qui frappent, mais quand vous avez lu un de ses sermons n'en remportez que tres-peu de chose. Il fait le bel esprit. Il peche dans l'affectation des jeux de mots et des pointes, dont on ne sauroit trop de garder.' P. 31. 2de edit. Basle. 1739.

much in the spirit and disposition of that author, though perhaps he would not have chosen himself to have hazarded the publication of such free censures as he has passed upon some of them. He blames them generally for being too didactical and controversial, having too little of morality, too little application; some of them, as Drelin-court, for too much consolation: some other sermons, as those of Mestrezat, would make excellent commentaries, &c. This divine put but too little value upon the the peculiar doctrines and mysteries of faith in inculcating moral duties; and if he condemned others for dwelling too much upon common-places of doctrine, he indulged himself, on the other hand, in common-place upon topics of morality and practice. He may be ranked among those who, by influence and example, taught the calvinistical churches abroad to relax in point of orthodoxy; and he in part also helped forward in Britain, by some of his writings circulated under high recommendations, the introduction of what, in its more advanced state, has since been called, rational and moral preaching, in contradistinction to evangelical. As to his spirit and manner (for critics in their turn must submit to be criticised) nothing can be more dissimilar to those of Morus. While he discovers piety and sincerity, and his style may be allowed the praise of being perspicuous and exact, yet his composition is tame and flat;

‘Correctly cold, and regularly low;’

and as he made but little use of figure and metaphor himself, and was deficient in fancy and animation, no wonder though he did not much admire or relish these in another.

It is true, the general form and method of French sermons in those times, were considerably different from what have been generally adopted in Britain, and also abroad at a later period : so that they admitted not of a large discussion of one particular head of divinity, or of a detailed application of one article. Many of them were of the textual or expository kind, including in one discourse the different parts or clauses of a verse, or more frequently of several verses together, explaining each in their order, or natural connection, and so might very properly be called extended commentaries, on the portions, chapters, or books of which they treated ; not much differing from what are termed lectures or expositions, in the church of Scotland, as distinguished from sermons : yet these comprehended both doctrinal illustrations, and practical application, though more brief, intermixed with or deduced from the several topics explained. This mode, though it wanted some advantages, yet had others above the more common method : particularly it restricted preachers and hearers more to the inspired oracles, and to the more familiar use of scriptural language ; so that the instructions might be seen more immediately emanating from the pure sacred source : it served as a check to the vague and capricious wanderings of mens own thoughts, the venting of peculiar doctrines and notions, and giving essays and harrangues upon any topic their taste or fancy might suggest, to which only a text, as has often been the case, may be affixed as a mere motto, with which, however, it may have no proper connection or affinity.

The Charenton divines, however, occasionally varied from their more usual expository method, as others also

¶. Our author has sometimes one or more sermons on a single text, or common head of divinity; and this prevailed more afterwards in Geneva, and among the Walloon and refugee ministers, as appears from the sermons of Turretine, Piçtet, Galatine, Du Bose, Superville, Bafnage, de la Treille, de la Mothe, Jaquelot, &c.

We need not attempt nicely to balance these different accounts of the pulpit-discourses of Morus. We must probably fix on a medium, as in many other cases, in order to come at the just estimate of them: neither going to all the extent of commendation and applause, with his admirers, nor yet admitting all that has been thrown out to detract from his fame. Some of the observations of the above critics are undoubtedly just: and some of the faults animadverted on are very obvious. He abounds in antitheses; is too fond of sharp epigrammatic points of wit, which tend to break the continuity, and hinder the fluency of his sentences. He deals too freely in sudden interrogations, or abrupt exclamations. He shews too much art; is too solicitous to shun the beaten path, and is ever on the stretch for new and striking allusions and resemblances, sometimes far-fetched, which to some, would appear rather fanciful than judicious. This cast of composition must have cost the author much labour, and exact preparation; variety too would be ever requisite, as phraseology and embellishments of this kind could hardly bear repetition, while the sources from whence fancy might draw would be ready to fail: nor would every subject easily admit of them, nor could the mind be always in a condition equally favourable for successfully accomplishing such a task. Some of these con-

sideration might make him averse to revise his discourses for the press. Indeed the only one he transcribed for publication, that on the birth of John Baptist, was rather an unpromising specimen; it is perhaps more liable to the charge of affecting a false brilliancy of language, abounds as much or more with antitheses, and epigrammatic points, than any of the rest that have been printed.

It is very common that the discourses of those accounted orators, lose much in the reading; and we may readily believe it must be so as to his. Such a strain of language could come with ease and energy from no other mouth, nor be congenial to any other spirit, than that of the author: and there must have been something in his manner that was particularly engaging. From a passage in a letter of Chevreau, formerly referred to, it would appear that his voice was sharp and shrill, his tongue very voluble, his eyes quick and lively, his address probably fervent, and his action violent. It is compared to 'that of a man who swims: and if his humour was like his voice,' it is said, 'it must certainly have been very sharp §.'

It is rather a disadvantage to a man to have his fame too loudly extolled: it is usually the prelude to disappointment in proportion as the expectations were too highly raised by exaggerated reports. If his written sermons have been reckoned to fall short of his uncommon reputation, (though we are told that they also were re-

§ 'Votre ministre a preche ici, et a mal preche—Il a une grande volubilité de langue; les yeux vifs; les mains belles: et je doute fort que ce soient les parties essentielles de l'orateur. Son action est celle d'un homme qui nage: et s'il a l'humour comme la voix, on peut s'assurer qu'il l'a fort aigre. La Synode National est sur la fin,' &c. *Oeuvres Melces*, tom. 1. p. 61.

ceived with great applause,) greater allowances are to be made for them, in regard they were posthumous, not prepared by himself for publication, and several of them not complete or filled up. Still greater allowances must be made in reading any of them only in a translation. If it be difficult in all cases, to transfuse the spirit and idiomatic peculiarities and beauties of any original, into a version, it must be much more so as to composition of such a quality as that of this author, in which so much depends upon the artificial turns and points of language, and the sound and position of words. The difficulty of retaining or transferring the force or beauty of these, in any tolerable degree, consistent with the English idiom, the translator of the Select Sermons has often felt.

Yet notwithstanding of these blemishes, and after all these reasonable deductions and abatements, there will be found something valuable still remaining,—some solid and sterling ore under the glittering outside. Such general and continued reputation, indeed, can hardly be accounted for, from mere empty sounds or shew,—the parade of words and address, without a substratum of genuine sense, and a considerable portion of genius and talent accompanying them. Morus may be justly allowed a share of merit, and a claim to excellence, and a kind of eloquence peculiarly his own, though he may not be ranked in the first class of preachers, nor can be proposed as a model for others, at least in our northern and more frigid climate. He was not so cool, so uniformly regular, and connected, as Daille and Mellrezat; but more prompt, rapid, and touching: he was not so close or accurate, as Faucheur, Claude, or Allix, but

had more of unction and ardour. His periods were not so rounded and so full, nor his diction so fluent, so florid and rhetorical as those of Du Bosc, whom Lewis XIV., who often listened to him, styled, ‘ the best speaker in his kingdom ;’ he was more terse, concise, and abrupt. He was not so smooth, so methodical, or so copious in illustration, as Fr, Turretine, Superville, Treille, or La Mothe : nor were his discourses so digested, so profoundly meditated, so elaborately wrought up in point of form, or so closely co-hering together throughout, as those of Bafnage. He soars not, nor expands his sentiments in the diffuse, pompous and swelling strains of Saurin, who has obtained such distinguished, and rather disproportioned notice in Britain, above all his compatriots : but is more correct, explicite, and uniform in stating and enforcing some of the peculiar articles of the evangelical creed ; and his address is more home and piercing. Saurin had doubtless great oratorical powers, a large compass of thought, and abundant resources : but he cannot be praised as the most accurate or judicious divine, or as a fit model for the pulpit. He is too verbose, deviates too much from simplicity, indulges too freely the fallies of a luxuriant imagination, and affects too much the bolder and splendid figures of rhetoric : he sometimes assumes the character of a scholastic reasoner, at other times that of a declaimer ; and sometimes labours too much to establish, illustrate, or enforce some particular topic, though not always the most direct or principal one in the text. But a greater fault is his use of ambiguous language on some points of gospel truth, or rather misstating them, from a desire to accommodate, or get free from some common objections. By attempting to blend

calvinism and arminianism together, he makes an incongruous medley, and runs himself into inconsistencies.

In fine, no one author has ever united, nor possibly can ever unite, all desirable excellencies together. In the discourses of Mr Morus, may be traced a vein of gospel doctrine, some spark at least of true original genius, a fund of acquired learning, a zealous fervid spirit, great acuteness and liveliness, novelty of illustration, and some happy and striking elucidations, many passages beautiful and pathetic; a free and home address, giving faithful admonitions; and marks of a sincere and pious mind.

APPENDIX.

A P P E N D I X.

N^o I.

Letter of DIODATI, Professor of Theology in Geneva, to SALMASIUS. (See Page 48, &c.)

AFTER paying some compliments to Salmasius, and taking notice of the occasion of writing 'so unjust and shameful as it was, in the judgment and conscience of all who were not blinded by their violent and implacable passions,' the reverend professor proceeds to the immediate subject of his letter, and begs him to believe, that he would not impose upon him by falsehood: 'on this,' says he, 'I dare call upon the great God to witness. The first seeds of alienation that appeared, were so light and unreasonable, that they gave at the beginning, and have left ever since, a firm impression, that there were some of greater force concealed, which God knows, and which still continue to break forth, but which, by their effects cannot be accounted the workings of pure zeal for God and his truth. The inflexible asperity that has been manifested, when any attempt has been made towards brotherly reconciliation, hath discovered that there was some deep rooted principle of malignity working. I can truly say, that our friend never aimed at any thing more than to make an innocent defence; but that he had done this with a heat and vigour which had often hurt those who attacked him. As to which, indeed, I could sometimes have wished that he had shown more contempt for what his virtue, his fine genius (*bel esprit,*) his great knowledge and excellent gifts, would easily, in the judgment of all disinterested persons, far and near, have qualified; but on the other hand, the importunity of his malevolent opponents appeared to be well deserving that they should,

now and then, in this manner, be beaten off, that they might be taught to be at rest, by the shame and confusion which they always publicly and privately brought upon themselves by their malignant temerity. They thought at first, to have wounded him in the highest point of his reputation, the conformity of doctrine, and his admission into the ministry: they drew up heavy accusations, and made great opposition on heads of doctrine. But he shut all their mouths by his declaration, *viva voce*, by writings and subscriptions, &c. [as in the passage inserted before, in page 48, 49.]

About two years ago, two young ministers of the village, attacked him upon certain dictates, and the matter was carried so far, that our senate wished to be acquainted with that pretended fire of concealed error: and our whole company of pastors and professors having convened, and the whole being heard, our friend appeared altogether innocent, and strict prohibitions were given, with comminations subjoined, that he should meet with no further molestation, and his accusers failed of their design and vauntings. From that time, there was a prospect of quietness to him, and us all. But the peace hath again turned to a greater war, and your favour, and kind propensity towards him, have excited winds, and turbulent emotions very different. They have attempted to blacken him in order to drive him hence: they have spread abroad these false rumours, that they might hinder his reception among you: he has been refused when he was demanded; and they would extrude him, when he comfortably enjoys here the love and confidence of all the principal persons, and the whole church, who never hear his excellent sermons without giving thanks to God, nor depart from them without being all edified. Our magistrates in a body have a very great affection for him, as a most worthy instrument, and rare ornament of our republic.

As to that gross, impudent, and infernal calumny in reference to the person of the Holy Spirit, I cannot conceive whence it could take its rise, seeing no such thing was ever heard of in this place, and even the most penetrating scrutineezers of him never produced any thing of the kind. It is indeed an evidence of malignity; for

if such blasphemies have been heard to proceed from his mouth, as is presupposed, they never gave timely information, that we might have certain knowledge of it, by examining into the truth, and confronting persons together. It is, besides, to charge us, either with great ignorance, who could not know such horrible feeds, or of criminal negligence, in suffering them publicly to spring up in the midst of us.

With regard to the exceptions against the public testimonies, you may be assured that this is the truth: 'The company of pastors in a body, without a contrary voice, granted the testimony of his orthodoxy as to all points on which he had been charged. Our weekly preses drew it up in his own taste and style, rather too flowery and affected, as he had dressed up others in the same fashion;—these hyperboles and flowers of language, it is true, several were displeas'd with, of whom I confess, I was one; but none, so far as I know, oppos'd the ratification of it as to the substance; and as to some little circumstances which you have pointed out to me, they are either false, or wire-drawn. I will explain myself to you farther, upon two points: The first is, that of his call to Lyons, where they would have it believed, that he excited great disturbances. I know the affair to the bottom. It is false that our friend brought one of the pastors into discredit, and embroiled him with his church. More than ten years ago, the principal among them were disgust'd with him, and wait'd only for the decease of his father-in-law, to be quit of him. Our friend indeed waver'd a little as to that call; but took no step for which he could be blamed. The molestations he felt here, like so many thorns in his sides, made him desire to be freed from them; on the other hand, the general and warm affection shewn to him on that occasion, and especially his desire to hold united the charges he had in the church and academy, detain'd him here.—As for his manners,' * * * [See this paragraph insert'd p. 49.] 'Besides, piety, honesty, temperance, the farthest remove from all avarice and sordidness, were found in him, in a degree suitable to his profession. Believe me, and if there be need for it, make others believe me. I tell you the undisguis'd truth. Yet I would be very sorry, if I should

serve, without thinking of it, to clear the way for his departure to you. Grant me the continuance of your valuable friendship, for which I will make a return by all offices of respectful service, of which I hope soon to give you a token. May God have you in his holy keeping, and bestow abundantly on you his blessings.

Sir, &c.

J. DEODATI.

Geneva,
9th of May, 1648.

N^o II.

The substance of the letter of Mr J. SARTORIS, the pastor of the Italian and French church, in Geneva, to SALMASIUS.

AFTER making an apology for troubling him, not being acquainted, the writer says, from the consideration that it was a duty of humanity and christian charity to defend innocence against calumny, he was determined to write Salmasius, for his information on a subject of great importance respecting a very worthy person, namely, Mr Morus. After mentioning the strange reports 'that lately had been spread injurious to his reputation, which grieved to the heart all good people, knowing them to be false, yea, *fausses de toute faussete,*' wondering that any one could be found capable of inventing such 'black and diabolical calumnies;'—he proceeds thus; 'Mais encore a este trouve fort estrange que sur ce temoinage ayant este donne audit Sieur, il ayt este revoke en doute comme s'il avoit este mendie et capte par des voyes obliques, qui este une grieve offence faite non au particulier simplement, mais au toute une Compagnie, laquelle est en autre reputation enuers toutes personnes disinteressés qui la coignoissent et sa procedure ordinaire. Or je vous puis assureur, Monsi. que ce tesmoignage, comme il est véritable, n'est pas moins authentique et en la forme et observation de l'ordre qui acoustume d'estre tenu en tesmoignages donnez a personnes de semblable profession et qualite, et signe par toute la Compagnie des Pasteurs dela ville et Professeurs de l'Academie, excepte trois en tout, et moy vrayement le moindre de tous, mais

qui ay l'honneur d'estre des Pasteurs de la ville des une trentaine d'annees, suis un de ceux qui l'ay signe, approuvant le dit tesmoignage en toute sa substance comme uniforme a la verite, et suis prest d'en signer un autre voire plusieurs uniformes a celuy la. Car je vous puis dire en sincerite, que Monf. Morus ayant il y a quelques annees este soupsonne par quelques uns d'innovation en la doctrine, par ces responcez il dissipa tellement ces nuages que le resultat fut qu'on le tenoit pour bon et fidele Pasteur et Professeur exempt et pleinement descharge de tout soupson d'heresie, erreur, ou heterodoxie et nouvelle doctrine, et cela par ordre de la dite Compagnie couche par escrit sur les registres d'icelle. Et depuis a fait recoignoistre qu'il estoit entierement esloigne de ces opinions extravagantes qu'on luy avoit imposee, et combien plus de ceste abominable heresie ? et en ses doctes Lecons en Theologie, et en ses excellentes Predications n'apparoit pas moins la naive purete que la profonde solidite de la doctrine ; et s'il faut que le Serviteur de Dieu fidelle bassise de deux mains, je puis dire qu'en l'infirmite humaine neantmoins, il n'edifie pas moins par vie et conversation que par sa Doctrine. C'est une perle precieuse que Dieu a fait rencontrer en ceste Eglise et Eschole, laquelle je prie Dieu nous vouloir conserver longuement : car c'est chose autant admirable que rare qu'en c'est aage auquel il est, il soit parvenu a une si ample, et profonde conoissance et en la Ste. Theologie, et es lettres humaines ; de maniere que rien ne manque non seulement des choses necessaires pour l'assortissement de la charge laquelle il possede, mais aussi pour l'ornement d'icelle. Mais que est entre tous juge plus capable de l'erudition, que vous Monf. avec lequel je scay qu'il fait gloire d'avoir familiere communication, et qui avez veu quelques eschantilons de sa suffisance ? * * *

Geneva,
5 Avril, 1648.

J. SARTORIS.

N° III.

The Testimonial of the Curators of the Historic School in Amsterdam. (See p. 130)

QUAMVIS Dominorum Consulium Amstelodamensium Testimonium plusquam sufficiat, tamen quia nobis proprie cura Illustris Scholæ demandata est, in qua Reverendus et præstantissimus vir Alexander Morus, Historiæ Sacræ Professionem exercet, Nostrum etiam symbolum adjiciendum putavimus, nequid ei deesse videatur ad tutelam nominis et existimationis, quam apud externos famoso quodam libello lacerari miramur et dolemus. Nos igitur Scholæ Illustris Amstelodamensis Curatores testamur, D. Alexandrum Morum cum primum in hoc Belgium venit, a Dominis Consulibus et rectoribus Civitatis Amstelodamensis vocatum esse in locum et munus magni illius G. J. Vossii per Delegatos duos qui publico nomine prædictum munus ipsi obtulerunt. Quod ille cum amplecti non possiet qui se jam Zeelandis proceribus obstrinxerat, nec spes ulla tunc esset ipsum posse inde tam cito avelli quam postulabat Scholæ nostræ Illustris necessitas et ratio studiorum, vir summus D. Blondellus ex Gallis in eandem Provinciam vocatus est, quam et dignissime implevit: Cum autem postmodum prædictus D. Morus in patriam ad Professionem Theologiæ obeundam revocaretur, Nos ei velut manum injecimus, et pristinam vocationem redintegravimus. Quæ a nobis ideo memorantur, nequis forte putet ad nos eum non matura deliberatione habita vocatum. Testamur porro eum ex quo apud nos publicum obit munus, ita nobis omni ex parte satisfacere, ut luculentis testimoniis quæ perhibita ei sunt vel a Genevensibus vel ab aliis, cumulate respondeat, multosque similes ei doctrina et virtute dari nobis optemus ad Civitatis nostræ decus et splendorem. Calumnias autem quibus præter omne meritum oneratur, non aliunde oriri putamus quam ex invidia quæ virtuti præcipue magnæ comes adheret individua. Da-

tnm Amstelodami et sigillo nostro privato confirmatum
29. Julii. Anno 1654.

Locus Sigillorum.

D. D. Curatorum.

C. DE GRAEF.

SIMON VAN HOORNE.

N^o IV.

*Verses on GENEVA ; with which the oration intituled Calvinus
is concluded.*

PARVA quidem fateor sed qua non altera major
Cæli muneribus : tot venerabilis orbe,
Charorumque Deo multum celebrata virorum
Nomine, finitimis nimium nimiumque Geneva
Invidiosa locis, lætum caput exfere cœlo,
Quam pulchri, sunt ecce pedes in montibus istis
Præconum, tua qui semper nova gaudia narrant,
Et dicunt, ‘ Deus ille tuus, Deus ille tuorum,
Nostra Sion, quare trepidas ? in secula regnat.’

Dum furit, et toto Mars impius orbe flagellum
Horrisonum quatit, ac tristes denuntiat iras,
Et nullam dudum celebrata Comitibus pacem
Promittunt, nisi quæ blando sic nomine ridet
Ut mala multa piis bello pejora minetur,
Pax fovet alma tuos et protegit undique cives
Omne genus sæcunda bonis : Pax aurea circum
Arva colit, populumque beat, Legesque silere
Non sinit, aut frigere Artes : dat jura Senatus
Integer, inque tuis Pastores ædibus alta
Voce canunt, ‘ Deus ille tuus, Deus ille tuorum,
Nostra Sion, quare trepidas ? in secula regnat.’

Non bene Calvinus tua nomine templa sonabunt
Cum precibus pia tecta calent, votisque lacessit
Supplex turba Deum, Domino tua vota ferantur,
Qui tibi Calvinus, æternaque nomina Bezas,
Totque alios dederat qui nunc monstrata piorum
Cælitibus astra tenent, puroque in lumine lumen
Æternum adspiciunt, quod nullæ vesperis audent
Alternare vices, et quem docuere fruuntur

Jam proprio Deo, cœlique volumina calcant,
 Non tamen hinc nostras possunt audire querelas,
 Nil opus est : ' Deus ille tuus, Deus ille tuorum,
 Nostra Sion, quare trepidas ? in secula regnat '

Ipse pater placidis lætum caput exferat undis
 Lemannus repetatque meos in littore plausus,
 Quos etiam pulsæ referunt ad sidera valles.
 Quid mihi cum Roma, Tiberino aut flumine ? dicat :
 Nil canimus mortale, sonant mea carmina Christum,
 Dumque cano, Christum reparabilis aſſonat Echo :
 Attamen et fido debetur gratia fervero,
 Et fas est laudare homines, Numenque vereri,
 Quod tremit omne genus terraque marique animantum,
 Cui paret Domino stellantis regia cœli,
 Cœlestumque aſurgit apex, omnisque potestas
 Aligerum, ' Deus ille tuus, Deus ille tuorum,
 Nostra Sion, quare trepidas ? in secula regnat.'

Me pia, me sequitor sacris operata juventus
 Ad Rhodanum, et viridi spatiantem in margine ripæ
 Audiatur excipiens animo mea vota silenti
 Fusa tot in nostram cœlestia munera terram
 Dum celebros, gratosque tibi, Deus Alme, refundo :
 Felices nimium colles ! felicia nostri
 Culta soli, quæ Calvinum videre ferarum
 Subdere colla jugo, et cæcam dispellere noctem !
 Urbs o chara Deo, quæ magni cœntia semper
 Numinis, attonitas trahis ad spectacula gentes,
 Macte animis ! ' Deus ille tuus, Deus ille tuorum,
 Chara Sion, quidnam trepidas ? in secula regnat.'

Sed quantum afflictor non sicco lumine lustrans
 Christiadam afflictos populos, ubi Martius hætor
 Intonat, et fratrum mœrentia pectora pulsat ?
 Non tantum vos iste dolor, pia Scotia, tuque
 Tota Caledoniis unita Britannia regnis,
 Unita heu ! quondam, sed jam divisa tot annos,
 Tangit enim, quotcunque Dei tanguntur amore :
 Ipsa Geneva suos misere laniata capillos
 Virginias sparso scedavit pulvere vittas,
 Indixitque pio jejunia publica voto.
 Christe fave, nunquam ipse tuis irascere donis,
 Ponite dic ventis, et dic requiescite fluctus.
 Iam venti posuere, silet stratum æquor, et omnis

Detumuit fluctus : dic blanda voce Sioni,
 (Sponsus enim es) ' Deus ecce tuus, Deus ecce tuorum,
 (Ille ego sum) quare trepidas ? in secula regnat.'

Ipse tuo faveas operi, populoque gementi
 Dexter ades, tua res agitur. Tibi sacra Geneva,
 Suspecta hæreseos, mox et rea, pessima passim
 Audiatur, invidiæ scopulus : jactata procellis
 Te portum rectore subit :mersata profundo
 Pulchrior eveniet, mundoque fruetur iniquo,
 Tu modo semper ama : tantique videbitur omnes
 Ferre vices, hominumque minas, Erebique furores,
 Donec in astrigeri subvecta palatia cœli
 Iam dicat, ' Deus ille meus, Deus ille meorum,
 Cur trepidem nihil est, æterna in secula regnat.'

N^o V.

I. *Extract; from the Sermon preached by Mr Morus, at the Hague, on the death of William II. Prince of Orange, Nov. 1650 : on Is. xl. 6, &c.*

' LA voix dit crie : mais a qui crierai-je ? a toi Seigneur, mais tu es courrouce ; aux anges et aux saints, mais ils ne peuvent m'exaucer ; aux trones de la terre, mais ils sont abbatus ; au prince, mais il n'entend plus ; toutefois il parle encore ; je redirai donc sa voix a ton peuple, et je crieray ; ' toute la chair este comme herbe.'

Il y une voix que crie, mon fils, et l'autre mon epoux ; et d'autres mon frere, une autre crieroit si elle pouvoit, mon pere : mais d'autres crient ma fortune, toute l'Eglise en a gemi, toute l'Europe en a crie, mais il faut que toutes ces voix qui forment ce concert lugubre s'accordent a celle-ci pour en faire comme le refrain de leurs hymnes, toute la gloire de la chair est comme la fleur de l'herbe ; car c'est ce que crie notre grand Mort. Figurez vous qu'il vienne par miracle a se soutenir encore sur ses pieds, et que dans ce lieu ou il a passé si souvent, et qu'il a si souvent fait briller des rayons de la lumiere, et de sa joye, et qu'il criat dans cette assemblée, qui n'en seroit emu, qui n'en seroit touche jusques au fonds de l'ame ? mais

fans courir, fans marcher, fans bouger, il ne laisse pas de crier, et cela meme qu'il est immobile parle a nous, et nous avertit comme par une voix celeste, que la creuse figure de ce monde passe, et qu'avec elle nous passons. Le trone quitte les uns, et les autres quittent le trone ; comme il n'y a qu'un Royaume inbranlable dans le ciel, il n'y a qu'un Dieu seul qui est le Roi des siecles immortel.

La voix du mort crie donc ; ne pleurez point sur moi, pensez a vous mortels, je n'irai plus la ou vous etes, mais vous viendrez la ou je suis. Pourquoi craignez vous d'y venir, vous avez a l'entour de vous un monde si facheux, et vous n'en voulez point sortir, vous avez au dessus de vous un ciel si glorieux, et vous n'y voulez point venir : de ce ciel ou je suis je regarde les assemblees des peuples comme des troupeaux de fourmis ; le monde comme une ombre, la terre comme un point, au dessus de vos ennemis et de vos miseres ; au dessus de vos craintes et de vos esperances, au dessus de vos convoitises et de vos vengeances, au dessus de toutes les atteintes et de la calomnie et de l'ingratitude, et de toutes les autres passions qui partagent tous les espaces de votre vie. Je suis couronne d'un diademe incorruptible, assis dessus un trone inbranlable dans le sein de mon pere, parmi les anges et les saints, et parmi mes ayeux ; disposez-vous donc a me suivre, vous qui m'eussiez bien accompagnue dans les plus extremes perils de la guerre, marchandez-vous a me suivre en ce sejour de gloire, au lieu mon triomphe.'

— ' Qui pourroit ou penser ou dire la desolation ou se trouve reduite cette maison que brilloit autrefois de tant de lumieres, et qui est aujourd'hui noircie d'un deuil epais. Quand ces etats perdirent leur Maurice, ils trouverent incontinent leur Frederic Henri son tres-digne frere, et son tres-digne successeur. Quand Frederic Henri vint a manquer a ces provinces, vous pouvez vous ressouvenir qu'elles embrasserent incontinent le Prince Guillaume son tres-digne successeur : alors il essuya les larmes de vos yeux et dissipa, comme un beau Soleil levant, les tenebres et les ombres de votre nuit ; mais a present il tire des larmes de vos yeux, et laisse apres soi, comme un Soleil couche, sans esperance de retour, les ombres de la mort qui est la nuit de la vie. Il ne manquera point

de dignes successeurs, tout le sang de Nassau n'est pas éteint dans ses veines ; il y en a des branches encore, mais il n'y a point de frere, il n'y a point de fils, comme autrefois, qui paroît au monde : mais il y a un germe cache sous la terre qui sortira bien-tot comme un surgeon d'une terre alteree, et qui fera reverdir, et son nom et nos esperance †. Dieu le veuille, Dieu le fasse, Dieu veuille rallumer la lampe de son Oinct, et Dieu fasse fleurir le Liban : mais il faut avouer que ce sont choses et tres incertaines et tres eloignees, tres incertaines pour l'evenement, et tres eloignees pour la jouissance ; car ne sera ce pas un miracle de Dieu si le sacre fruit se peut conserver dans un orage si furieux, a milieu de tant de secouffes et de si terribles convulsions ? et puis combien d'annees faudrat-il que nous laissions couler devant qu'il soit mur, et capable de nous représenter ou son Pere, ou son ayeul, ou son bifayeul, ou tous les trois ensemble ? mais encore pourvu qu'il vienne, nous dirons tandem 'fit furculus arbor ;' nos vœux et nos benedictions hateront son age et sa vertu, si bien qu'on le verra croire a vue d'œil en autorite sur les hommes, en grace devant Dieu ; car pourquoi n'oserions-nous pas nous promettre du fils ce que nous avons vu en la personne du Pere ; j'appelle Pere, hélas ! tout tremblant de crainte, en stile de prophete, celui qui n'a point encore d'enfant, et j'appelle fils celui qui peut-etre ne sera point, et peut-etre ne sera point fils, et pour le certain ne verra son Pere qu'en la resurrection.' -- 'Ceux qui l'ont vu dans les affaires et dans les conseils le peuvent savoir mieux que nous, je les prens a temoins s'ils n'ont pas mille fois admire la gravite de sa jeunesse, la douceur de son feu, la severite de sa joye, l'ardeur qui l'animoit ; et de l'autre cote la prudence qui le retenoit : ceux-la meme qui ne l'ont vu qu'en des audiences ordinaires et dans l'entretien particulier, ne peuvent pas ignorer, ni l'autorite que ses yeux versoit dans son discours ni la grace qui étoit epandue sur ses levres, ni la solidite de jugement qu'il faisoit paroître par tout, digne d'une experience de quatre-vints ans : il étoit enfin tel que si

† He left his spouse, princess Mary, sister to Charles II., near the time of delivery, of whom was born within eight days after William III, the great deliverer of England.

quelqu'un qui ne l'eut jamais vu, l'eut vu pour la première fois sans cordon blu, sous un habit commun, dans une foule de Gentilshommes, ou il n'eut fait que prononcer trois paroles, il eut falu etre stupide pour ne pas dire, c'est la le Prince. Ceux-la meme qui ne l'ont pas aime l'ont admire.' —

' La princesse sa mere † seroit plus justẽment regrettee, puis qu'elle est mere, et qu'elle a perdu son fils unique, sa joye et sa couronne, l'ouvrage de son education, et le portrait vivant deses vertus. Mais son autre mere, je veux dire l'Eglise de Dieu, doit etre le principal object de nos complaints, car elle a plus perdu que nous ne pensons, un jour nous le saurons ; vous verrez croitre de-formais le nombre des idolatres qui fourmillent en ce pays : vous verrez la porte ouverte a la licence des sectes et des opinions fanatiques. Nous n'en faisons pas un Saint ni un demi-Dieu ; bien que nous sachions que l'ancienne Rome en a deifie, et la nouvelle canonise, qui ne le valoient pas. Le Soleil meme a ses taches ; il avoit les defautes des grands princes, et il les avoit reconnus, condamnez, corrigez ; et si nous entreprenions de le comparer aux autres princes de notre tems, nous pourrions assurement faire voir que notre bon prince a l'age de vint quatre ans n'avoit point son pareil en nos jours, et apres cela nous devons dire, notre merveilleux prince. Il aimoit l'Eglise de Dieu, et haïssoit d'une haine parfaite tous ceux qui en troubloient la paix, ou qui en corrompoient la purete. Nous le savons de science certaine, il n'eut jamais favorise l'erreur ni les factions. Et n'est-ce pas un bien inestimable ? Sion a donc perdu le plus beau de ses ornemens et la plus precieuse de ses colonnes ; ' le soufle de nos narines, celui dont les nations disoient nous nous reposerons sous son ombre ;' tout le corps de nos Eglises ressentira ce coup, et portera le deuil de notre prince. Nos Eglises en France n'en avoient pas un seul, et regardoient le notre avec joye comme etant des leurs, et ne doutez pas qu'elles ne soient touchees plus que nous ne sommes encore de ce coup du Ciel.'

Mais ici les paroles nous manquent, lors qu'il nous faut

† His mother was princess Amelia, daughter of the count de Solms, and niece to Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia.

jetter les yeux sur cette jeune Princeſſe deſolee, jeune, veuve, et enceinte, et plutot veuve que mere; combien d'epees ont tranſperce ſon ame, combien de calamitez l'ont battue flot a flot; quels abimes a t elle vu rouler ſur elle au ſon de leurs canaux: de quel cote-voulez vous qu'elle regarde? a la terre ferme, on n'y penſe point; aux Isles, elle y voit ſon naufrage, a l'entour d'elle, il n'y a qu'une noire image de mort et de deſeſpoir. Elle ne peut regarder que le ciel, car pour peu qu'elle baiſſe les yeux en terre, il faudra qu'elle fremiſſe d'horreur; une mere dans l'exil, un frere dans la melee, un Pere ſur l'eſchafaut, et pour comble un epoux dans le cercueil. Tirons le rideau deſſus comme autrefois Timante, ce deuil ne peut etre deſeint d'aucune couleur. Mais penſez-vous que ce prince n'ait laiſſe que cette ſeule veuve; il n'avoit eſpouſe qu'une ſeule femme, mais il a laiſſe huit veuves apres ſoi. Les ſept provinces accompagneront ſa royale et deſolee eſpouſe toutes eplorees et couvertes du meme deuil.

Difons donc avec Joſaphat: O Seigneur notre Dieu! nous ne ſavons que faire, mais nos yeux ſont ſur toi. C'eſt toi qui deſceins le baudrier des rois, et qui les fais deſcendre du trone dans la poudre.—

N° VI.

II. *Extrait; from the Sermon preached at Charenton, in 1660; on the festival of J. Baptiſte, on Luke i. 76—79.*

‘JEAN Baptiſte eſt l'etoile qui a ſuivi les tenebres et les ombres de la loy, et qui a precede la lumiere de l'evangile, qui a brille le ſoir et le matin, a la fin de la loy, et au commencement de l'evangile, au dernier periode de l'une, et au premier moment de l'autre; au ſoir en la nuit de la loy, au matin et au point du jour de la grace. Aſtre glorieux et divin! Grand precurſeur du ſoleil de juſtice! Car il n'a pas eſte le ſoleil luy meme, non, ce petit enfant n'a pas eſte un ſoleil, Chriſt naiſſant eſt notre veritable orient, Chriſt naiſſant eſt notre veritable auteur de lumiere, et ce petit enfant eſt ſon etoile. Il luy prepare l'entree. Il ſort avec pompe et avec appareil au devant de luy. Il n'eſt pas la lumiere, il annonce la lumiere.—

« Allume que voudra des feux devant sa maison, et dans les places publiques, pour se rejouir, et pour celebrer la naissance de S. Jean. Nous qui voulons servir Dieu comme ses veritables adorateurs, allumons les feux de notre amour, et de notre zele, et faisons des feux de joye dans nos cœurs, et dans nos esprits, a la louange de Jesus Christ. Prenons occasion de celebrer sa naissance meme, dans celle de son precurseur, et de son prophete, et l'adorons en esprit et verite. Le royaume des cieux n'est plus approche; il est venu. Il n'est plus pret de venir; il est arrive. Faisons donc luire des feux dignes de luy. Du temps de Jean Baptiste on batifloit d'eau, et a present nous avons este batifez du saint Esprit, et de feu; faisons donc luire ce feu, et cet esprit. En conscience ce; qui croyez-vous qui honorassent le plus la naissance d'un homme? De ceux qui allumoient quelques pieces de bois a ce dessein par une tradition ancienne; ou, de ceux qui portoient son berceau au soleil levant et l'engloutissoient, pour ainsi dire, des rayons du soleil, par une tradition encore plus ancienne? Zacharie ne fit pas allumer un feu; il ne porta pas son fils au lever du soleil. Mais que fit il donc? Digne feu de joye; sainte marque d'allegresse! Benit soit le Seigneur, dit-il, le Dieu d'Israel, de ce qu'il a visite, et fait delivrance de son peuple, de ce qu'il l'a delivre malgré sa servitude et non seulement delivre, mais releve, mais cleve chez luy la corne de salut. Les anciens portoient sur le haut de leur casque une corne d'acier qu'ils abaissoient, ou qu'il relevoient en signe de bonheur, ou de malheur, quand ils avoient este defaits, ou qu'ils avoient este vainqueurs en guerre: et c'est en faissant allusion a cela que Zacharie rend graces a Dieu, de ce qu'il avoit eleve la corne de salut dans la maison de David. —

• Que est-ce qui parle icy? C'est un muet. Qui est celuy qui chante ce cantique a la gloire de ces petits enfans? C'est un homme qui ne parloit pas mieux que ces petits enfans. Il avoit peche par la langue, et avoit este puni par la langue. Elle avoit commis un crime, et elle avoit este chastiee du silence. Mais icy Zaharie recouvre ce qu'il avoit perdu, et recouvre une double grace en meme temps. Dieu le fortifie plus qu'il n'estoit avant.

fa cheute. Il luy rend plus de lumiere qu'il n'avoit eu de brouillard. Autrefois il avoit eu peine a croire ce que l'ange luy avoit dit, a present il croit plus qu'il ne luy a dit. Sa foy surpasse le rapport de l'ange : Il ne croit pas seulement que sa femme cessera d'etre sterile, et que Dieu luy donnera un fils (mystere qu'Abraham avoit cru aussi bien que luy) il croit encore que fils de Dieu prendra notre chair, se revetira de toutes nos foiblesses, et viendra souffrir la mort pour nous (mystere le plus grand, le plus divin, et le plus admirable, que les anges ayent jamais veu, et que les hommes ayent jamais cru) il le trouve le remede plus grand que le mal, et la grace plus grande que la punition. Il recouvre la voix, et la foy ; la voix plus sainte, la foy plus forte. Il recouvre la foy dans son cœur, et l'exprime par sa bouche.²

— Comment savez-vous que Dieu est un soleil ?
 — Je croy, parce que je voy, parce que je recois moy-meme les divins traits de cette lumiere. C'est une clarte qui paroît toujours, et n'obscurcit jamais. Non elle ne se couche jamais. Elle est toujours dans son midy, sans nuit, sans vepre, sans hyver, sans eclypse. Le soleil du monde n'est pas plutot leve qu'il est couche. Ce n'est presque qu'une mesme chose que son berceau et son tombeau. Mais l'Orient d'en-haut a une duree eternelle. Il n'a jamais de soir ; il n'a jamais de nuit ; il n'a jamais de fin ; il ne s'esteint jamais.—Gloire soit donc a Dieu, paix en terre, et paix en nos cœurs, et paix par tout. O grand et divin soleil ! O celeste et saint orient ! Admirable, et plus qu'admirable, puisque tu surpasses toute admiration ! Qui as donne la lumiere aux aveugles, la vie aux morts, la delivrance aux captifs, la saintete aux infidelles ; qui as illumine nos yeux, qui as conduit nos pieds, qui as eclaire nos ames ; qui as oste nostre vieux Adam et ses rides de nos cœurs, pour y introduire ta splendeur, et ta purete ; saint et divin soleil ! —

N° VII.

III. *Extra* ; *The Exordium of the Sermon preached at London, before King Charles II. in 1662.* (See page 247.)

LA NATURE, la fortune, la prudence, sont les trois

idoles des peuples destituez de la connoissance de Dieu : les philosophes ont adore la nature ; les courtisans ont deifié la fortune, les politiques ont fait leur Dieu de la prudence ; la nature a ete pour les savans, la fortune pour les ignorans, et la prudence pour les sages du monde. Il ne manque aucun des Dieux la ou se trouve la prudence, disoit l'un d'eux. F. B. que nous sommes heureux de connoitre au dessus de tout cela, cette sage et souveraine Providence qui gouverne tout l'univers, et qui a l'oeil toujours ouvert sur nous, de qui la nature n'est que la servante, de qui tout ce qu'on appelle ou fortune ou prudence, n'est que l'instrument et comme la clef que ce grand ouvrier tient en sa main, et manie comme il lui plait. Car qu'est ce que la nature, sinon la loi du monde, qui presupose necessairement un legislateur ? S'il n'y avoit point de magistrat en cette grande ville, quelle seroit sa confusion ? Celui la ne seroit il pas ridicule qui diroit ; nous avons des statuts et des bonnes loix dans notre maison de ville qui nous pourront assez gouverner ? Comment donc peut-on s'imaginer que ce grand univers : car la moindre des etoiles du ciel est de beaucoup plus grande que cette grande ville ; que ce tout compose de tant de villes et de provinces, que ces superbes lambris du monde, ces vastes voutes des cieux, avec tant de feux qu'on y voit briller si fierement dessus nos tetes, que ce soleil plus grand mille fois que toute la terre, que toutes ces machines se remuent avec tant de promptitude, par tant de divers ressorts, sans que jamais un seul rouage vienne a manquer, avec une police admirable, sans reconnoitre un Dieu qui soit comme le magistrat souverain, et la loi vivante de tout ce grand etat ? Qu'est ce que fortune si ce n'est un grotesque caprice de l'esprit humain, qui juge fortuit ce qui ne l'est point, parce qu'il en ignore les causes et les raisons ? He que nous ferions bien de bannir ce mot fabuleux de notre usage et de nos discours, comme St Augustin qui s'est repenti de l'avoir employe dans ses livres, et s'en est retracte ! Qu'est ce que la prudence, si ce n'est comme la prophetie, une chandelle qui eclaire dans un lieu obscur, qui nous fait voir a peine ce qui est devant nos yeux ; et ne voit goutte dans l'avenir ? Tout depend de l'occasion, et cependant tous les mortels avec toute leur prudence

ne fauroient faire naître une seule occasion : tout ce qu'elle peut faire c'est de s'en bien servir : Dieu s'est reserve ce droit, il a mis les saisons en sa puissance, c'est la clef de Dieu; la prudence de l'homme n'est qu'un rayon de Dieu, des-que le soleil se cache il disparoit et devient noir : car la prudence de la chair est diabolique, comme dit S. Jaques, vous le voyez en vos ennemis, on peut les accuser d'être mechans, mais non pas d'être des fots ; ils sont prudens en leur generation, et vous ne les pouvez surmonter qu'en assujettissant toute votre prudence a la Providence de Dieu : nature, fortune, prudence, ce ne sont que de vaines chimeres, si nous ne les foumettons a ce grand et premier mobile qui ravit et emporte tout. Les payens figuroient la nature sous l'emblemme d'une chaine d'or qui descendoit des cieus, et qui signifioit la liaison inviolable des causes secondes, qu'on appelloit la destinee ; mais nous avons une chaine plus precieuse, que Saint Paul appelle la predestination, composee des causes de notre salut, et des effets de la Providence de Dieu, qui nous a preconus, appellees, justifies, glorifies : voila les anneaux de cette chaine d'or que Dieu tient en sa main, et qu'il tend a son Eglise du plus haut des cieus pour l'attirer de la terre au ciel. Ils figuroient la fortune sous l'emblemme d'une Deesse, qui faisoit tourner une roue, ou tout se renverse du haut en bas en un instant : mais nous ne connoissons point d'autre roue que celle de la Providence de Dieu ; la roue de ce divin potier, ou il forme divers vaisseaux a honneur, et a deshonneur. Ils figuroient la prudence sous l'emblemme d'un serpent qui se plie au besoin et s'échappe pars divers tours : mais nous melons le serpent avec la colombe, suivant la regle de Christ figure par le serpent eleve au desert, la sapsience eternelle du Pere, auquel sont caches, ou plutot depoyes (car c'est ainsi qu'on le peut fort bien interpreter) tous les tresors de sapsience, caches autrefois parmi les ombres de la Loi.

Or ces trois idoles de speculation, idoles de la tete, la nature, la fortune, et la prudence ont produit trois autres idoles de l'action, idoles du cœur, a sçavoir la volupte, l'avarice, et l'ambition : le voluptueux a suivi la nature ; l'avaricieux la fortune : l'ambitieux la prudence : chacun a deise sa passion ; l'un fait de son ventre son Dieu, l'autre le fait de Mammon, et quelqu'autre de Belial ou de Lu-

cifer : le plaisir, les richesses, l'honneur ; c'est la Trinité que le monde adore. —

N^o VIII.

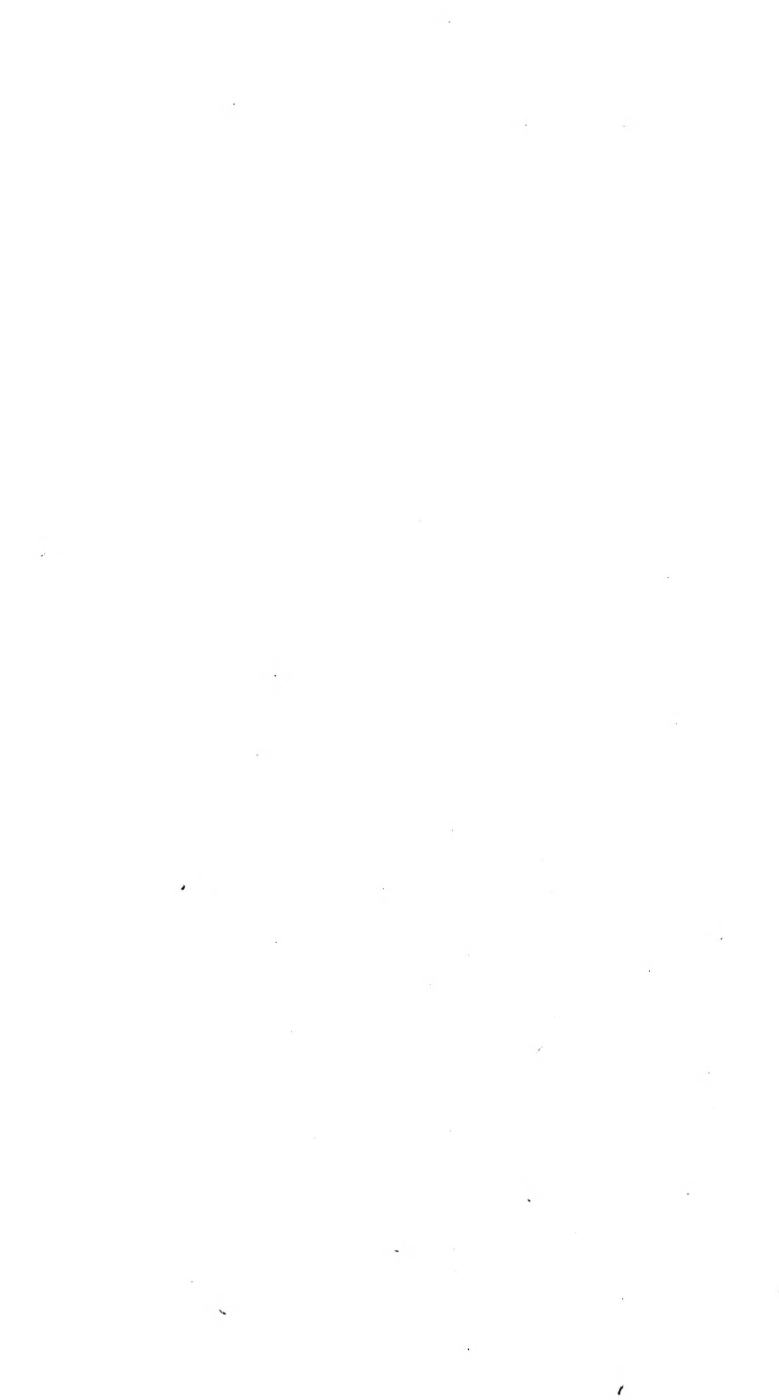
IV. Extract ; from a Catechetical Discourse on the Fourth Commandment ; in which the author forewarns the protestants of the desolation of their churches, for neglect of public worship and of the Sabbath.

— ‘ **POURQUOI** l'almons nous si peu ce jour du Seigneur ?—Combien y en a t-il qui trouveroient plus commode, de ne venir ici que tous les quinze jours, ou bien une fois tous les mois ?—Combien y en a t-il qui ne viennent dans ce lieu que quatre fois l'année, pour y celebrer la cene du Seigneur ? Et Dieu scait avec qu'elle disposition ils la celebrent apres avoir meprise tous les autres jours de Seigneur : je ne parle pas des personnes agees, et incommodees, de qui la foible complexion ne peut soutenir la rigueur des faisons, ni du pauvre peuple pour la plus grand part, mais des gens a carosse, qui viennent ici, et le plus rarement, et le plus tard qu'ils peuvent, pour s'en retourner au galop diner chez eux. Ailleurs il faudroit aller tous les jours a la messe, a moins tous les jours de fete, aller a tant de processions, visiter tant d'Eglises, oir tout un careme des sermons : ici pour etre de la religion, il suffit de venir ecouter, dirai-je ? ou dormir une heure tous les sept jours, ou tous les quinze jours. J'excepte ceux que la necessite de leur vocation appelle ailleurs, et sur tout ceux qui recompensent ce defaut, en revenant ici le jeudi, quoi que ce supplement ne remplisse pas bien ce defaut : mais combien peu y en a t-il encore, qui ayent le soin et le zele de faire cette compensation, combien de fois prechons nous a desert le Jeudi ? Combien de fois y a t-il si peu de gens qu'une chambre les contiendroit a l'aise, et que les etrangers qui s'y rencontrent, s'etonnent de voir un si petit troupeau, comme ils l'appellent par derision : jusques la qu'il ne se trouve quelquefois personne pour recueillir le fruit de vos aumones et pour donner ordre, que l'eau ne manque point pour le saint bapteme : ceux qui estoient ici Jeudi passe m'entendent bien. Mais ne parlons que de nos Sabbaths : n'est ce pas faire fraude a la loy, que de reduire le jour

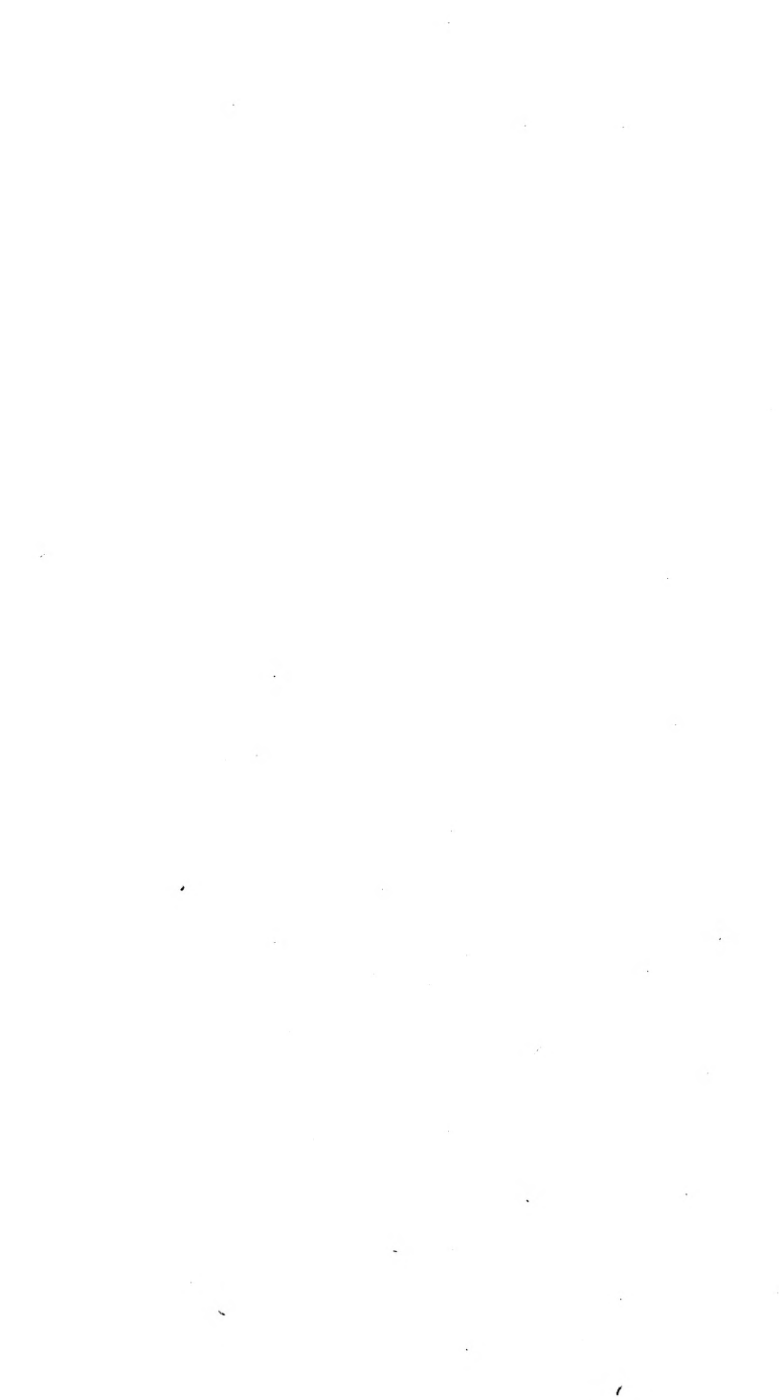
du Seigneur a une heure, et depuis midi jusqu'au soir, ne penser non plus a Dieu qu'on y pense les autres jours, c'est a dire, ny penser point ? Combien sont plus louables ceux qui attendent Medianox ? Toute la verite se trouve de notre cote, tout le zele du leur. Meme ce seul sermon que nos gens se contentent d'entendre, comment pensez vous qu'il l'entendent ? presens de corps, mais non pas d'esprit, en regardant, ou pensant ailleurs, ou en causant ensemble, quelquefois meme sur le sermon, en y faisant des remarques, tantot malignes, tantot imperinentes ; vous diries qu'ils sont sur ces galeries pour juger des coups, comme s'ils estoient assis sur les douze trones d'Israel pour nous juger, et si je l'ose dire, pour juger Dieu : car ils font profession de croire que Dieu parle a eux par notre ministere. Mais Dieu nous jugera tous : que dis je, qu'il nous jugera, n'a t'il pas deja commence de nous juger ? Quelle en est la cause ? Nos peches : quels peches ? tous nos peches ensemble, mais sur tout la violation du Sabbath, et je l'ose asseurer et voici sur quoi je fonde cette asseurance : Dieu se plait a faire voir dans la maniere du chatiment, comme une image du peche qu'il chatie, il nous punit par les memes choses par lesquelles nous l'offenons. Le Nil converti en sang, etoit l'image de ce meme fleuve rougi de la mort de tant d'enfans innocens. Quel est le grand chatiment que Dieu deploye aujourd'huy sur nous ? N'est ce pas la desolation de nos sanctuaires ? Et ou est celui qui le voyant ne soit force de dire en soi-meme : O Dieu eternal que tes jugemens sont justes et veritables : tu nous les otes parce que nous en abusions. Non ce n'est que le mepris du jour du Seigneur, et de parole, et des Sabbaths, qui nous prive des lieux d'exercice et des moyens de nous assembler, et il est aise de faire notre Horoscope : nous ne sommes ni devins, ni prophetes : mais nous voions clair dans notre avenir : nous vous sommes envoyes pour edifier et detruire, pour planter et deraciner : nous vous l'avons predit, et Dieu ne l'a-t-il pas fait ? Nous vous le predifons encore, et il le fera plus rudement et plus generalement qu'il na fait ; il vengera le mepris de sa parole, et du jour qu'il s'est sanctifie, par la ruine de nos tabernacles, et la dissipation de nos troupeaux, nous trotterons ca et la, et notre ame pamee de soif, criera vers lui.

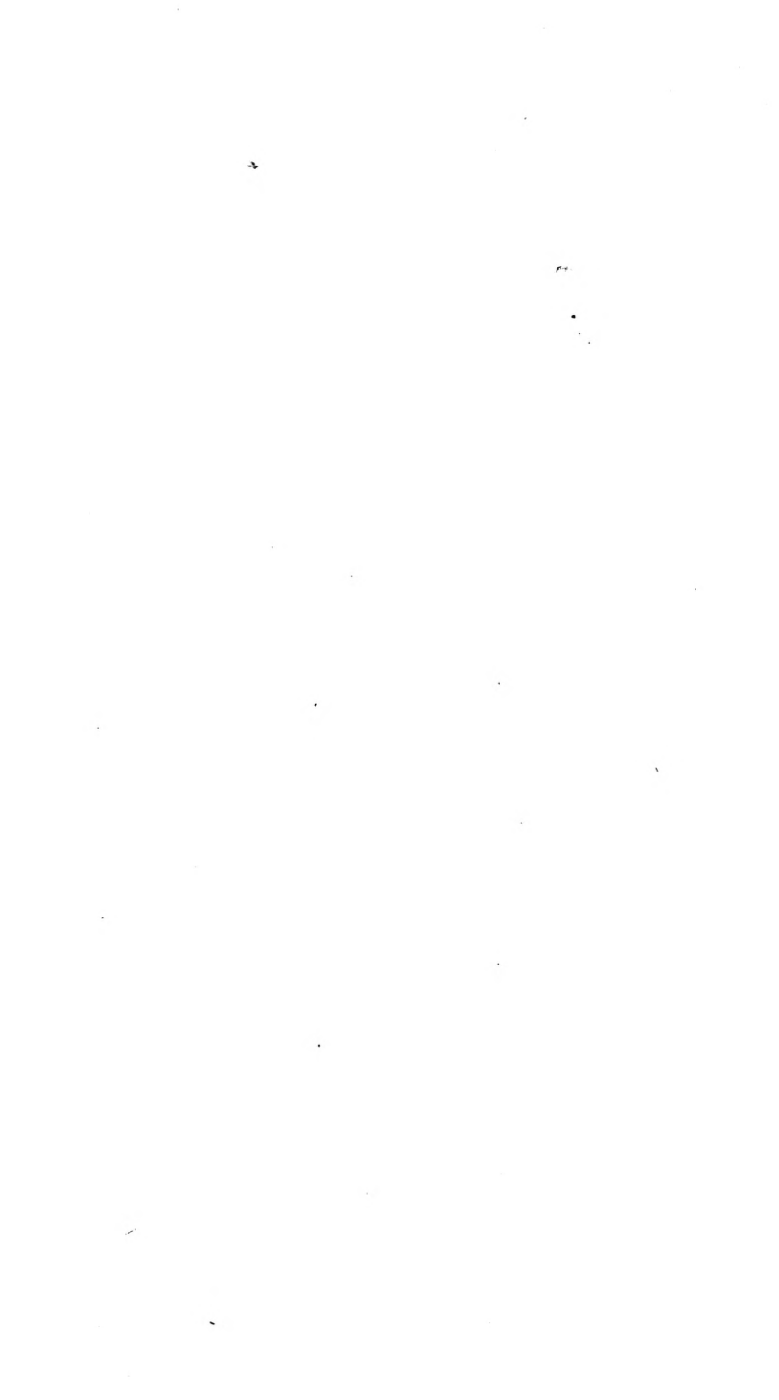
END of the LIFE.



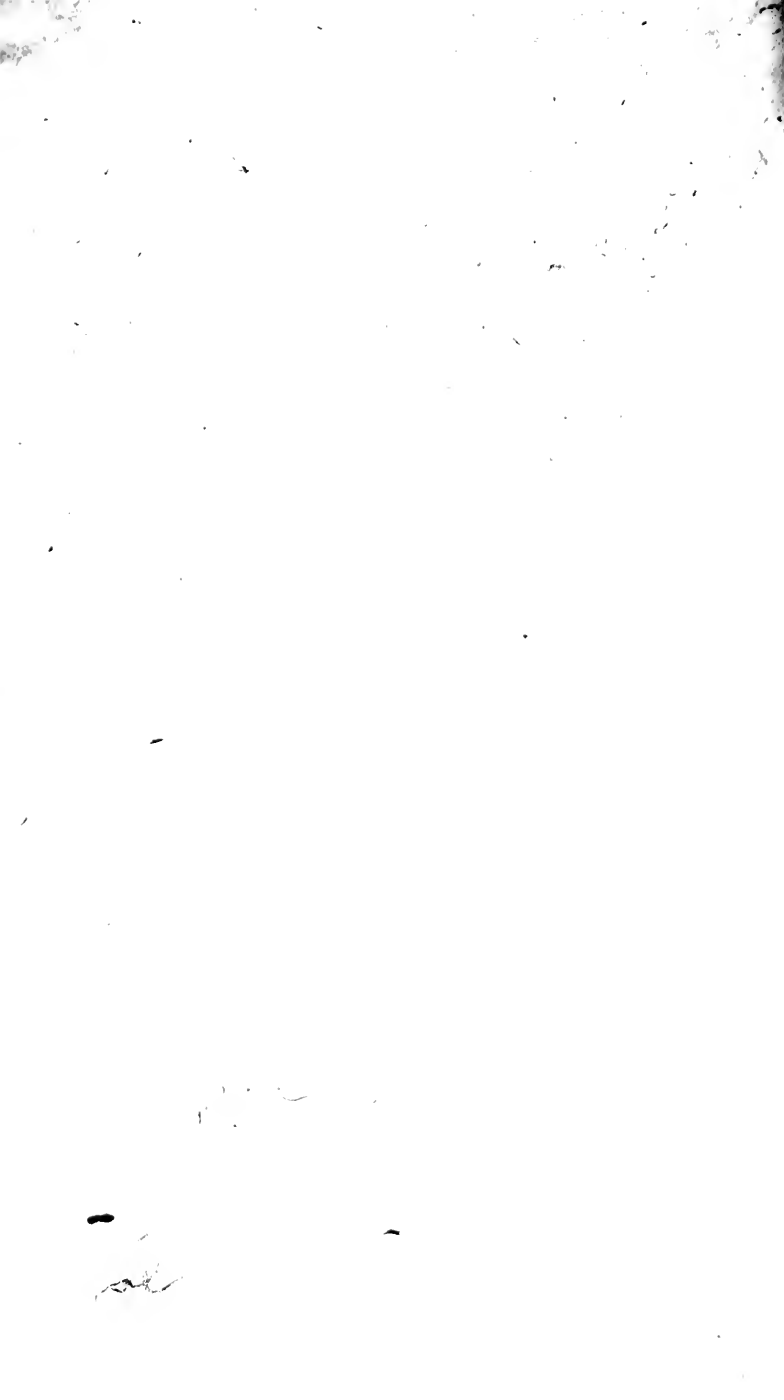












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