









Perron's Discourse

Papal Tyranny :

O R,

A DISCOURSE

SHEWING

What Tyranny the Popes have exercised over England for some Ages, under colour of Absolution and Satisfaction. And from what horrible Bondage England was delivered by the Light of the Gospel.



Since the end of Cardinal *du Perron's* Book was to shake the Constancy of His Majesty of Great Britain, and to induce Him to submit His Crown to the Papal See ; I think it expedient, yea and necessary, to shew what was the condition of the English, and what the ignominy and bondage of the Royal Crown, under the Empire of the Roman Prelate. This matter of Satisfaction leads us to that Discourse : for it was a principal Engine of the Pope to bring Kings under his Feet, for him to tread upon their

Necks, and to prey upon *England* with the highest Insolency.

The Dispute about Investitures and Collation of Benefices, is that for which most blood hath been spilt in *Europe*, since Christian Religion was planted in it. Upon that Quarrel above an hundred Battels were fought since *Gregory* the VII. besides Sieges of Towns, and waisting and ransacking of Provinces. As in the fourth and fifth Ages, the word *Consubstantial* was the Mark of the Orthodox, and in our days *going to mass* is the mark of Roman Catholicks ; so in the eleventh and twelfth Ages, to maintain that the Right of Investitures and Collation of Bishopricks and Abbeyes belonged not unto Kings and Princes, but to the Pope, went for the mark of a true Christian ; and they that suffered for the defence of the Popes Claim, were called Martyrs, and put in the List of Saints, and were sure to do Miracles after their Death.

In old time Popes were created by the Authority of the Emperours, who also punished

punished and deposed Popes. They employed them sometimes about Embassies and other Services, as a Sovereign Prince will send his Subjects and Servants on his Errand.

The Kings of *Italy* took of the Bishops of *Rome* three thousand Crowns for their Investiture; as of the Archbishop of *Milan*, and that of *Ravenna*, two thousand for theirs, according to the express Law of King *Athalaricus* in (a) *Cassiodorus*. That Law was made about the year of Christ 533.

The Emperour *Justinian* having shortly after recovered *Rome* and *Italy*, continued the same Law, commanding that the Patriarchs should pay (and the *Roman* as well as the others) to the Emperours Coffers twenty pounds weight of Gold, which come to about three thousand French Crowns. This is to be seen in the (b) 123 Novel of *Justinian*, in the third Chapter.

But the Roman Empire being pulled down in the West, and *Italy* being fallen into the hands of the French, the Pope was enriched by the immense Liberalities of *Pepin* and *Charlemaign*, and *Lewis* the Meek, and from a Bishop was suddenly made a Temporal Prince. Being thus raised, he took advantage, after the death of *Lewis*, of the dulness of his Successors, distracted with great Wars, to make his Keys to clink with a great noise, and to terrifie the Princes and Nations on this side of the Alps, with the Thunder of his Excommunications. (For as for the Grecians his Neighbours, who at that time held still part of *Italy*, they never cared for the roaring of his Bulls.) By little and little the Papal Empire did so increase, that in the end the Popes made bold to strike at the Crowns of Emperours and Kings, and shoot *Anathema's* against them, giving and taking away Kingdoms, putting Interdicts upon their Provinces, and exposing them for a Prey to the next Conquerour. Yea they came to (c) bear themselves for Lords of the whole temporal of the World, no less than of the spiritual, because it is written, *Behold two Swords, &c.* that is the Spiritual and the Temporal Sword.

The height of the Popes Power and Glory, and together the depth, and as it were the midnight of the darkest ignorance, was from the year 1073. upon which *Gregory* the VII. entred into the Papal See, and the year 1517. when *Leo* the X. having published great Pardons over all the Papal Empire, began to sell Heaven for ready money, and put to sale remission of sins, and deliverance of Souls from Purgatory. This moved the people to search the Scriptures, to know what Ground such an infamous Traffick might pretend in the Word of God. In all that Interval, which was of four hundred forty four years, Holy Scripture was a Book shut up unto the Princes and Nations of the West; and their whole Religion consisted in Adoration of Reliques and New Saints doing Miracles, in Pilgrimages, in Service of Images, in Visions of Souls returning from Purgatory, in running to get Pardons, in founding of Abbeys for Satisfaction and Redemption of the sins of the Founders, in making *Croisada's* for Expedition into the Holy Land, and in trembling under the Popes Thunderbolts. Hardly was Christ acknowledged among the Saints. Till in the end they bethought themselves to give him his Feast, which they call Gods Feast, that Christ might not be alone without a holy day.

(a) Cassiod.

var. l. 9.

Ep. 13.

(b) Novel.

123. c. 3.

Subemus beatissimos Archiepiscopos & Patriarchas, hoc est, seniores Roma & Constantinopolios & Alexandriae & Theopolios & Jerusalem, si quidem consueverunt, haberi Episcopis aut Clericis non minus quam 20 libras auri dari, &c.

(c) Extra U. nam Sanctam de Majoritate & obedientia.

That *Gregory* the VII. was the first Pope that made bold (d) to pronounce a Sentence of Deposition from the Empire against *Henry* the IV. a wise and valorous Emperour, transporting the Empire to *Rodolphus* Duke of *Suaben*. But that bold attempt turned to the confusion both of *Gregory*, and of his Creature *Rodolphus*: For *Rodolphus* was defeated and wounded to death by *Henry*, who also degraded *Gregory*, as guilty of High Treason, making him flee to *Salerno*, where soon after he died for grief. Also *Henry* besieged *Rome*, and took it. (e) *Sigebert* who lived then, and *Matthew Paris*, almost his Contemporary, and Cardinal *Benno*, a Domestick of that Pope, write that when he saw himself near his Death, he called a Cardinal, the most confiding of all his Friends, to whom he confest, that he had greatly offended in the Pastoral Charge committed unto him, and had drawn the Wrath of God upon Mankind by the Devils Instigation.

(d) It was in the year 1075.

(e) *Sigebert*.
Ann. 1085.
Confessus est
Deo & Sancto
Petro & toti
Ecclesie, se val-
de peccasse in
pastorali cura,
qua ei ad re-
gendum com-
missa erat, &
suadente Dia-
bolo contra hu-
manum genus
odium & iram
constrasse.

This Quarrel began, because the Emperours after the Canonical Election of the Bishops and Abbots of their Empire, used to invest them with the Lands and Lordships belonging unto the Bishoprick or Abbey, putting a Ring and a Staff in their hand, and to receive the Oath of Allegiance from them. For the said Prelates holding many Noble Lands in the Empire by the Concession of the Emperours, and having a Vote in their Election and in the greatest business of the Empire, the Emperours thought it just and necessary that the said Prelates should make some acknowledgment of it; and should not be received into a degree so important to the State, without the States consent, and without acknowledging the Emperour to be their Lord and Master. Besides, the Emperours according to the custom of the ancient Emperours which I represented before, would take some Present in money from the said Prelates, (which yet was a small thing in comparison of that which the Popes took since, and take still for the Annat, now that they have deprived the Emperour of his Right.) And herein the Emperours thought themselves grounded in right. For besides that the Churches, Abbeyes, and Priories were founded by the Liberality of Emperours and Princes of the Empire, the Emperour maintained Armies for the Defence and Security of the said Prelates, wherefore it was reasonable that they should contribute towards the Charges.

The Kings of *England* had the same Right in their Kingdom. So at the same time that Popes disputed those Investitures against Emperours, they laboured also in *England* to pluck that Flower from the Kings Crown, and to draw the profit to themselves. The first that stirred that Quarrel in *England* was *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; for when the Kings of *England* needy and greedy of money, borrowed of the Clergy great loans never to pay again, he to exempt himself from the subjection of Kings, laboured to make his Archbishoprick to depend meerly on the Pope, nor on the King, although he had got it by the free Gift and Concession of the King.

That *Anselm* then being promoted in the year 1092. to the Archbishoprick by King *William Rufus*, the King having given him freely that Great and Rich Place, soon after would extort from him a great sum of money for the exigence of his businesses, as claiming a Recompence for his Gift. *Anselm* refused to give it, and stealing privately out of *England*, went to Pope *Urban* the II. who at that

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time was violently prosecuting, against the Emperour *Henry* the Fourth, the Quarrel of Investiture, begun by his Predecessor *Gregory* the Seventh. This *Urban* liking the Prudence and Dexterity of *Anselm*, made use of his Counsel, and gave him the Archbishops Pall, thereby voiding the Investiture which he had received from King *William*, and obliging him thereafter to depend on him, as also he did; so behaving himself ever since, as holding his Archbishoprick by the Popes Ordination, not by the Kings Concession. Whereby the King incensed, interdicted to *Anselm* the entry into his Kingdom, confiscated the Lands and Estate of the Archbishoprick, and declared by an express Edict that his Bishops held their Places and Estates meerly from him, and were not subject unto the Pope for the same; And that he had the same Rights in his Kingdom as the Emperor had in the Empire. To which all the Bishops of *England* subscribed. Neither did any of them contradict it, but onely the Bishop of *Rochester*, as a Suffragant to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

By the Intervention of Friends, *Anselm* made his Peace; But being returned from *Rome*, and keeping a strict league with the Pope, he began again soon after to dissuade the Clergy from receiving Investitures from the King, wherefore he was constrained to fly the second time out of the Kingdom, and his Estate was again seized upon, and confiscated, of which he had obtained Restitution at his return.

He came then to Pope *Urban*, who received him with honour, as a Confessor suffering for the Cause of Christ. The year after, *Urban* kept a Council at *Clermont* in *Auvergne* where he granted full pardon of all sins to all that should contribute for the Expedition into the Holy Land, (f) and to them that should go in person, he promised a particular degree of Glory, and a preheminance in Paradise above the vulgar sort of Saints. In the same Council he decreed that thenceforth it should not be lawful for any Prelate or Ecclesiastical Person to receive the Investiture or Collation of a Benefice or Church-Dignity from the hand of any Lay-person. But the Princes laught at these Decrees, and retained the possession of these Investitures.

In the 1099. King *William* and Pope *Urban* died. *Henry* the I. succeeded *William*, and *Paschal* the II. succeeded *Urban*. This King *Henry* finding his Conscience charged with many Crimes, among other things, with taking the Kingdom from his Elder Brother *Robert*, vowed unto God for Satisfaction for his Sins to found an Abbey, and together sought to be reconciled with *Anselm*, and called him again. But *Anselm* being obliged with an Oath to the Pope, prevailed with the King, that a Council should be gathered at *London*, Where he declared the Order he had from the Pope, that no Lay-man should have the Power to confer any Investiture, and began to degrade the Bishops promoted by the Kings Nomination, and refused to consecrate some Bishops named by the King. The King angry, banish'd him out of his Kingdom presently, and confiscated his Estate.

(f) Matth.
Paris in Gu-
helmo Rufe.
Baronius.

While these things past in *England*, Pope *Paschal* prosecuted the Quarrel of his Predecessors against the Emperour (g) *Henry* the IV. and seeing that all the Enemies whom the Pope had raised against him had been overcome and defeated, he did so work upon the Emperours own Son, that he made him rebel against his Father, and that Son coming upon his Father at unawares, with an Army surprised him at Confluence, took the Crown, the Scepter, and Imperial Robe from him, and degraded him from the Empire. This broke the heart of the Venerable old man charged with so many Victories, who died soon after with grief, so forsaken, that Pope *Paschal* would not suffer him so much as to be buried.

That new Emperour *Henry* the Fifth having slain his Father, past presently into *Italy*, where the Pope hoping to be recompensed for helping him in his Conspiracy against his Father, found himself deceived: For when he prest him to renounce the Rights of Investiture which his Ancestors (as *Sigebert* saith) had enjoyed above three hundred years, the Emperour grew very angry, and laying hold of this Pope *Paschal*, committed him to a close Prison: Neither would he release him, till he had renounced his Claim to the Investitures and Collations of Benefices, laying to him in scorn that which *Jacob* said to the Angel wrestling with him, *I will not let thee go, before thou hast given me thy Blessing*: *Paschal* then to redeem himself out of Captivity, granted to *Henry* that both he and the Popes after him, should leave unto the Emperours the peaceable enjoying of the Investitures of Ecclesiastical Dignities by the Ring and the Staff. Also that none could be consecrated Bishop without an Investiture by the Emperour. And to make this agreement more Authentical, the Emperour and the Pope mutually obliged themselves by Oath upon the Host of the Mass, which they received together. But because that Oath was extorted, the Pope did not think himself obliged to keep it. So he broke that Agreement, and excommunicated *Henry*, and all Princes usurping Investitures.

That accident confirmed *Henry* the I. King of *England* in a resolution to retain the Investitures of his Kingdom. And that Order was kept in *England* for a long time. Onely the Popes, that they might not wrong their pretences by a long prescription, would send the Pall to some Prelates invested by the King, confirming that which they could not alter, and giving an Approbation which was not desired of them.

In the year 1142. Pope *Eugenius* came to *Paris*, where, that he might usurp the Right of Investiture, and deprive the King of it, he gave the Archbishoprick of *Bourges* to one of his Domesticks, Chancellor of the Apostolical Chancery, named *Peter Aimery*, without the consent of King *Lewis*, a Prince very much given to obedience unto the Papal See. (h) Yet the King was so angry at it, that he swore upon the holy Reliques, that never so long as he lived, *Aimery* should set his foot in *Bourges*. But the Pope knowing the Kings timorous nature, excommunicated him, put his Person in interdict, and gave order that in *France*, in all places where the King came, Divine Service should cease, and all his Court was deprived of the Communion. This lasted three whole years, till the famous *Bernard*, Abbot

(g) The Letters of that Emperour *Henry* the IV. to *Philip* King of *France*, are found in *Sigebert* in the year 1106. This History is related at large by *Helmolus* Priest of *Lubeck*, in the book intituled *Chronica Sclavorum*. See also *Baronius* in the Life of *Paschal*.

(h) *Matthæus* Paris in *Historico* I.

bot of *Cleruauux* came to the King, and perswaded him to receive the said Archbishop. But because by so doing the King brake his Oath made upon the holy Reliques, he was enjoyned for Satisfaction to take a Journey to the holy Sepulchre in *Syria*, to fight against the *Saracens*. In which Journey, the King miserably lost the flower of his Nobility, and returned afflicted and full of Confusion.

(i) Matth. Paris, an. 1154. p. 88.

Cum Archiepiscopus divina celebraret mysteria, haussit in ipso Calice, ut aiunt, veneno obiit.

(k) Helmoldi Chronicon.

(l) Matth. Paris, in Henrico II. p. 91.

(i) About that time died *Henry* Archbishop of *York*, being poisoned in the Chalice of the Sacrament. And it was no small question, Whether the Blood of Christ might be poisoned.

After *Henry* the I. of *England* came *Stephen*, and after *Stephen*, *Henry* the II. a potent Prince, who besides *England*, held *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Poitou*, *Saintong*, and *Guienne*: That King so potent, was weakened with an inward Combate of contrary desires; for being very superstitious and scrupulous, yet he was very ambitious and extraordinarily eager to maintain his Rights, that of Investitures especially.

(k) In the year 1155: (the year in which *Frederick Barbarossa* held the Popes stirrup, the left instead of the right, to abuse him, but the next day was forced to hold the Right) King *Henry* the II. desirous to invade *Ireland*, and having no just Title to it, writ to Pope *Adrian* to desire his leave to subdue *Ireland*, to reduce it into the way of Salvation. Not but that the Irish were Christians, but they yielded little Obedience to the Pope; who got no money from that Island. The Popes Letters in answer to *Henry*, are related by *Matthew Paris*; whereby that Pope giveth him leave to make that Conquest, upon Condition that he should impose a Tax of a penny a year upon every house of *Ireland*, to the profit of the Papal See; and that he should hold that Kingdom by the Popes Grant, as a Fee of the Roman Church. (m) For (saith he) there is no doubt but that the Islands upon which Christ the Son of Righteousness is risen, and that have received the Instructions of the Christian Faith, belong to S. Peter's Right, and to the holy Roman Church. And upon that he exhorteth *Henry* to instruct that Nation in good manners, and in obedience to the Church.

(m) Sanè omnes insulas, quibus Sol justitia Christus illuxit. & quæ documenta fidei Christianæ susceperunt ad jus sancti Petri & sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ non est dubium pertinere. Baron.

In the same year at *Argentueil* near *Paris*, was found our Saviours Coat without seams, made for him by his Mother in his Infancy, and grown with him. There was found some Writing upon it, which made that to be known which had not been perceived in 1154 years.

Then also was burnt at *Rome* one *Arnould*, who preached with great applause that the Pope had nothing to do to meddle with temporal things. And he was burnt by the Command of Pope *Adrian*, who soon after was suffocated by a Flie which he swallowed with his Drink. A wonder, that he that was God on Earth, and whom Kings worshipped, could be (n) suffocated by a Flie. *Alexander* the III. succeeded him, who Sainted King *Edward* the Confessor, dead above a hundred years before.

(n) Uspergenfis.

(o) Matth. Paris, Baronius.

(o) In the year 1162. King *Henry* the II. of *England* preferred his Chancellour *Thomas Becket* to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, a prudent and industrious man, and learned, as the time was, but sufficiently stored with Ambition. He received that preferment from the King, without any Investiture or Consent from

from the Pope. Yet the Pope not long after sent him the Archbishops Pall. This displeas'd the King, who soon after assembled a Council at *Clarence*, where all appealsto *Rome* were forbidden; and all the Prelates declared that they held their Offices and Benefices from the King, and from none else; to which Orders the said Archbishop *Thomas* was also consenting.

But a while after this Prelate changed his Opinion, and protested that he was sorry to have consented to the Kings Ordinances, and to the Conclusions of the Council, and to shew his Repentance, he cut off himself from the Communion. Then he stole away into *Flanders*, and from thence to *Rome*, to Pope *Alexander* the III. Whereupon the King renewed the same Laws, and decreed that every person, whether of the Clergy or Laity, that should appeal to the Pope, should be committed to Prison, and proceeded against: The Goods of *Thomas* he caused to be seized, and banished both him and his kindred. Clergy-men were forbidden to go beyond the Seas without leave, and surety for their return. A strict Order was made, that no Mandate from the Pope should be received into the Kingdom of *England*: And that *Peters Pence*, which the Pope raised by the Pell in *England* every year, should be seized into the hands of his Majesties Officers.

But *Thomas* being come into *France*, excommunicated with burning Candles and ring of Bells, all that under pretence of maintaining the Kings Right, did hinder the Profits of his Holiness; then he retired to *St. Colomb* of *Sens*, where King *Lewis* did liberally entertain him. But King *Henry* angry that Pope *Alexander* maintained *Thomas*, whom he called his rebellious Subject, (p) forbad all his Subjects to yield any Subjection to the Pope.

(p) Matth. Paris, pag. 103.

In the year 1170. King *Henry* caused his eldest Son *Henry* to be crowned King of *England*, by the Hands of the Archbishop of *York*: Which *Thomas*, though banished, took very heavily, and excommunicated the said Archbishop and all his adherents in that Action; for he pretended that the right of Crowning Kings belonged to him.

King *Henry*, after the Crowning of his Son, passed into *Normandy*, where King *Lewis* by his Intervention so prevailed, that King *Henry* and *Thomas* met and spake together. And when it was required that *Thomas* should kiss King *Henry* in sign of Reconciliation: *Thomas*, coming near to the King, said to him, *I kiss you for the Honour of God, or for Gods sake*. At which the King, offended, would not receive the Kiss; as if *Thomas* had given him to understand, that he kissed him not for his own sake. So nothing was done for that time. But soon after, King *Henry*, (q) perswaded by some Prelates, met again with *Thomas* at *Froncevaux*, and did that which no man would have believed. For twice he held the Bridle of *Thomas* his Horse. For that Prelate was not contented to have received that Honour once, but he alighted again, that the King should do him that submission once more, as he also did. Thus that Priest practised Apostolick Humility.

(q) Matth. Paris in Henric. II. pag. 117. Cum autem Rex & Archiepiscopus in partem se-

cessissent, bisque descendissent & bis ascendissent, bis habenam Archiepiscopi Rex tenuit cum equum ascendisset.

After

After this Triumph, *Thomas* returned into *England* full of Glory. Where instead of bringing and keeping Peace, he was the Bearer and Proclaimer of an Excommunication and Sentence of Deposition against the Archbishop of *York* and his Adherents, who had taken upon them to Crown the young King in his absence. But the King hindered the Execution of that Sentence. Such was then the Power of the Keys, such was the abominable Pride of the Popes Slaves.

The next year after, the same *Thomas* excommunicated solemnly the Lord *Sackville*, appointed by the King Vicar of the Church at *Canterbury*; because he did derogate from the Rites of the Church, to please the King. (r) He excommunicated also one *Robert Brook* for curtailing a Horse that carried Victuals to the Archbishops House. For which reason the King, being then in *Normandy*, sent over four of his Servants to the Archbishop, to command him to absolve those whom he had unjustly excommunicated, and take off his Suspensions from others. Which command; when the Archbishop despised to obey, the King began to grieve very sore before his Servants; and to lament his condition. This moved the same four men, whom the King had sent before, to return into *England* to the same Archbishop, whom they found in the Church of *Canterbury* at three a clock in the after-noon, and calling him Traytor to the King, they slew him, and dashed his Brains upon the floor. His last words when he dyed were, *I commend my self and Gods Cause unto God, and to the blessed Mary, and to the Saints, Patrons of this Church, and to Saint Dennis.*

Here the lightness of the peoples minds appeared. For the same men that detested the Pride of that *Thomas*, began to worship him after his death, compassion moving them to Devotion. King *Henry* himself shewed a deep sorrow for it, and though he protested himself innocent of that Fact, yet he sent Embassadors to the Pope to make satisfaction about it, and to undergo such a penance as the Pope would impose. But the Pope would not so much as receive his Embassadors to kiss his Feet, and would not see them: And in great wrath spake of excommunicating the whole Kingdom of *England*, and putting an Interdict upon it, which (in his account) was sending all the English into Hell. As long as that King made Edicts, whereby he forbad his Subjects to yield any Obedience to the Pope, or to receive any Bulls or Mandates from *Rome*, the Pope did not trouble him, and used no threatening. But as soon as he began to humble himself, the Pope trod under his feet, the Majesty of such a great King. And he made the King to buy his Absolution at a dear rate. He enjoyned him to suffer appeals from *England* to *Rome*. To quit his Rights and Claim against the Liberties of the Church, that is, to the Investitures. To keep two hundred men of Arms in pay for the Holy War: of which Pay, the Popes Assigns were to be the Receivers. And that in *England* they should celebrate the Feast of the glorious Martyr Saint *Thomas* of *Canterbury*. The Words of the Bull are these. (l) *We strictly charge*

(r) *Districte precipimus, ut natalem Thomae Martyris glori-*

si Cantuariensis olim Archiepiscopi, diem videlicet passionis ejus, sollemniter sub annis singulis celebretis, & apud eum votivis orationibus satagatis peccatorum veniam promereri.

Thomas sometimes Archbishop of Canterbury, that is, the day of his Passion; and that by devout Prayers to him, you endeavour to merit the Remission of your Sins.

To make the satisfaction compleat, King Henry passeth from Normandy into England, stayeth at Canterbury, strips himself naked, and is whipt by a great company of Monks, of whom some gave him five lashes, some three. Of which satisfactions imposed on Henry by the Pope, Machiavel speaks thus in the first Book of the History of Florence. (t) These things were accepted by Henry, and so great a King submitted himself to that Judgment, to which a private man, in our days, would be ashamed to submit himself. Then he exclaimeth, So, much things that have some shew are more feared afar off, than near hand! which he saith, because at the same time the Citizens of Rome expelled the Pope out of the City with disgrace, scorning his Excommunication.

(t) Le quali cose furono da Enrico accettate, & sottomesse si à quel giudicio un tanto Re, che hoggi un homo privato si vergognarebbe sottometersi, &c. Tanto le cose che paiono sono piu da dispetto che d'apresso temute.

Then began the Relicks of Saint Thomas to do miracles: Insomuch that King Lewis, who had entertained Thomas at Sens, passed over into England to worship him, and made his devotions to his Reliquis. That with the Canonization of that Saint, and the Commandment made unto the world to pray to him, put this Thomas in very great credit. Yet it is hard to say for what Article of the Christian Faith this Martyr suffered, seeing that his banishments were only for Investitures, and Collations of Benefices, and pecuniary matters. Thus by Gods permission the mystery of iniquity was growing. King (x) Lewis at his return fearing the storm, though his passage was but from Dover to Callice, and saying, that to cross the Seas was a thing more than humane, prayed to Sr. Thomas the Martyr, that from that time none should suffer shipwrack in that passage.

(x) Westm. Anno 1179. Ludovicus con-summato voto peregrinationis

sua ad votum ad propria inter Doverum & Witsand navigando sine aliquo impedimento remeavit; & quia in mari nimis timidus erat & timens pericula, dicens, esse plusquam humanum transfrerare, petiit beatum Thomam ut in illo Transitu nullus pateretur ex illo tempore naufragium.

(y) At that time Pope Alexander the III. he'd a Council at St. John of Latran of Rome, where they consulted about the Extirpation of the Albigois. And he gave order that the Archbishops visiting Churches, should content themselves to ride with an attendance of fifty Horses.

(y) Matth. Paris, in Hen. II. Westmon.

In the year 1189 King Henry the second of England dyed. His Son Richard surnamed Coeur de Lyon succeeded him. In the sixth year of his Reign (z) Walter Archbishop of Rouen, displeas'd because the King was fortifying the Castle of Andeli, put whole Normandy in interdict, made Divine Service to cease over all the Country, shut up Church yards, and forbad all ringing of Bells; and for a quarrel between the King and himself, excommunicated the whole people, so that no Norman entred into Paradise, unless he would take part against the King. Then he ran away to Rome, where he was kindly received. (a) At the same time William Bishop of Ely, the Popes Legat, was making a progress through England with a train of fifteen hundred Horse. (b) That Interdict having lasted

(z) West. an. 1196. Matth. Paris, p. 175.

(a) Matth. Paris, p. 175.

(b) Matth. Paris, an.

1197. p. 184. *Achiepiscopus Rothomagensis in Normanniam sententiam tulerat interdicti. Facebant corpora defunctorum insepulta per plateas civitatum & vicos, qua viventibus satorem non minimum incusserunt.*

two years, the afflicted people were in great confusion, because they saw themselves deprived of the Divine Service, and cast out of the Communion of the Church for a quarrel in which they had no hand, the burying places shut up, the dead Bodies cast out in the streets, sending forth such a stink that the whole Countrey was infected with it.

In the end King *Richard* was necessitated to send Embassadors to *Rome* to plead his Cause against the Archbishop. The Agreement was made with these Conditions. That the King might fortifie the Castle of *Andeli*; because it was a frontier near the French. But that to appease the Archbishop, and make him take off the Interdict from the Countrey, the King should give to the Archbishop all the Mills of *Rouen*, to enjoy them as his own, both he and his Successors; also all the Kings demains at *Diepe*, and at *Lowviers*, and the Forrest of *Haliermont*, with all the appertenances of the same. That being done, they began again to sing Masses in *Normandy*, and by the Popes order Paradise was opened again unto the Normans. Then also the Order of the Dominicans first appeared, which was approved and confirmed by *Innocent* the III. With that Order, and that of the *Franciscans*, *England* was presently filled.

The fear of the Interdict in those days kept Princes and Nations in such fear, that there was nothing that the Pope could not obtain of the Sovereigns, as soon as he threatned their Land with an Interdict.

In the year 1199. King *Philip August* of *France* (c) imprisoned *Peter de Douay* elected Bishop of *Cambray*. And at the same time King *John* of *England* kept the Bishop of *Beauvais* prisoner, whom he had taken in Battel armed *cap à pe*. But both these Kings were constrained to release their Prisoners by the threatning of *Innocent* the III. to put *France* and *England* in Interdict. Which if he had done, from the Mediterranean Sea to the Border of *Scotland* Divine Service had ceased, Churches and Church-yards had been shut up, all the people had been excommunicated. It was that same year that Breasts of Flesh grew upon an Image of the *Virgin Mary* in *Damascus*, as (d) *Matthew Paris* relateth. In the same time one *Thurcal* an Englishman was in a rapture carried in the night to Purgatory, of which *St. Nicolas* is Governor; Where also he saw the mouth of Hell, whence a stinking smoak issued out, which, as it was revealed to him, came out of Tyths detained or ill paid, because there those men were horribly punished who had ill paid the Tyths due to the Church. There also he saw the Souls for which no Masses were sung, put to a longer and sorer torment, and those poor Souls were barefoot, and had their Bellies flayed and raw. He saw also the Souls that came out of that fire besprinkled by *St. Michael* with holy Water. This is exactly related by *Mat. Paris* a Monk of *St. Albons*, superstitious according to the age he lived in. Then also came the *Minorite Fryers* into *England*, their Order being but lately instituted.

This King *John* was unfortunate in War, and ill beloved of his own Subjects. King *Philip August* of *France* took from him *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Tourain*, *Poitou*, and part of *Guenné*. After these losses, being retired into *England*, he began to oppress the English, and tyrannically to rob the substance of the Nobles and the Clergy. Whereby he gave fair play to Pope *Innocent* III. a man as crafty, and

(c) Matth. Paris, in Johanne Rege, p. 191.

(d) 203, & 247.

stirring as ever was any; for he brought that King upon his knees, and got his ends of him, at the first occasion of quarrel, which was this.

The Pope having chosen Cardinal *Stephen Langton* Archbishop of *Canterbury* without the Kings consent, the King, angry at it, sent some Souldiers to *Canterbury* who used the Monks of *Canterbury* as Traytors, and expelled them out of *England*.

(e) He sent also reproachful Letters to the Pope, upbraiding him that the Popes got more money out of *England* than out of any Kingdom, and yet delighted to bring it into trouble, and to encroach upon the Liberties of the Crown; threatening, that if the Pope continued in these courses, he would shut up all the passages out of his Kingdom, that no money should pass out of *England* to *Rome*; saying, that he had Prelates of sufficient capacity, and needed not to ask Justice of those that were far from him.

(e) Matth. Paris, & Westmonast. in Johanne.

Had a victorious King, well beloved of his Subjects, spoken thus, the Pope would have given him fair words, and spoken like a Father, that beareth with a fatherly meekness the infirmities of his dearest Son. So had his Predecessors born with all threatnings and ill words of *William Rufus*, *Henry I.* and *Henry the II.* before *Thomas Becket's* death. But with this *John*, a weak and ill advised Prince, he behaved himself otherwise. For after Letters of admonition, he gave order to some of his most confiding Prelates in *England*, that if the King should continue that Language, they should put an Interdict upon all *England*.

Which was speedily executed. And (f) *England* remained under the Interdict six years, and three months and a half. Whereby not only the King and his Court but also all the people of *England*, who had nothing to do with that quarrel, were excommunicated. In that long time how many thousands of men died in the great Kingdom of *England*? who, by the rules of the Roman Church, and by the Popes Judgment, are eternally damned; and that not for Heresie, nor for any crime of the People, but for a quarrel between the King and the Pope, about some Investitures of Churches and Collations of Benefices, and money matters.

(f) Westmon. An. 1214. Interdictum duravit sex annis quatuordecim septimanis & duobus diebus.

(g) Then (saith *Matthew Paris*, who was an eye-witness of all that disorder) all the Sacraments of the Church ceased in *England*, saving only the Confession and the Communion of the Host in the last necessity, and the Baptism of little Children. And the dead bodies were carried out of the Towns, and as if they had been the bodies of Dogs, they were buried by the high ways, and in ditches; without Prayers and without Service of Priests.

(g) Matth. Paris, in Johanne, p. 217. Cessaverunt in Anglia omnia Ecclesiastica Sacramenta præter solum-

modo confessionem, & viaticum in ultima necessitate, & baptismum parvulorum. Corpora quoque defunctorum de civitatibus & villis efferebantur, & more canum in bivulis & fossatis sine orationibus & sacerdotum ministerio sepeliebantur.

By the same Interdict (according to the custom of the Interdict) Masses, Mattens, Vespers, all publick Service and ringing of Bells was forbidden, and the Kingdom was exposed to rapin and prey, and given to any that could conquer it. Only the King was not yet excommunicated by name, but that was done the next year after.

Next, the same *Innocent* deposed *John* from the Kingdom of *England*, and

(h) Westmon. absolved the English from the Oath of heir Allegiance, (h) and commanded
 an. 1211. & Philip August, King of France, that for the remission of his Sins, he should
 1213. Matth. invade the Kingdom of England with force of Arms, giving to those that should
 Paris, in Jo- follow the King in that Conquest, the remission of all their Sins, and the same Gra-
 hane. Ad ces and Pardons, as to them that visit the Holy Sepulchre. Whereupon the said
 bujus sententia executionem King Philip, partly to obtain the remission of his Sins, partly to make himself
 scripsit Domi- Master of England, raised a mighty Army whilst Innocent was labouring to make
 nus Papa poten- the English to rise against their King.

rissimo Regi Francorum

Philippo, quatenus in remissionem omnium suorum peccatorum hunc laborem assumeret, & Rege Anglorum a solio expulso, ipse & successores sui regnum Anglie perpetuo jure possiderent, &c. Statuit praterea, ut quicunque ad expugnandum Regem illum contumacem opes impenderint vel auxilium, sicut illi qui sepulchrum Domini visitant, tam in rebus quam in personis & animarum suffragiis in pace Ecclesie secure permancant. Westmonast. an. 1213. Matth. Paris in Johanne. Johannes Dei Gratia Rex Anglie, &c. volentes nos ipsos humiliare pro illo qui se pro nobis humiliavit usque ad mortem, gratia Spiritus inspirante, non vi interdicti nec timore coacti, sed nostra bona spontaneaue voluntate, ac communi consilio Baronum nostrorum, conferimus & libere concedimus Deo & sanctis ejus Apostolis Petro & Paulo & sancte Romanae Ecclesie matri nostrae ac Domino Papa Innocentio ejusque Catholicis successoribus totum regnum Anglie & totum regnum Hibernie, cum omni jure ac pertinentiis suis pro remissione omnium peccatorum nostrorum & totius generis nostri tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis, & a modo illa ab eo & ab Ecclesia Romana tanquam secundarius recipientes & tenentes, in presentia prudentis viri Pandulfi Domini Papae Subdiaconi & familiaris: Exinde predicto Domino Papa Innocentio ejusque Catholicis successoribus, & Ecclesie Romanae secundum formam subscriptam fecimus & juravimus homagium ligium in presentia Pandulfi. Si coram Domino Papa esse poterimus, idem faciemus, &c. Ad indicium autem hujus nostrae perpetuae obligationis & concessionis volumus & stabilimus, ut de propriis & specialibus redditibus nostris predictorum regnorum pro omni servitio & consuetudine qua pro ipsis facere debemus, salvis per omnia denariis beati Petri, Ecclesia Romanae ille marcas estrelingorum percipiat annuatim, &c.

This moved King John to humble himself under the Pope, and to receive such Conditions as were best pleasing to his Holiness. The Conditions were, that the King should yield unto the Pope the whole right of Patronage of all the Benefices of his Kingdom. That to obtain absolution of his Sins, he should pay to the Clergy of Canterbury, and to other Prelates, the sum of eight thousand pounds Sterling. That he should satisfy for the damages done to the Church, according to the judgment of the Popes Legat or Vicelegat. That the said John should resign his Crown into the Popes hands, with his Kingdoms of England and Ireland: for which Letters were formed, and given to Pandulfus the Popes Legat. The words were these. I John by the Grace of God King, &c. freely grant unto God and to the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and to the holy Roman Church our Mother, and to the Lord Pope Innocent, and to his Catholick Successors, the whole Kingdom of England and the whole Kingdom of Ireland, with all the rights and all the appertinances of the same, for the remission of our Sins, and of all our Generation, both for the living and the dead; that from this time forward we may receive and hold them of him, and of the Roman Church, as second after him, &c. We have sworn, and swear unto the said Lord Pope Innocent, and to his Catholick Successors, and to the Roman Church, a liege homage in the presence of Pandulfus. If we can be in the presence of the Lord Pope we will do the same, and to this we oblige our Successors and Heirs for

ever, &c. And for the sign of this our perpetual obligation and concession, we will and ordain, that out of our proper and especial Revenues from the said Kingdoms, for all our service and custom which we ought to render, the Roman Church receive a thousand Marks sterling yearly, without diminution of St. Peters Pence; that is five hundred Marks at the Feast of St. Michael, and five hundred at Easter, &c. And if we or any of our successors presume to attempt against these things, let him forfeit his right to the Kingdom, &c.

Although the King did this most unwillingly, and with a heart full of rage and anguish, yet he swore (and it is inferred in the Letters) that he did this *with a good will, of his own motion, and by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost*. And at the same instant he did homage to the Pope, as a Vassal to his Liege Lord in the person of *Pandulfus* the Legat, and put at the feet of that Legat a sum of money which (i) the said Legat trod upon with his foot in sign of subjection. All this was done *juxta quod Roma fuerat sententiatum, as it had been ordained at Rome*, (k) as *Matthæw Paris* saith, that one may not think that King *John* did this with his own motion, and unconstrained, although they made him swear that he had done it of his good will, and by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

All that being done, yet the Legat went away without taking off the Interdict, and without absolving the King from his Excommunication, which he might have removed with speaking one word. But he returned beyond the Sea, carrying with him a mass of Treasure squeezed out of the Purses of the poor English. And being come to the Coast of *Normandy*, he found King *Philip August* with a great Army, and a Fleet of a thousand Ships, staying only for the Wind to pass into *England* to conquer it. To whom the Legat declared from the Pope, that he should not bring his Army over, nor undertake any thing against *England*; because it belonged to the Pope, the King of *England* being now become the Popes Vassal, and *England* the Patrimony of *St. Peter*. At which *Philip* expressed a great indignation, seeing himself thus affronted by the Pope, who had made him spend a vast sum of money, to raise a great Army to conquer *England*, promising him the remission of all his Sins; and now disappointed him, and after he had given him *England*, forbid him to enter into it. Wherefore notwithstanding the Legats prohibitions, the King would have continued his Design, had not the Earl of *Flanders* forsaken him, returning with his Troops into his Countrey, because he would not offend the Pope. Whence followed a bloody War between *France* and *Flanders*.

(l) But King *John* full of confusion and anguish, cast himself down on his knees before the Archbishop and other English Prelates, begging with tears to be absolved from the Excommunication; which in the end, out of their fatherly compassion, they granted. Yet was not the Interdict taken off.

At the same time *Innocent* the III. published the *Croisada* against those that were reproachfully called *Albigois* and *Vaudois*, because they did not acknowledge the Pope, called upon none but God alone, had no Images; did not go to Mass, denied Purgatory, and read the Scripture. The Pope gave the same Graces to them, that should spill the Blood of these poor Christians, as to them that crossed them-

(i) Matthæw Paris in Johanne p. 228. *Pandulfus peticuniam, quam in arcam subjectionis Rex contulerat, sub pede suo conculcavit, Archiepiscopo dolente & reclamante.*
(k) Id. p. 227.

(l) Matthæw Paris, in Johanne, p. 229.

selves to go to the holy Sepulchre and fight against the Saracens. The chief promoter of that War was *Dominick*, the Author of the Order of *Dominicans*, who put above two hundred thousand of them to death.

In the mean while, King *John* was storming and eating his own heart with sorrow, seeing his Crown thus miserably enslaved. And his Barons forsook him, being angry that he had subjected his Crown to a forrain Power. (m) He then finding no help from any Christian, was brought to such a despair, that he sent Embassadors to a Mahumetan Prince, *Amiral Marmelin* or *Miramolin* King of *Barbary* and *Granata*, offering him the Kingdom of *England*, and promising to be his Vassal, if he would deliver him from his subjection to the Pope. But that barbarous King would not accept of the gift, and despised King *John*, who now for his last refuge had recourse to the Pope. (n) King *John* (saith *Matthew Paris*) had learned by many experiences that the Pope was above all men of the world ambitious, and proud, insatiably thirsty of money, flexible and prone to any wickedness for recompences either given or promised. He sent to him then a great sum of money, beseeching him to excommunicate the Archbishop and the Barons of his Kingdom. At his request, *Innocent* sent into *England* a Legate called *Nicolas* Bishop of *Thusculo*; into whose hands *John* resigned his Crown, and did homage to him, as representing the Popes person, whom he acknowledged his temporal Lord, and Sovereign of the Kingdom. This was done before the great Altar of *Pau's* Church at *London*. (o) And the Deed whereby that resignation of the Kingdom was made unto the Pope; was renewed and sealed with Gold, whereas the former was sealed with Lead only. And the said Legat assumed then a full power to dispose of the Ecclesiastical Offices of *England*, without the consent either of the Archbishop, or the Bishops of the places. Whereby (saith *Matthew Paris*) he got the Indignation and Curse of many, instead of the Blessing. And *Pandulfus* sent to *Rome* to exalt King *John's* Goodness and Humility to the Pope, and to aggravate the Pride and Insolency of the Archbishop, Bishops, and Barons of *England* that opposed him.

Finally, in the year 1214. the Interdict was taken off by the legate, the Mass restored, the Churches and Church-yards opened, and the people reconciled by the Popes Concession, upon condition that the King should give to the Archbishop and Bishops, that had the charge of taking off the Interdict, forty thousand Marks.

But the Barons of *England*, sore grieved to see the Crown of *England* so debased, asked of the King the enjoying of some liberties and priviledges which he had sworn unto them. These demands having caused a great dissention between the King and the Barons, the King referred the whole unto the Pope, as unto his Liege, of whom he held the Crown. (p) The Pope having heard the Kings Complaints by his Embassadors; said with an angry countenance, *Will the Barons of England put down from the Royal Seat a crossed King, who hath put himself under the Protection of the Apostolick See? Will they transfer the Domain of the Roman Church to another? By Saint Peter I cannot leave that injury unpunished.* Wherefore by express Bulls, he took away all the priviledges of the English Nobility, and dispensed

(m) Matth.
Paris, an.
1213. P. 233.

(n) Noverat
& multiplici
didicerat experi-
entia, quod
Papa super om-
nes mortales
ambitiosus erat
& superbus pec-
cunieque sitior
insatiabilis. &
ad omnia scele-
ra pro premiis
datis aut pro-
missis cecius &
proclivus.

(o) Matth.
Paris p. 236,
237. Exacta est
& innovata il-
la non formosa
sed famosa sub-
jectio, quæ in
manum Domi-
ni Papæ diade-
mate cum reg-
no resignatorum
dominium Hi-
bernæ quam
regnum subicit
Anglicanum.

(p) Idem p.
236.

dispensed King *John* from keeping his promise unto them, and threatned the said Barons with an Anathema in case of disobedience: That dealing he grounded upon this reason, (q) *That to the Pope in the Person of the Prophet God said, I have set thee over Nations and over Kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant.* And by other Letters he commanded the Barons like a King, not to exact of King *John* the fulfilling of that he had sworn unto them.

(q) *Quia nobis à Domino dictum est in Propheta, Constitui te super gentes & regna, ut evellas & destruas, & aedifices, & plantes.*

But the Barons did not care for the Popes Maudate, wherefore they were all excommunicated by the Pope, and their Lands and Lordships put in Interdict.

The Prelates of *England* were comminded to publish that Sentence over all *England* with burning Candles, and ringing of Bells. At the same time, the Pope suspended *Simon Langton* Archbishop of *York* from his place, at the request of King *John*: And his brother *Stephen Langton* likewise. A worthy recompense for their helping of the Pope to make the King the Popes subject. The cause of their suspension was, that they had refused to publish the Excommunication of the Barons of the Kingdom, but it was published by others appointed for that purpose by *Pandulfus*, who was joyned in Commission with the Legate.

(r) *Matth. Paris, p. 262. Recitata sunt in pleno Concilio Capitula 69. quæ aliis placabilia, aliis videbantur onerosa.*

The next year, which was the year 1215. Pope *Innocent* the III. did gather a Council of the whole Papal Empire at *Rome* in the Church of *Laterane*, in which there was neither deliberating, nor consulting with the Assembly, (r) but only reading of threescore and nine Chapters of Ordinances made by this Pope *Innocent*. By the third Chapter, power is given to the Pope to take away the Lands of Princes and Lords, and to give them to others. (s) There also it was spoken of the Voyage and Conquest of the Holy Land, and a degree of Glory in Paradise above others, was promised unto them that should perform that Journey in their own persons. To them that would not go, but only contribute to the Journey, no more was given, but the remission of all their sins, and by consequent eternal Life. These last, having a smaller share, were to content themselves with the Kingdom of Heaven. But as for those that would neither go nor contribute, *Innocent* declared unto them, That they must answer him for it before God in the day of Judgment.

(s) *Bulla ad liberandam sub finem Conc. Lateran An. 1215.*

Then also was the persecution doubled against the *Vandois* and *Albigois*. And the Clergy of *York*, named *Walter de Gray* Archbishop of *York*, who obtained his Investiture at *Rome*: Whence he parted, having first obliged himself (t) to pay unto the Pope ten thousand pounds sterling, which in those days was enough for a Kings Ransom.

(t) *Matth. Paris, in Johanne, p. 263. Episcopus memoratus rediit in Angliam, obligatus in furia Romana de decem millibus librarum legalium estrelingerum, &c. Extorsit Papa infinitam pecuniam, de unoquoque prelato.*

That was the End for which the Pope had been so long debating about the Right of Investitures. That was the fruit of the Martyrdom of *Thomas Becket*. By the same way the Pope extorted from the Prelates of *England* an incredible sum of Money.

The King obtained from the Pope, that the Barons of his Kingdom, who had been excommunicated only by the great, and in general, should be excommunicated by name, by a second Excommunication. But the Barons and

the

(u) Ibid. pag. 267. *Quod non perinet ad Papam ordinatio rerum Laicorum, &c. Prob Pudor marci di ribaldi qui de armis vel liberalitate minime norunt, toti mundo propter Excommunicationes suas volunt dominari.*

the Citizens of London laughed at that Excommunication; saying, (u) That it belonged not to the Pope to rule secular affairs, seeing that the Lord had left no more to Peter and his Successors, but the disposition of Ecclesiastical things. Why doth the mad Covetousness of the Romans extend to us? What have Apostolick Bishops to do with our Knighthood? These are the Successors of Constantine, not of Peter, &c. O shame! effeminate ribalds, that know not what belongs to Arms or Honour, will domineer over all the world by their Excommunications.

But the Barons seeing the King too strong for them, sent to *Lewis*, Son to *Philip August* King of *France*, to beseech him to pass with an army into *England*, promising to put the Crown of *England* upon his Head. And for assurance, they sent to King *Philip* four and twenty of the noblest of the Land for Hostages.

While that *Lewis* made himself ready to pass into *England*, a Legat, called *Walo*, came from the Pope to King *Philip*, to beseech him from the Pope not to suffer his Son to come into *England*, because *John* was a Vassal of the Roman Church, and *England* was the Popes demain. That crafty Pope spake to King *Philip* with respect, because he saw him beloved of his Subjects, and because he knew his Power and Courage. And although *Philip* notwithstanding the Popes desire, sent his Son over with an Army to take *England* from the Pope, and expel the Popes Vassal from his possession, yet the Pope shot no Excommunication against him. Yea, when the Legate called *England* the Patrimony of Saint Peter, *Philip* answered to the Legat in high scorn, (x) *That the Kingdom of England had never been, nor was, nor ever should be the Patrimony of Saint Peter. And that if the Pope would arrogantly defend that error, being drawn to it by the greedy desire of a new domination, he should give a most pernicious example unto all Kingdoms.* To which all the French Lords there present added, That they would stand till death for the defence of that Article.

(x) Westmonast. Ann. 1216. Regnum Angliæ Patrimonium Petri vel Ecclesiæ Romana nunquam fuit, nec est, nec erit, &c. Et si Papa hunc errorem tueri affectus nove dominationis libidine contumaciter decreverit, exemplum omnibus regnis dabit perniciosum.

Et si Papa hunc errorem tueri affectus nove dominationis libidine contumaciter decreverit, exemplum omnibus regnis dabit perniciosum.

Yet when *Lewis* was come into *England*, and had taken from *John* the most part of his Kingdom, the Legate coming into *England*, excommunicated *Lewis* with Candles burning, and Bells ringing, and all his adherents. The death of King *John* having appeased the wrath of the Barons, and cooled their affections to *Lewis*, made *Lewis* to return into *France*.

John being dead, his Son *Henry* the III. succeeded, and almost at the same time *Fredrick* attained to the Empire, who (y) obliged himself by Oath unto the Pope to pass into *Syria* to conquer the Holy Land. Two years after his promise, he embarked himself at *Brindissi* in *Calabria* to go into *Syria*, but being constrained to return to Land, by reason of the indisposition of his Body, *Gregory* the IX. excommunicated him, accusing him of Perjury. Yet soon after he embarked

(y) Uspergensis. Cuspinius. Blondus. Matth. Paris. Collenutius.

barqued himself again, and happily arrived into *Syria*, where he achieved many great exploits against the Saracens, and conquered *Jerusalem*. But the Pope did not for all that take off the Excommunication. And in the very day of the triumph, when thanks were given to God for that glorious Conquest, and the amplification of Christian Religion, the Clergy, by the Popes order, would not admit him to the Communion, but turned their backs to him as to an execrable man. But the Pope made it soon known for what reason he had been so urgent to send him away. For, as soon as the Pope saw him engaged in a difficult War, far from home, he invaded the Lands of *Frederick* in *Puglia*, and went about to take *Lombardy* from him: Neither did he care to free him from the Excommunication, although he had accomplished his Vow. (z) Yea the Knights Templers, the Popes Creatures, that were sent by him into the *Levant*, knowing that the Emperour would go to *Jordan* to wash himself, advertised the *Soldan* of the Saracens of it, that he might take *Frederick*. But the *Soldan* abhorring that perfidiousness, sent the Letters of the Templers to *Frederick*, to warn him to look to himself. The Pope himself hindred the Auxiliary Forces of the *Croisada* that were going to help *Frederick*, and would not suffer them to advance. This forced *Frederick* to abandon the Holy Land, and to return into *Italy* to reconquer his own Country, which the Pope had taken from him. The Pope frighted, took off the Excommunication presently, yet upon condition that the Emperour should pay him two hundred thousand Ounces of Gold.

Yet he continued to set on the Princes and Commons of *Germany* to rebel against *Frederick*: And so great was his hatred against *Frederick*, that *Cuspinian* and (a) *Crontzius* write, that he sent Letters to the *Sultan* of the Saracens, to perswade that *Mahometan* to make war against him. But God gave victory to *Frederick* every where; for he defeated, in many combates, all the enemies which the Pope raised against him. So great was his animosity against that Emperour, that when Forces of the *Croisada* came out of *France*, or *England*, or other parts, to sail into *Syria*, to defend *Jerusalem* and the Holy Sepulchre against the Saracens, (b) he stopt them, and gave them the same Graces and Indulgences, as if they had performed the Journey into the Holy Land, upon condition that they should turn their Arms against *Frederick*, whose power lay heavy upon him, because he stilly maintained the Rights of the Empire. The Pope came so far, as to give the Empire to *Robert*, Brother of *Lewis* the IX. King of *France*, upon condition that he should conquer it. (c) But *Robert* sent back to the Pope his Present, both because he sent him no money to furnish him for that Conquest, and because he found it very strange, that the Pope would give that which was none of his: Also because he shewed himself an enemy to a great and vertuous Prince, who had done and suffered so much, bravely fighting for the Cause of the Christians against the Infidels. Then he added, that the Popes are lavish of the blood of others, and that their end is to tread all the Princes of the world under their fee, and to put on the horns of pride.

In the mean while, persecution grew sore against those whom they called *Nandois* and *Albigensis*, against whom the Pope caused the *Croisada* to be preached,

(z) Matth. Paris, in Henrico 3. p. 346.

(a) Crontzius in an. Chr. 1249.

(b) Matth. Paris in Henric. 3.

(c) Idem pag. 500.

and an Infinite number of them to be massacred. Then also Saint *Francis* and Saint *Dominick* were making Miracles, and preaching obedience to the Papal See.

(d) Id. Henric. III. pag. 279.

(d) And as *Pope Innocent the III.* at *Rome*, was carrying in procession the face of *Christ* printed in a Linnen Cloth, that face turned it self with the Beard upwards, as *Matthew Paris* relateth. Which moved *Innocent* to compose a Prayer to the same Image, and to give ten days of Indulgence to all that would adore the Image, saying that Prayer. These are the Words of it, (e) *Hail thou holy*

(e) *Salve sancta facies nostri Redemptoris, in qua nitet species divini splendoris; Impressa panniculo nivei splendoris; Dataque*

Face of the Redeemer; In which shineth the appearance of Divine Beauty; Printed upon a Cloth of Snowy Whiteness, and given to Veronica as a Token of Love; Purge us from all spot of Vices, and joyn us to the company of Saints. Hail thou Face of the Lord! Blessed Image! Lead us to that which is thine, O happy Figure! To see the pure Face of Christ. The whole prayer speaks to the Image as if it heard the prayer.

Veronica signam ob amoris, &c. Nos ab omni macula purga vitiorum; Atque nos consortio junge beatorum. Salve vultus Domini imago beata, &c. Nos deduc ad propria, O felix figura! Ad videndum faciem que est Christi pura.

But in *England* the *Popes* Tyranny grew sorer every day. For *Henry the III.* being come to the Crown, gave the homage of his Kingdom to the *Pope*, and renewed the Oath of Fidelity and Subjection, and the promise of paying a thousand marks yearly to the *Pope*.

Innocent the III. being dead, in the year 1219. *Honorius the III.* succeeded him, and (f) at his entry to the Papacy made an *English* Saint called *Hugh*, with a command to pray to him, and to celebrate his Feast.

(f) *Matth. Paris, An. 1220. p. 299. Sanctorum Catalogo scriptissimus, universitatem vestram monemus & exhortamur in Domino, quatenus ejus apud Deum patrocinium devote imploretis.*

In the year 1225. King *Henry* being yet very young, the *Pope*, as his Sovereign in Temporal Things, declared him *Majar*, and capable to conduct his own Business.

In the year 1225. the *Pope* sent *Otho* his *Nuntio* into *England*, who exacted of every Conventual Church two Marks of Silver. The next year after, a Council was held at *Westminster*, where the said *Nuntio* read in full Assembly the *Popes* Letters, in which the *Pope* said, (g) *That a scandal was cast upon the Roman Church: And that the ancient reproach and disgrace of the Court of Rome, was the Covetousness of Riches, which is the Root of all Evils. Especially because none could get any business done in the Roman Court, but with many Presents, and with greasing the Officers with money. But because the Poverty of the Romans was the cause of that evil, it was the duty of the English, as natural Sons, to relieve the poverty of their Mother, because without their Liberality, the Roman Court could not preserve her Dignity. That the way to remedy that reproach, was, that the Pope should have in every Cathedral Church, and in every Abbey and Monastery of England, two Prebends, of which he should enjoy the Fruits. And in the same year the same*

(g) *Matth. Paris, p. 314. 316.*

Pope called a Council at *Bourges*, where he made the same motion by his Legat. But he found Contradiction from the Clergy of *France*, and could not compass it.

After *Honorius*, *Gregory* the IX. was Pope. It was he that compiled the Decretals, and the same whom the *Romans* expelled out of *Rome*, for the Citizens of *Rome* never cared much for the Popes Excommunications.

This Pope needing money for his War against the Emperour *Frederick*, sent a Legat into *England* named *Stephen*, who exacted of the people of *England* the Tenth part of all their moveable Goods, that is, of all their Flocks, Rents, Fruits, Wares, Offerings, and Gifts to the Church: (b) And the said Legat had power to excommunicate all that should refuse to pay, and to put the Churches in Interdict. The Prelates he enjoyned upon pain of Excommunication, to make that Collection speedily, and without delay. All that should cross such an holy Work, he declared excommunicated, *ipso facto*. He would be paid in new Coin, and of good weight. He took the Tythe, even of the Corn in the first Blade, that is, of the Crop of the year after. In these Exactions he was so urgent and so griping, that the Parishes were forced to engage the Chalice and Church-plate to satisfy his Covetousness. And he had certain Usurers with him, who lent money upon double use, to those that had no ready money. This caused a great Clamour and Lamentation over all the Countrey, but without effect. That money was employed by the Pope to invade many Towns belonging to the Emperour in *Italy*. And the Emperour could not defend them, because he was engaged against the *Saracens* in the *Levant*, where he took *Jerusalem*, and put the affairs of the Christians in a flourishing state. And he had utterly destroyed the *Saracens*, if the injuries which he received from the Pope had not recalled him.

(i) Then the Benefices of *England* were possessed by Italians, and other Creatures of the Pope, to the great grief of the English. To the Bishop of *Rocheſter* it was revealed in Vision, That King *Richard*, and *Stephen* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with a Chaplain of his, were come out of Purgatory all in one day.

Scarce was the Collection ended, made by *Stephen* the Legate, when the Pope made peace with the Emperour, but the money was not restored. And another *Nuntio* came from Pope *Gregory*, who (as (k) *Matthew Paris* saith) *argumentosus extorsions excogitans*, inventing extortions grounded upon fair reasons, sent *Nuntio's* with power of Legates, who by Sermons, Exhortations, and Excommunications, (l) brought an infinite number of Englishmen to Mendicity, and turned them out of their Houses. This was done under a pretence of contributing to the Expence of the Holy War, of which himself hindered the success, and yet he promised to them that should contribute money for it, the remission of all their sins, and to them that should go in person an augmentation of Glory.

(b) Id p. 349.
Habit ex iisdem literis auctoritatem contraditores excommunicandi & Ecclesias interdicens.

(i) Mattf. Paris, p. 3583
359.

(k) P. 386.

(l) Ibid. Per regnum Anglie infinitos reddiderunt extorres & mendicos.

(m) Ibid. *Si qui proficiscendum illuc ad prestandas usus juramento tenentur astricti, creditores eorum per Ecclesiarum Praelatos ut remittant iis praestitum juramentum & ab usurarum exactione desistant eadem praecipimus diffinitione compelli.* (n) By the same Bulls, every man that was indebted, was exempted, and could not be arrested or sued by his Creditors, as long as he had a Cross upon his shoulders, which was the mark of those that were associated into the *Croisada*: And the reason given for that exemption, was, that such a man was become the Popes man, and had put himself in the protection of the Church. By the same Bulls also, power was given to the *Nuntio's* or *Legates*, to dispense with the Vow for money. So that he that had crossed himself for the Voyage to the holy Land; might redeem himself from the Vow, paying to the Legate, that which he should have spent in the Journey, and so stay at home, and enjoy the same spiritual graces, as if he had performed the whole Voyage. The Bull ended with this Exhortation, (n) *Come then, and let the Children of Divine Adoption prepare themselves to yield obedience unto Christ, changing their Quarrels into Bonds of Love, believing that being truly confessed and contrite; by an happy Traffick, and by their Labours which do but pass, they shall purchase eternal Rest.* Given at Spoleto the third of September, the eighth year of our Pontificate.

(n) *Accingantur ergo omnes filii adoptionis divinae ad obsequium Jesu Christi, &c. Felici commercio laboribus suis qui cito transcunt, eternam requiem mercabuntur.*

(o) Ibid. *Quibus data fuit potestas cruce signandi & votum data pecunia relaxandi, &c. Signatos hodie cras data pecunia a cruce voto absoluebant.* Westmonast. an. 1240. *Absolvebantur per praedictos & minores, pecunia interveniente multi cruce signati in scandalum Ecclesiae.*

The Exactors and Collectors of that money, were the *Franciscans* and *Dominicans*, who would to day put the Cross upon a mans Shoulder, and oblige him with an Oath to the Voyage, (o) and to morrow release him from his Oath for money.

Reason and Right did require, that these great sums of money should have been employed to defray the Princes that raised Armies for the deliverance of the Holy Land. Among whom, he that most freely exposed his Life, and that of his Subjects, with an incredible Expence, was *Lewis* the IX. of *France*, who reigned then; A Prince worthy to have been born in a better Age; being a rare Example of Meekness and Justice, and one that partly discerned the Errors, and sighed under the Popes Tyranny. That Great Prince soon after undertook that Voyage, but to his great ruine, confusion of the Christians, and destruction of his Kingdom. Yet the Pope never gave him any part of the money raised for that Expedition, nor to the Emperour, nor to any Prince that paid Armies, and fought for that Quarrel. All was poured into the Popes Coffers, as into a Gulf, and by him employed to make War against *Frederick*, for he broke presently the Covenant sworn to him. So in effect, all the money contributed by devout Souls, for the Conquest of the Holy Land, was employed to hinder it, and to find other work for *Frederick*, who alone was more able to promote that Conquest, than all the rest together.

While the Pope exercised that horrible Tyranny over *England*, (p) the Senate and Citizens of *Rome* were mastering the Pope, and were so far from giving him money, that they would have money from the Pope, pretending an old Right for it. The difference was about some Lands which the Roman Senate claimed, as belonging to the Roman County, but the Pope said that they belonged to his Bishoprick; alleading for himself Christs words, who had promised, that *the gates of Hell should not prevail against the Church*; Whence he inferred, that in that Quarrel, the Senate and the Roman People might not hope to prevail against him. For all his Inferences, they turned him out, and burnt his Houses, and called the Emperour *Frederick*; Who being one of the Wisest and meekest Princes that ever were in the World, instead of helping them, corrected their insolence, and would resent none of the injuries which *Gregery* had done him. At the same time that good Emperour demanded the Sister of *Henry* the III. of *England*, for his Wife, and had her.

(q) At that time also certain Usurers set up in *England*, called *Caurfins*, who by Usuries and strange Arts devised in *Italy*, ate up the poor people and the Clergy. The King himself was most deeply in their debt. The Bishop of *London* would have repress them, but because they were maintained by the Pope, he could not effect it. The *Franciscans* and *Dominicans* were preaching up the Popes power, and drawing all the Confessions to themselves, and every day obtained Priviledges to the prejudice of the Parochial Priests, who became almost useless. The State of *England* was deplorable, for hungry *Italians* of the baser sort, with Bulls and Warrants from the Pope, came daily to fleece the people, and to raise such sums of money as they would demand upon the Clergy. If any denied what they demanded, he was presently excommunicated. And they that held the great Benefices, were strangers that were but the Popes Farmers: This made *Mattheus Paris*, that lived then, and beheld these things, to lament (r) that *the Daughter of Sion was become like a shameless Harlot that could not blush, by the just judgement* (saith he) *of him that made an Hypocrite to reign, and a Tyrant to domineer.*

The above-mentioned Legat *Otho* came again into *England*, (s) King *Henry* went to meet him, even to the Sea-side, and, as the Popes Vassal, cast himself down before the Legat, touching the Legates Knees with his Head.

bullis Romanis armata in minus statim erumpentes, &c. (s) Id. p. 425. Rex ei usque ad confinium & inclinavit ad genua ejus capite usque ad interiora regni deluxit officiose.

In the year 1283. the Archbishop of *Antioch* would not acknowledge the Pope his Superiour, and preferring himself before him, (z) excommunicated the Pope, and the Papal Court, and the Roman Church, being set on to do that by *German* Archbishop of *Constantinople*, who called himself Universal Bishop. The same year the persecution was very sore against the true Christians, which were opprobriously called *Albigens*, *Vaudous*, *Paterins*, *Buggers*, in the same manner as they call us now *Hugonots* and *Calvinists*. Great numbers of them were burnt in *Flanders*, at the Instigation of a *Dominican* called *Robert Buggerar*.

(p) Matth. Paris, p. 394.

(q) Id. p. 403, 404, 405.

(r) Matth. Paris, p. 424. Facta est filia Sion quasi meretrix effrons non habens ruborem. Quotidie vilissima persona & illiterate maris occurrit.

(z) Idem pag. 465.

The Oppression and Extorsions of *Rome* growing every day in *England*, the Bishops met at *London*, and the Legat with them, who propounded new devices to get money, and a new way of exaction. The Bishops answered him, that the Roman Court had quite exhausted *England*, and that it was impossible for them to furnish any more. So the Assembly was broken without concluding any thing.

The Legat putting off his plot till another time, took his way towards *Scotland*, to rake all the money out of it, as he had done in *England*. (u) The King of *Scotland* hearing of it, came to meet him upon the borders, and forbad him to come further into his Kingdom, saying, that he was the first Legat that ever entered into *Scotland*, and that *Scotland* had no need of any, since without that Christian Religion flourished, and that the Church prospered in the Kingdom. The Legat then went back, and through (*) *England*, did so order the businesses of the Church, that he got no small sum of money.

(u) Idem
Henr. III. p.
481. Ante-
quam Legatus
regnum Scotie
intrasset, oc-
curris ei Rex
Scotia non ac-
ceptans ingres-
sum suum. Dixit enim quod nunquam aliquis Legatus excepto illo solo in Scotiam intravit. Non enim, ut asse-
ruit, opus erat. Christianitas ibi floruit, Ecclesia prospere se habebat. (*) Ibid. Rebus Ecclesiasticis pro
libito ordinatis pecuniam non minimam cogendo.

Then was brought into *England* a Mandate of the Pope, to publish in all the Churches, with Bells ringing and Candles burning, the Excommunication of the Emperour *Frederick*. Which was executed, though with the Kings great grief, because the Emperour had married his Sister. And the people of *Milan* rebelled against the Emperour, and sacked the neighbouring Cities belonging to him with cruelty almost unparallell'd, having for their head a Legate whom the Pope had sent to them. Upon which *Matthew Paris* expresseth, what the sense of the world was at that time. *Fear and horror filled the hearts of men, because the Papal party cared neither for Prayers, nor for Masses, nor for Processions, &c. But put all their hope in treasures of Money, and in Rapine; and with shameless impudence ran to the sword and revenge.*

The best Benefices of *England* being possessed by Italians, and Romans especially, base in Birth and Conditions, and promoted to those places by the Popes Agents, that were sent thither with a full power to do all things at their pleasure, and to take from the English Prelates the Power of conferring Livings, the said Prelates (x) writ to Pope *Gregory*, Letters full of Lamentations; being justly punished. For having helped the Popes to bring down the Power of their Kings, under a pretence of maintaining the Liberties of the Church, they had put the Popes Fetters about their own Legs, and drawn a hard bondage upon themselves. While Kings were in power, the Pope called them Simoniacks that gave some little present to the King, when they received the Investiture. But after that the Pope had taken that Power from the King, he took an hundred times more from them than ever the King did.

This Pope by his Bulls full of fervent Exhortations, had published the *Croisada* over all *France*, *Germany* and *England*, exhorting by the compassions of God, and by the zeal of Christian Religion, and by the hope of Salvation, all good Christians,

(x) Id. ib. p.
495.

Christians, to go to the help of Christians oppressed in Syria, and to deliver Jerusalem, and the place of the Cross, and the holy Sepulchre, out of the hand of the Infidel Saracens, promising the remission of all Sins, and an Augmentation of Glory in Paradise, to all that should die that Voyage. Upon these Exhortations a great number of Pilgrims crossed themselves, (y) and having appointed their Rendezvous at Lyons, met there well armed, and furnished, and full of courage. As they were ready to march, a Legat came from the Pope, who forbade them to go further, and commanded them to return every one to their own home. At which they grew so angry, that much ado there was to keep them from killing the Legat and his men. For (said they) to obey the Pope, and for the Cause of the Crucifix, we have undertaken this Voyage: We have sold or pawned our Lands, we have borrowed Money upon great use, and now we are sent back to our houses. This happened in the year 1242.

(y) Matth. Paris, p. 497.

In the mean while, England was sore troubled with new exactions: and the Pope sent Letters to all the Subjects of the Empire, to absolve them from the Oath of Fidelity and Obedience, sworn to Frederick their Lord, commanding them to be faithful in unfaithfulness, and obedient by disobedience, as (z) Matthew Paris saith. But (saith the same Author) the wickedness of the Roman Church execrable unto all was the cause that none or few cared to obey the Papal Authority. The Emperour writ to the King of England, his Brother in Law, to expostulate with him because he suffered him to be excommunicated, and with such disgrace in his Kingdom, and that Moneys should be raised in England continually by the Pope, to make war against him. The Kings answer was, that being the Popes Vassal and Homager, necessary did lye upon him to yield all obedience to his Holiness.

(z) P. 499. Persuadens ut essent in infidelitate fideles, in inobedientia obedientes. Sed tantum promeruit, Romana Ecclesia

impobitas omnibus execranda, quod à nullis vel à paucis meruit Papalis Auctoritas exaudiri.

Yet upon these Letters from the Emperor, King Henry desired the Legate Otho to go out of England, but the Legat would not do it, and found new ways to get Money for his Master. The English Lords and Gentlemen were selling their Lands and Mannors to the Clergy: to perform that Voyage into the Holy Land, to which they had bound themselves by Vow, upon the Popes Command. (a) But the Dominicans and Franciscans received Power from the Pope to dispence those that had crossed themselves from their Vow, taking so much Money from them as they should have spent in their Journey.

(a) Id. p. 507. Incaperunt ipsi Prædicatores Fratres & Minores Cruci-

ce signatos absolvere à voto suo, accepta tamen pecunia, quanta sufficere videbatur unicuique ad viaticum ultramarinum. Et factum est in populo scandalum cum schismate.

And at the same time the Pope who had crammed many Italians and Romans with the best Benefices of England, began to squeeze these Sponges, and got from them the fifth part of their revenue, towards the charges of his War against the Emperor.

Thensome English, seeing so much Money go out of England continually, came

(b) *Domine* to the King, and told him, (b) *Most Illustrious Prince, why do you suffer England* *Principes nominatissime quare* to be brought to desolation, and to become the prey of them that go by, like a vine without wall, exposed to travellers, and left to be destroyed by the wild boars? &c. To whom the King answered. *I will not, I dare not contradict My Lord the Pope in any thing.* Whence the people was brought to a most deplorable despair. But the Legat having got the fifth part of all the revenues of strangers; did the same to the English, and the Archbishop led the dance, paying eight hundred marks to the Legat for the first payment; the rest was exacted from him, and from all others with all violence.

omni communem viatori, ab apris exterminandam? &c. Quibus talia persuadentibus ais, Nec volo, nec audeo Domino Pape in aliquibus contradicere. Et facta est in populo desperatio nimis deploranda.

(c) Id. p. 515. Scarce was that exaction done, when one *Peter de la Ronse* came from Rome. *Per eosdem dies venit in Angliam nova quedam pecunia exactione omnibus seculis inaudita & execrabilis.* (c) Of him *Matth. Paris* an eye-witness speaks thus. *In these days came into England a new exaction of money unheard of in all ages and execrable.* For our holy Father the Pope sent a certain exactor into England called *Petrus Rubeus* [or *Peter of the Bryar*] who having invented a certain kind of mouse-trap did learnedly catch an infinite sum of money from the miserable Englishmen. He would come into the Chapters of Monks and Prebends, and made them believe that such and such a Prelat had secretly promised such a sum of Money, and by promises and threatenings extorted money from them, making them swear that in six months they would not tell it to any body: without saying to them the cause why the Pope had such a suddain need of money, but leaving them to presume that there was some great business concealed from them. Upon that the Prelats and Abbots came to the King and told him, (d) *Sir, We are beaten, and we are not suffered to cry; They cut our Throats, and we cannot lament. A thing impossible is enjoined us by the Pope, and an exaction detestable unto all the world, &c.* But the King turning himself to the Legat there present, told him, *My Lord, these miserable Seducers reveal the Popes secrets; They detract, and will not obey your Will. Do with them what you think good.*

(d) Ibid. *Domine Rex singillamur, nec licet nobis clamitare, jugulamur, nec possimus ejulare.* (d) *Ibid. Domine Rex singillamur, nec licet nobis clamitare, jugulamur, nec possimus ejulare.* I give you one of my best Castles to put them in a sure hold. So they were forced to pay all, that the Legat was pleased to demand of them.

The same year *Earl Richard* the King of *England's* Brother, as valiant and generous as his Brother was base and low spirited, went out of *England*, carrying with him the flower of the *English* Nobility, and made the more hast because news was come of the miserable case of the *Christians* in the *Levant*, where the *Christian* party was sinking apace. Being come to *St. Giles* in low *Linguedock* to go to *Marseille*, a Legat met him, who forbid him from the Pope to go further, dispensing the said *Earl* from his Vow. The *Earl* highly discontented answered, *I have taken leave of my friends, I sent my Money and my Arms before; Now that I am ready to take ship, I am forbidden to go.* He resolved then, notwithstanding the Popes prohibition, to perform his Voyage, and embarked himself (e) detesting the double and treacherous dealing of the *Roman Church* with a great bitterness of Spirit.

That *Peter de la Ronse* having not the Title of Legat got into *Scotland*, and did that

(e) Id. p. 518. *Detestans Romanæ Ecclesie duplici tate cum magna mentis amaritudine.*

that which none ever did before him, for he carried away three thousand pounds out of *Scotland* to put into the coffers of his Holiness.

While the Pope was plundering *England*, he was raising an immense sum of money in *France* by a Legat sent purposely. Which sum exceeding the Popes expectation, he repented to have made truce with the Emperour *Frederick*, seeing that he had got so much of the sinews of War, and commanded Cardinal *John Colonna* to bring word to the Emperour that he would not keep the truce. Which when that Cardinal, whose Family was potent in *Italy*, refused to do, and exchanged some injurious words with the Pope upon that subject, (f) King *Lewis* the IX. hearing of that passage, prohibited that the money (which was yet in *France*) should be delivered to the Popes Assigns, or transported out of the Kingdom.

The same Pope perceiving that whensoever he demanded money of the body of the English Clergy oppositions were formed against it, (g) writ to his Legat that he should deal with the Clergy-men one by one, and fleece them one after another. And he sped that way.

It was about this time namely in the year 1240. that *Baldwin* keeping by force the Empire of *Constantinople* which the French and other Pilgrims of *Syria* had surprized, and held it by right of conveniency, (h) being in great want of money, writ to the King of *France Lewis* the IX. that the holy Crown of thorns of our Saviour was found, and that if he would help him with a sum of money, he would send it to him. This meek King, and of easie belief treated with the said Emperour for a great sum of money, and bought that Crown which was put in the Holy Chappel of *Paris* with great solemnity. Shortly after the Venetians having bought a piece of the true Cross for two thousand and five hundred pounds, sold it again to the same King *Lewis* for double the price. The King himself carried it bare-head and bare-foot to our Lady of *Paris*. And the Pope gave to it forty days of true pardon.

(i) In the year 1241 King *Henry* the III. of *England* made a great Feast in *Westminster hall* upon *Christmas* day. In the midst of the table was the Kings Chair under the Canopy of State, according to the custome. It was a thing without example that any but the King durst sit in that Royal Chair, especially upon a day of extraordinary solemnity. Yet the King acknowledging himself the Popes Vassal, and no Sovereign, yielded that place to the Legat *Otho*, to the great heart-breaking of all that were present, and to the disgrace of the English Nation.

Shortly after, the Legat returned to *Rome*: *Matthew Paris* beareth him this testimony, that excepting the Church plates, and Ornaments of the Churches, there remained not so much money in *England* as *Otho* had extorted. And that he had conferred partly by his own, partly by the Popes will, above three hundred of the best *Prebends* and *Rectories* of the Kingdom. Whereby the Kingdom was left languishing and desolate as a Vine exposed to those that pass by, and destroyed by the wild boar of the woods.

ipsi Regi pro antiquo dilectionis & consanguinitatis federe conferret coronam Domini. (i) Ibid. p. 532. & 530. Rex in ampliori Regia Westmonasterii pransurus Legatum, quem ad prandium invitaverat, in eminentiori loco mensas, scilicet in sede Regali, que in medio mense est, non sine multorum obliquantibus oculis collocavit.

(f) Id. p. 522. Quod cum Regi Francorum innotuisset, precepit pecuniam totam quam in terra sua mellitis sermocinationibus & felicitis comminationibus missu-erat, ab eodem Legato extortam reservari. (g) Matth. Paris, p. 522. Papa de pecunia congreganda vigil contemplator significavit Legato, ut non sicut prius omnem Clerum convenire attempret, &c. Imo potius singulatum quemlibet eorum, &c. (h) Ibid. pag. 527. Necessitate ingruente & thesauri carentia, &c. significavit Regi Francorum ipse Imperator Baldvini. quod si ipsum pecunia destitutum vellit de thesauro efficaciter juvare

The same year, the Convent of *Burg* in *England* received an Apostolick mandate from Pope *Gregory* the IX. that they should give to a certain man whom the Pope would recompense a Benefice of a hundred Marks a year, a great revenue in those days. And certain sharks coming from *Rome*, went from Church to Church, and from Convent to Convent, and taking the several Monks apart told them, (k) *Brethren and friends, you have power in your hand to receive a great benefit from the Pope; For now he asketh of you that which you should ask of him with bended knees and joined hands in all humility.* The summary of the motion was that he asked them some money as an offering of sweet favour. Upon which *Matthew Paris*, an eye witness of these doings, speaks thus; (l) *In this time by the permission and procurement of Pope Gregory, the insatiable greediness of the Roman Church got such strength, confounding right and wrong, that putting off all shame, she became a common and impudent strumpet, selling and prostituting her self unto all, holding Usury to be a small thing, and Simony to be no inconvenience.* (m) At the same time the Bones of *Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury* were working abundance of miracles. The Emperor had six mighty Armies to resist the Enemies which the Pope by his Practices raised against him in several places.

(k) Matth. Paris, p. 536. *Vocantque Monachis dixereunt, Ecce fratres & amici, imminet vobis ad manum magnum Papale beneficium; Postulat enim a vobis quod vos deberetis flexis genibus & iunctis manibus ab eo humiliter postulare.*

(l) Ibid. p. 535. *Adeo invitat Romana Ecclesia insatiabilis cupiditas confundens fas nefasque, quod deposito rubore velut meretrix vulgaris & effrons omnibus venalis & exposita usuram pro parvo simoniam pro nullo inconuenienti reputavit.*

(m) Ibid. (n) Matth. Paris in Henr. III. p. 547, & 554.

(o) Id. p. 555.

New *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* came from *Rome* into *England* in great numbers, to preach the *Croisada*, which they did so effectually that many crossed themselves for the voyage of the Holy Land; And the same Preachers granted to them the remission of all their sins. But three days after they released them from their Vow and gave them leave not to stir out of *England*. So they changed the corporal satisfaction into a pecuniary punishment. By which means even women and children, that they might have remission of all their sins, took the Cross and the Vow of the *Croisada*, and then redeemed their Vow with Money. Thus the Fryars collected vast sums of money. And what became of it, *Matthew Paris* saith that it was not known.

This Legat *Otho* (n) had left two Vice-Legats with power of exacting, interdicting, and excommunicating, who daily committed a thousand extorsions. One of them named *Petrus de Supino* took a turn into *Ireland*. Out of which (though money was thin sown there) he raked in few days fifteen hundred Marks. Then returning with a Mandate from the Pope, he exacted the twentieth part of the Goods of the whole Island, and his fellow *Petrus Rubem* did the same in *Scotland*. Then hearing that Pope *Gregory* was very sick they cross the sea in haste, and went towards *Rome* laden with wealth. But in their journey they were taken by the Emperor, (o) who made use of their money, and committed them to close prison and besieged a place in *Campania* where the Pope had put his Money and his Nephews. The Emperor having made himself Master of the place, hanged the Popes Nephews as Rebels to his Majesty. The Pope hearing of it, was oppressed with such grief that he died. The Emperor kept many Cardinals prisoners, among others *Otho*, the plague of *England*, because they would have assembled themselves in Council by the Popes Authority without his leave.

After many quarrels among the Cardinals, *Galfrid* Archbishop of *Milan* was chosen Pope, who did not last long, and died having been Pope but sixteen days. The Cardinals were 21 months before they could agree about the election of a Successor. The Emperor, angry at it, besieged them at *Rome*, and the King of *France* sent them Embassadors to declare to them, that (p) if they did not choose a Pope, the French would elect one for them, grounded upon their ancient priviledg granted by *St. Clement* unto *St. Denis*, whom he established Apostle over the Western people. The Cardinals frighted, in the end chose one Cardinal *Sinebald*, who leaving his name of Baptism called himself *Innocent* the IV.

(p) Ibid. p. 582. Hoc audacter significabant consisti de antiquo privilegio suo per sanctum Clementem beato Dionysio concessio & obrenno, qui concessit Apostolorum eidem Dionysio super gentem Occidentalem.

The Orders of Dominicans and Mendicant Fryers had been but 24 years in *England*, and already had built magnificent Convents over all the Kingdom, and governed all the houses of great persons, got great Legacies, drew to themselves all the Confessions, and many believed that Salvation could not be had without them. They were Factors, Solliciters, and Executors of Apostolick Mandates, and bearers of Pardons; they had the Kings ear, and debased the Orders of *S. Benedikt* and *St. Austin*; Doing to other Orders, and to Parochial Priests that which the *Je'suits* do now unto them. Yet between these two new Orders there was a great deal of envy, the Franciscans calling themselves *Minors*, and by consequent more holy; and the Dominicans calling themselves *Majors*, and therefore preferable.

In the year 1244. one *Martin* came into *England* with full power from his Holiness to exact money, to suspend, to interdict, and to excommunicate all that should any way oppose him. He would command this Abbot or that Prior (q) that they would send him horses such as were fit for an especial Clark of the Lord Pope to ride on. If they alleadged any excuse, he suspended them from their Benefices. The Churches and Prebends that fell void, he kept in his own hands, till he was pleased to bestow them upon his Nephews and Cousins.

(q) Praecipiens per litteras districte illi Abbati vel illi Priori, ut ei equos quales decerbat specialem Domini Clericum infidere, transmitterent.

And whereas *David* Prince of *North-Wales* was Vassal to the King of *England* (r) Pope *Innocent* the IV. deposed him from the Alleagiance sworn to *Henry* the III. his Lord, and made him his Vassal, obliging him to pay five hundred marks a year to the Apostolick See in sign of Subjection. So *David* by the Popes instigation shook off the Kings yoke, and put his country under the Popes subjection, promising to hold his whole Countrey from the Pope. Whence long Wars followed.

(r) Id. p. 604, & 605. David volens collum suum de subjugo fidelitatis Domini Regis excutere, ad alas Palpalis protectionis confugit spondens se tenere partem Walliae eum contingentem

The miracles of *Edmund* of *Canterbury* being daily multiplied, Commissioners were deputed by the Pope to enquire of those miracles, and to inform his Holiness about them, to know whether he ought to be canonized and listed among the Saints: but the Commissioners made a relation to the disadvantage of the said *Edmund* as unworthy to be Sainted. Wherefore it was concluded that he should not be canonized, and the request of the Monks of *Pontigny*, where the said *Edmund* lay buried, was rejected as unjust.

ab ipso Papa. Cui favit Papa, & contra Regem rebellanti sinum aperuit.

(s) It is like that the English in those days called a mastie dog a *Mastin* as the French do now; and that they made an allusion of *Martin* with *Martin*.

(t) Mat Paris libro supradict. Cap. p. 622.

(u) *Martinus remisit eis quae ei missa fuerant, asserens insufficientia, & praecepit eis ut meliora sibi sub poena suspensionis, & anathematis transmittent. Suscepit autem omnes à collatione beneficiorum, 30. martis valeantium & supra, donec satis factum foret cupiditati. Unde miserii Anglici acerbiorem quam olim subierant filii Israel, se doluerunt in Aegypto Britanica tolerare servitutem.*

The forementioned *Martin* (whom the English called *Masty*, (s) because of his insatiable greediness (t) received an unheard of power from the Pope, and more ample than any before, of which he had several Letters, and produced sometimes one, sometimes another, according to the exigence of the case, and many Scroles of Parchment sealed with Lead, in which nothing was written, and those blanks he filled according to his own pleasure. He made his address unto the King; beseeching him in the Popes Name to help him to get ten thousand marks before hand of the English Clergy. And he brought forth Letters of Pope *Innocent* to the Clergy of *England*, where these words are found. *Being constrained by necessity, we have recourse to you confidently, and by the Council of our Brethren, we desire and expressly admonish your generality, and by Apostolick Writings we exhorting command and commanding exhort you, that you relieve the Roman Church with such quantity and sum of money as our dear Son Martin, Clark of our Chamber, shall declare unto you, &c. And that you so accomplish that which we desire of you, that we may commend your Devotion, and that we be not constrained to proceed otherwise against you about that matter.* Thus in case of denial he threatened to force them to it by Excommunication. And that *Martin* was grown so insolent, and such a severe exactor that he would send, now to an Abbot, now to a Prior, commanding him to send him so many great Horses, so much provision for his house, such a quantity of curious stufes for his train. (u) *And when he had received what they sent, he would send it back with contempt, saying that it was not good enough, and commanded them to send better upon pain of Suspension and Excommunication. And he suspended all the Prelates from the Collation of Livings of thirty marks a year and above, till they had satisfied his greediness. Wherefore the miserable English complained that they were under a harder bondage than ever the Israelites in Egypt.*

War being happened between the English and the Scots, they made peace upon certain conditions. But because a Vassal ought not to conclude peace or war without the consent of his liege Lord, peace could not be made without the approbation and ratification of Pope *Innocent* the IV.

The same year the Prince of North-Wales continuing in his Rebellion against *Henry* the III. King of *England*, obtained of the Pope with money, and with the renewing of his promise, of paying five hundred marks a year unto the Pope, to be absolved and dispensed from the Oath of Alleagiance which he had made unto *Henry*, saying, that it was en extorted Oath.

In the year 1245. the Pope caused the Excommunication of the Emperor *Frederick* to be published again in all the Churches of *France*. That Excommunication being given to a Parochial Priest of *Paris* to publish it, he pronounced it in these terms. *Hearken all of you, I am commanded to pronounce an excommunication with Candles burning and Bells ringing against the Emperor Frederick. Not knowing the cause why, I know only that there is an irreconcilable quarrel and hatred between him and the Pope, I know also, that the one doth wrong to the other, yet which of the two is in the wrong, I cannot tell. But him that doth wrong to the other, I excommunicate as far as my power extends.* The poor Priest was punished by the Pope, but the Emperor sent him presents.

The Pope had a desire to come into *England*, and pass through *France*, but the passage through *France* was denied him. And the King of *England* was advised not to let him come into his Kingdom. In the mean while, *Martin* was continuing to waste poor *England*, sucking the substance of the people and the Clergy, and most part of the Benefices of *England* were held by Italians. In the end, the Nobles of the Land were forced by the heavy oppression to assemble themselves; and to give order that all the Papal Letters which daily came into *England* with new Tricks to catch money should be stop't. A bearer of those Trumperies was taken, and all his Bulls and Leaden Seals were taken from him, and he laid up in close Prison. About the same time, in *Rogation* week, the Popes Wardrobe at *Lions* was burnt with an accidental fire, and there the Letters of Homage and Submission made to the Pope by King *John*, were consumed, as *Matthew Paris* (x) (x) P. 638. relateth.

In the end, the King seeing his Kingdom exhausted by the Extortions of the Roman Court, although he trembled under the Papal power, yet he commanded *Martin* to depart out of the Kingdom, and for a farewell told him, (y) *The Devil lead thee, and bring thee into Hell.* But *Martin* going away, left one Mr. *Philip*, to whom he resigned the power he had from the Pope. Being come to the Popes presence, who was then at the Council of *Lions*, he complained of the King of *England*. The Pope then remembering that both the King of *France* and the King of *England* had denied him the entry into their Kingdoms, said in great wrath, and with an angry countenance, (z) *It is expedient that we compound with your Prince Frederick, that we may crush these petty Kings that kick against us: for when the Dragon is once bruised or appeased, we shall soon tread upon these small Serpents.*

(y) *Diabolus te ad inferos inducat & perducatur.*

(z) Pag. 640. *Expedi componamus cum Principe vestro, ut hos Regulos contrantes. Contribuamus ramus recalcitrantes. Contribuamus enim vel pacificato dracone cito serpentuli concubantur.*

In that Council the Canonization of *Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was moved again with great instance, but was rejected the second time by the Pope, and that Saint wanting the Popes favour, lost his cause for this time also, and was judged unworthy to be a Saint.

The fourth day, an unusual thing happened: The Pope himself preached in a Church of *Liens*: His Text was, *Lam. 1. 12. All ye that pass by, behold and see, if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me: Then he compared his Sorrows to the five Wounds of Christ; The first was, The inundation of the Tartars; the second, The Schism of the Grecians; the third, The Heresie of those that were called Patterins, Buggerars, Jovinians, and Vaudois; the fourth, The desolation of the holy Land; the fifth and the most smarting, The Emperour Frederick, the Churches Enemy and Persecutor, whose Heresies and Sacriledges he set out at large.*

In that Council the people and Clergy of *England*, complained by Deputies of the Extortions and Robberies of the Roman Court; but their Complaints were not regarded.

There a Sentence of Deposition against the Emperour *Frederick* was pronounced by the Pope, whereby he was declared fallen from the Imperial power, and all the Subjects of the Empire, as well in *Germany*, as in *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Province*,

were absolved from the Oath of Allegiance (sworn unto the said Emperour, with a prohibition by Apostolical Authority, to yield any obedience unto him, or to lend him any assistance, upon pain of Excommunication. The Electors also were commanded to elect another Emperour; the Pope keeping the power to himself to provide for the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, pretending that the disposition of those Kingdoms did particularly belong to him.

There also an Order was taken for the Voyage of the Holy Land, the Pope taxing himself to pay the tenth part of his Revenue, and condemning the whole Clergy to pay the twentieth part of theirs for three years. He appointed the Apostolick Officers to be receivers of that Contribution. He made an order, that all that should enter into the *Croisada*, should be exempted from all Tributes, Taxes, and subjection due to secular Lords, because by crossing themselves they put themselves under the protection of the Apostolick See. By this means the Kings lest as many Subjects as there were men that would put a Cross upon their Shoulder, for then they claimed themselves to be the Popes Subjects. Creditors were prohibited to exact any thing of those that were crossed, because they were under the protection of the Church. (a) And to those crossed men was promised, besides the remission of all their sins, an augmentation of Glory in Paradise. To those that should not go in person; but contribute with their means, defraying others that would go for them, no more was promised but the remission of all their sins. Those that should go in person defrayed by others, if they died in that Voyage, that Order assured them that they should not go into Purgatory, but they were to content themselves with Eternal Life, and might not pretend to a degree of Glory in Paradise above the common sort.

(a) Pag. 653.
Nos ergo, &c. omnibus qui laborem istum in propriis personis subierint, & expensis, plenam suorum peccaminum, de quibus fuerunt veraciter corde

contriti & ore confessi, veniam indulgemus, & in retributione justorum salutis aeternae pollicemur augmentum. Eius autem qui non in personis propriis illuc accesserint, sed in suis duntaxat expensis juxta facultatem & qualitatem suam viros idoneos destinaverint, & illis similiter, qui licet in alienis expensis in propriis tamen personis accesserint, plenam suorum peccatorum concedimus veniam.

Many other Laws were made and published by the Pope sitting in that Council. For since *Gregory* the VII. it was no more the Popes Custom to assemble Councils to deliberate with the Bishops, but onely that the Bishops should receive Laws from the Pope, and approve them by their silence. Wherefore also *Matthew Paris* saith, that of the things decreed, (b) *Some were decreed before the Council, some during the Council, some after the Council.* Upon the dissolution of the Council, a Prelate made a Sermon for a farewell to the City of *Lions*, wherein he told the people that the Council had made a great Reformation in the City, for whereas there were many Brothel-houses in the Town before the sitting of the Council, now (said he) we leave but one, reaching from one end of the Town to the other. (c) That the Popes Officers were appointed Collectors of the money to be raised for the Voyage of the Holy Land, was displeasing unto many, who knew that it was usual with the Popes Officers to put all such Contributions into the Popes Coffers, who converted them to another use, and indeed to his own. The Pope sent into *England* a Copy of the Letters Patent of King *John*, whereby he subjected the Crown of *England* to the Papal See, and presented it to all the Prelates of *England* to sign; which they did, all but the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who refused it.

(b) P. 658.
Quaedam eorum ante Concilium, quaedam durante Concilio, quaedam vero post Concilium, sunt statuta.

(c) Ibid.

The

The same year King *Lewis* the IX. gave the Pope leave to come into *France*, as far as *Clugni*, but no farther. The King greatly desired a Reconciliation between the Pope and the Emperour, because himself was preparing for the Expedition into the *Levant*, and had need of the help of *Frederick*, a warlike, prudent, and meek Prince, as ever any was in the world, formidable to the *Saracens*, and one that might stop the passage of the French, because he held *Corsica*, *Sardinia*, and the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*: But the good King could obtain nothing of Pope *Innocent*. *Matthew Paris* saith, that *Innocent* laboured to induce *Lewis* to make War with *Henry* King of *England*, whom he called in contempt a petty King. And though there was a sworn Truce between the two Kings, yet the Pope would have King *Lewis* to break it. But *Lewis* would never condescend to it, being a Prince that religiously kept his word. (d) P. 662.

There was a second interview between the King and the Pope, being then at *Lions*, where the King used his utmost endeavour to appease the Pope, and reconcile him with the Emperour. The Emperour desirous of peace (although the Deposition fulminated by the Pope was without effect, and had wrought no diminution of his power) offered unto the Pope to pass into *Syria*, and reconquer the Kingdom of *Jerusalem* with his own strength and cost, and never to return, but die there; asking no more but his Absolution from the Pope. And the King represented unto the Pope the Commandment of *Christ*, who will have us to forgive seventy times seven times, and saith that the sinner that converteth and humbleth himself, must not be rejected. He protested against the Pope, saying, that by this Obstinacy he should be the cause of the Ruines which Christian Religion should suffer. But the good King lost his labour, and (e) returned with great Indignation, because he had not found in the Servant of Servants the humility which he lookt for. (e) *Matth. Paris* in *Henrico* III. p. 676.

The same year, which was 1245. A Parliament was assembled at *London*, where in the Kings presence some Articles were made, called *Gravamina Regni Anglia*, *The Grievances of the Kingdom of England*; where the oppressions of the Popes, and the grinding of the Kingdom by the Court of *Rome* were represented, and how *Italians* succeeded other *Italians* in Church-Livings: And that by the new clause, *non obstante*, Scriptures were enervated, the Obligation of Oaths broken, all Laws and Customs abrogated, and that the English were constrained to go plead in the Court of *Rome*, whence they returned ill handled, after they had a long time consumed themselves in expenses. (f) That Letters came from *Rome*, which not onely taxed such and such men in so much money, but enjoined them also to find and enertain constantly a certain number of men at Arms to serve the Roman Church in the Wars with Men and Arms; according to the Will of his Holiness. It was also represented, that once the Pope considering some rich stuffs of Church-Ornaments of some English Clergy-men, had a desire to have them: And that when he enquired where they were made, he was answered that they were made in *England*; and how upon that the Pope said, *England is the Gardens of our Delights, a Garden truly inexhaustible*. (f) P. 680.

The Pope writ to the *Cistercian Monks*, that they should buy for him some (g) Cloth

(g) Aurifri-
ga.
(b) P. 683.

(g) Cloth of curled Gold; which was done at the Charges of those Monks; Whence, saith *Matthew Paris*, (h) many had the covetousness of the Church of Rome in execration. The same Author relates, that three of the wealthiest Clergy-men of England being dead, without making a Will, and having left a great sum of money, and much precious Stuff, Pope *Innocent* sent *Dominican* and *Franciscan* Fryars into England, to preach and make it pass for a Law, That the Goods of every Clark dying intestate, belonged unto the Pope.

(i) Pag. 686.

When the King was going to oppose both this and the Levies and Impositions which the Pope had lately laid upon the Land, Letters came from the Pope containing an absolute (i) Command to raise a great sum of Money out of England, and that within twenty days, without further delay; appointing certain English Prelates to be Collectors of the same, and giving them power to proceed against those that should refuse to pay, with Ecclesiastical Censures. Such was then the use of *St. Peters Keys*.

(k) P. 687,
688, 689.

The King, though used to bondage, was nettled at this, and prohibited that Extortion of His People. The Pope angry at it, misused the English that were in his Court, saying to them, (k) *The King of England kicks against us, and his Council hath a relish of Frederick, I also have my Council, which I will follow.* And he writ to the English-Prelates, that upon pain of Excommunication and Suspension, they should before the Feast of the Assumption, bring the sum which he had prescribed unto his Nuncio resident at London. The King was frighted with this, and the Popes Command was executed without delay. The Popes Factors and Promoters were the *Franciscans* and *Dominicans*, who gave the Remission of sins for money, released the Excommunications for a certain rate, and made Usurers and Extortioners to bring to them all their ill-gotten Goods, instead of restoring them to the right Owners. By their means also the Pope, besides the matrimonial causes, (l) drew to himself all Testamentary Causes, and the Cases of Perjury, as nearly concerning the Conscience. And still these Factors of Rome alledged some specious cause; saying, that the money which they exacted was to defend the Emperour of *Constantinople*, or to resist the *Soldan of Damas*. But whatsoever it was, still the Pope was the Receiver.

(l) Pag. 694.
(m) *Matth.*
Paris, p. 690,
691.
Negotium a-
prie se gerere
Romana Matris
Ecclesia pradi-
cant, ac pradi-
ctia moris ac
exhereditatio-
nis nostra sum-
um Pontissi-
com sic accesserunt
incentorem. Hoc ipsum
saptivi prasati
in spontanea &
extrema con-
sessione sua,
quando mentiri
nesarium existi-
mans, mori-
entes coram
omnibus sunt
confessi.

At the same time the Pope gave leave to King *Lenis* the IX to take the tenth part of the Ecclesiastical Revenue of *France*, the King in exchange gave him leave to take the twentieth part of the same Revenue, and that for three years.

The Pope seeing that he could not pull down the Emperour, and that the Vertue and Power of *Frederick* turned the edge of his Spiritual Sword, sought to make him away by Treachery; and suborned four of *Fredericks* Servants, *James de Morra*, *Theobald Francisco*, *Pandulph de Phasanelles*, and *William* of Saint *Severin*, to stab their Master. (m) Two of them, *Theobald* and *William*, being taken, confessed publickly when they were brought to the Execution, that they were set on by Pope *Innocent* to do that deed. The whole Story is related at large, in Letters written by the Emperour himself to *Henry* the III. of *England* his Brother in law, and by other Letters of *Walter d'Oore* the Emperours Clark, written to the same King.

Scarce was the last Extortion ended, when a new one began: (n) And the (n) P. 693: King gave way that six thousand marks should be raised upon *England*, because the *Pope* had need of it. That money was sent to the *Lanigrave*, whom the *Pope* had named Emperour instead of *Frederick*: That Emperour admired the baseness of the English, who suffered the *Popes* to strip them: whereas the *Popes* (said he) *fugant fugientes & fugiunt fugantes*; The *Popes* oppress those that fear them, and tremble before them that resist them.

The King having made some demonstration that he bore that yoke impatiently, and let fall some words of Discontent which were related unto the *Pope*, the *Pope* was so incensed, that he would presently have put an Interdict upon the whole Nation of *England*. Upon which a grave Remonstrance was made to him by Cardinal *John*, an English man by birth, and a *Cistercian* Monk, who represented to him, That the Holy Land was in danger; That the Greek Church had made a Schism from the Roman Church; That the *Tartars* were pillaging *Hungary*; That the Emperour was an Enemy to his Holiness; That *France* had a grudge against him, as being impoverished by so many Exactions, upon pretence of the Holy War; That the very people of *Rome* had expelled him out of *Rome*; Therefore that his Holiness having Enemies enough, he needed not to create more, lest he should see in a short time a general Revolt: And that it was no wonder if *England*, like *Balaams* Ass, being fore laid on with blows, had spoken some words. But all this good counsel did not mitigate him. And to confirm him in his violent courses, presently Embassadors came to him out of *England* with deep submissions from the King, and a promise of greater obedience for the time to come. The *Pope* grown more arrogant with that humility, commanded all Prelates and beneficed men of *England* residing in their Livings, to send him the third part of their yearly Revenue, and the Non-resident the half: With the Addition of the clause, *Non obstante*, which derogated from all Customs, abrogated all Promises and Oaths, and revoked all sorts of Priviledges.

In the end, after many denials about the Canonization of *Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the *Pope* to stroak the English, Canonized him, and made him a Saint seven years after his Death. The Bull of the Canonization is express in arrogant terms and are worthy to be represented for their extravagant pride. (o) (o) Westmon. ann. 1146. We announce unto you the Joy of our Mother the Church by the Celebrity of a new Novum matris Saint; and the Heavenly Colledge keeps Holy day for the Society of a New Companion. The Church rejoiceth to be illustrated with such a clear Race, which ought Ecclesie gaudium novi Sancti celebrare to be exalted by all with condign Praises, and must be served with a devout Veneration. And openly declareth, that those must be received to the participation of the jucunda letitia Eternal Inheritance, that profess the Mother-Church by Word and Work, and that referimus gaudium none can enter into the Glory that is above, but by her, as the Bearer of the Keys of collegio, de college novi con- the Kingdom of Heaven. By that Mother-Church, he understands the Church of sortio agi festum exultanti *Rome*, to distinguish her from the other Churches that are subject unto her. And animo nuntiamus, &c. Latatur nimirum se tam clara sobole illustratam, que digno ab omnibus atollenda preconio; & devota veneratione colenda; manifeste declarat ad hereditatis aeterna participium admittendos, qui ipsam matrem Ecclesiam fide ac opere profitentur, & nullam in supernam posse gloriam, nisi per eam tanquam regni calorum clavigeram, introire.

he saith, that since the same Mocher-Church beareth the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, none can enter into Paradise, nor be made a Saint, but by her means. Of that new Saint he speaks as if he had begun to be a Saint in his Canonization; although he was dead many years before. And to abuse the Christian World, he tells them that piece of good News, That the Saints of Paradise keep Holy-day, because a new Companion is come to them. That Monster believed that the Saints of Paradise took it kindly at his hands, that he had given them a new Companion. Wherefore he exhorteth the Christian Nations in these words, *Rejoyce with great joy, that a New Patron before God is accrewed unto you, one that stands before him to be a gracious intercessour for your Salvation.* This was received as a Gospel-Truth; And it would have been abominable Herefie to make a question whether such a man was a Saint, and ought to be served and called upon, since the Pope who had all power on earth, had commanded that he should be. The English had this for their money, after so many Extortions of the Court of Rome; That Court sent them a new English Saint for their comfort.

Soon after *Blanch* Queen Regent of France, came over to worship that Saint, representing to him, that he had found refuge for his Exile in France, and beseeching him not to be ungrateful. She said then, (p) *My Lord, most holy Father, Edmund Confessor, &c. I beseech thee to confirm that which thou hast mercifully done towards us: Confirm the Kingdom of France in a peaceable and triumphant Solidity, and let not thy Holiness be ungrateful, but remember what we have done to thee, and to Thomas exiled and poor.*

(p) Westmon.
anno 1247.
Hoc recolat
sanctitas tua
non ingrata tibi
hæc & tuo Thoma
fecisse pro-
fugo & egeni.
Matth. Paris,
p. 693.

In the year 1247. the French Nobility made a League against the oppression of the Pope and Clergy, to maintain their Ancient Rights and Priviledges, which were daily usurped by them. The Pope, brought to great fear, instead of punishing the Leaguers, greafed the Heads of them with fat Benefices, and gave them all kind of Indulgences.

He sped better in England, for at the same time two Franciscans, *John* and *Alexander*, being come into England with power of Legates, the King gave them leave to make a Collection over all the Kingdom; They had power of excommunicating all that would refuse to pay. They were riding upon great Horses, with gilded Saddles, and magnificent Clothes, exacting money with extrem. rigour. The onely Bishoprick of *Lincoln* they taxed in six thousand marks, the Abbey of *St. Albans* in the like sum.

To the same end, in the same year the Pope dispatched divers Nuntio's over all the Provinces of France, to gather money by way of Loan. But (q) (saith *Matthew Paris*) the good King *Lewis* suspecting the Avarice of the Roman Court, forbad that any Prelate of his Kingdom should thus impoverish his Land upon pain of confiscation of all his Goods. Thus these Sophistical Legats returned empty, being hissed and mocked by all.

(q) P. 700.
Quod cum Re-
gi innotuisset
suspectam ha-
beris Romane
Curie avariti-
am prohibuit,
nequis Prelatus regni sub pœna amissionis omnium bonorum suorum taliter terram suam depauperaret. Et sic cum
sibilo & derisione omnium Papales Legati sophistici inanes & vacui a regno recesserunt.

But *England*, though twice more fleeced than other Lands, durst not kick against the Pope, because the Pope pretended that *England* belonged to him, and that the King was his Vassal. The Pope sent into *England* another *Martin*, his Capellan, with Authority of a Legat, though he was not dignified with that name, to glean the remnant of the money of the Kingdom, and one *John le Row* into *Ireland*, who returned from it with six thousand marks. To the same end, one called *Godfrey* Roman, was sent into *Scotland*.

In the mean while *Lantgrave*, whom the Pope had elected Emperour instead of *Frederick*, as he went with a mighty Army to his Coronation, was met with *Conrad* Son to *Frederick*, who defeated the said *Lantgrave*, who died few days after out of sorrow of that overthrow. *Henry* another Son of *Frederick*, having taken a Nephew of the Pope in *Italy* hanged him, and was for it excommunicated by the Pope, with the most horrible & direful Execrations that his Holiness could devise. These rubs made the Pope send into *England* for new Levies of money, with power (r) to the Collectors to excommunicate all refusers without appeal and delay, and without excepting any. The Abbot of *St. Albans* (of which Monastery *Matthew Paris* was Monk) refused to pay, and appealed to the Pope, and sent to *Rome* to plead his cause. But his Deputies staid very long in the Court of *Rome* before they could get a judgment, till in the end having bribed some Officers they obtained a hearing, and were condemned to pay two hundred marks unto the Pope, besides other costs, amounting to an hundred marks more. That sum (saith (s) *Matthew Paris*) was swallowed up by the insatiable Gulf of the Roman Court.

In the same days, at the instance of the Popes Ministers, a sum of eleven thousand marks was granted to the Pope by the Parliament assembled at *Oxford*; and besides the fore-mentioned sum of 300 marks, the Abbot of *St. Albans* was taxed in 800. Also *Earl Richard* the Kings Brother, and *William Longespee*, because they belonged to the *Croisada*, obtained the Popes license to raise a Collection from the people.

To comfort the people of *England* in that oppression, in the year 1250. a Crystal Bottle full of the Blood of Christ was sent from the Holy Land into *England*. The King received that Present with great joy, and carried that Bottle between his two Eyes, barefoot, in a Beggars Habit from *Pauls Church* to *Westminster*, with great pomp and sad apparel. It is not known in *England* now what became of that Blood. Thus were the Christian Nations amused and abused, and accustomed to bondage. To all that should visit the said Bottle was given an indulgence of six years, and an hundred and forty days.

The same year (t) the Pope sent a Legat into *Norway*, the Cardinal of *St. Sabin*, to celebrate the Ceremony of the Coronation of King *Haco*, who in thankfulness for the honour which the Pope did him, sent him fifteen thousand marks of silver. This Legat returning made *England* his way: And as if it had been to shew that Rapine is the indelible Character of the Roman Court, in three months that he sojourned in *England*, he got four thousand Marks, with many gifts, then went on his journey loaden with booty.

(u) It was in this time that King *Lewis* the IX. embarked himself at *Marseilla*

[r] Pag. 706.

[s] Pag. 707.
Tandem precipientibus amicis in Curia venalibus & conductitiis finem fecerunt Domino Papa pro ducentis Marcis, & sic donis & expensis omnibus computatis absorbit illius Curie Charibdis insatiabilis trecentas Marcas.

(t) Pag. 709;
709 & 716.

(u) An. 1248.
Matth. Paris
pag. 724.

illa with the flower of his Nobility, Gentry, and strength of his Kingdom to recover the Holy Land: The crowd was so great that many could get no room in the fleet, and came to the Pope to offer him their service. But the Pope contented himself to unload them of their money, and to empty their purses, and to send them home with dispensation and absolution. In the mean while Dominicans and Franciscans sent by the Pope were preaching the Croisada in England with great vehemency, and with such effect that (*) great number of English, yea the sick and the women crossed themselves for the voyage, and few days after, yea at the same time, the same Fryers dispensed them with their vow for a certain sum of money. So they got a great booty. (x) Then also by the Popes authority Usurers were establishd in England.

(*) Idem pag. 740. Prædicantes pro negotio Crucis homines cujusunque ætatis, sexus, conditionis, vel valoris, immo etiam valetudinarios vel valetudinarias, & agrotantes & senio deficientes cruce signaverant; & in crastino, & etiam in continenti pro quocunque pretio cruce[m] à cruce signatis deponentes. (x) West. an. 1250. Permissum est in Anglia jam quasi licite, ut habitarent Christiani usurarii inter Christianos, Papa prorege[n]te, cum sit usura in utroque Testamento condemnata.

The business of the French in the Levant going to wrack, King Lewis wanting relief was writing with great urgency for help of men and money. Which moved many English Lords and Gentlemen to sell or pawn their Land, and having prepared themselves with great cost, they would begin their Journey. (y) But upon King Henries felicitation, Papal Letters came to forbid them to go, upon pain of Excommunication. Thus poor King Lewis having more generosity than success was forsaken and finally taken by the Saracens, and his Army consumed by Famine and the Sword. The Emperor Frederick desired the Popes Absolution offering to go in person into Syria to relieve the French, but the Pope never would hearken to it.

(y) Matth. Paris, p. 759. Papa per litteras suas, sicut & ipse Rex per verba imperiosa disirictè sub pena excommunicationis inhibuit, ne quis eorum contra Regis voluntatem qualecunque periculum Rex Francorum subiret aut discrimen, transfretaret.

France was then mourning for this sad news, yet did not the Pope abate any thing of the money covenanted before, between the King and him to be raised out of France, when France was in prosperity; but he took over all the Kingdom the Tythe of all things, even of the least. Of which Matthew Paris (x) relates an example. One of these Collectors sent by the Pope met with a petty Clark carrying holy Water with an Asperges to a Village, and some pieces of Bread; He asked him what he got yearly by that labour. The poor Clark answered that the whole profit was not above twenty sous a year. Then (said the Collector) two sous of it belong to me, and extorted the same of him, although his principal trade was Begging. The people of France irritated with such exactions, and especially because the Pope hinderd the Kings relief, spake thus. (a) Alas, alas! how many evils hath the Popes pride bring upon us, so insolently resisting Frederick humbled before him, refusing to receive any satisfaction from him; but rather provoking him to bitterness of heart! &c. O misery How much Christian Blood is shed in the Holy Land! How much in Germany! How much in Italy! &c. Oh that this Pope was born in an ill hour! &c.

(z) Idem, pag. 772. (a) Matth. Paris Ibid. Heu! Heu! quanta mala nobis Papalis superbia paruerit, quæ iam procaciter Frederico restitit humiliato, &c.

King Lewis having yielded Damietta, and given the securities required for his ransom, returned to (b) Acon; whence he sent his Brothers into France, Adolph Count

(b) ou Acre.

Count.

Count of *Poitiers*, and *Charles* Count of *Provence*, and the Duke of *Burgundy* with them, with a command to expell the Pope out of *Lions*, as a man that took no care of Christian Faith, if he continued to hinder the Emperor *Frederick* to come to his help, because *Frederick* was he only that could remedy so many evils. (c)

In this general adversity of Christendom yet the Pope continued to tread *England* under his feet. Which made the King (though patient even to stupidity) so bold as to write Letters full of Liberty to the Pope: Wherein he represented to him how the English being driven out by the Popes Authority, base and wicked men, that understood not the Language, and by consequent incapable of preaching and feeding the flock were installed in the best Churches and Benefices. That the Pope disposed of all the vacant Churches, and the Patrons were deprived of their right. Then having set forth all the extortions and violences which the Pope made the English to suffer, he added. (d) *Thou Pope, Father of Fathers, why suffereest thou the climats of Christeans to be so contaminated? Justly then art thou turned out of thy Town and See, and art thrust into exile like another Cain. Thine enemies Fredericks followers prosper, but thou flyest before thm: thit pursue thee, and they that pursue thee are swift and mighty. Thy Bulls cast forth lightnings against those that submit themselves to thee, but lose their strength against rebels. Every where the Prelats being suspended from the Collation of Benefices, the provisions are made un to persons unworthy, barbarous, and unknown, who under pretence of seeking the milk of the Ews of the Lords fold, take the flesh, shear the fleece, flay, take off the skin, and pull out the guts, &c.*

The Pope who had fulminated, and put Kingdoms under interdict for less offenses, answered not one word, and sup'd up this affront, because he was expelled out of *Rome*; and stood in fear of *Frederick*; And the French Kings Brothers that were returned from the Holy Land had declared to him that they liked not his being at *Lions*, (e) *Because (said they) the Pope by his Covetousness was the cause of all the misfortunes that happened to the King; That he being corrupted with money had hindred the crossed men to come to the Kings help, absolving them from their Vow, &c.* For these causes *Innocent* preparing to change his abode, desired the King of *England* to receive him in to his City of *Burdeaux*. But the King would neither refuse nor grant, but put off his answer.

Then died that great and magnanimous Emperor *Frederick* the II. whose Sons and his Bones also remained excommunicate. *Conrad* Son to the said *Frederick* maintained himself by Arms in *Italy* against the Pope. The Pope, to resist him, caused the Croisades to be preacht against him, (f) giving to those that should take arms against *Conrad* remission of all their sins, and more Graces than to those that made the voyage of the Holy Land. For not only he that crossed himself, but his Father and Mother obtained the remission of all their sins. Many Frenchmen bewitched with Superstition crossed themselves for the Popes War against *Conrad*. But (g) *Queen Blanch* the Kings Mother and Regent in his absence,

Conrad. But (g) *Queen Blanch* the Kings Mother and Regent in his absence, *animum peccatorum remissionem ampliozem videlicet quam pro peregrinatione in terram sanctam faciendam. Nam si quis contra Conradum signatur, signatus & signati, pater & mater, omnium peccatorum suorum veniam consequetur.* (g) *Ibid.*

(c) pag. 773.

Fredericum, qui solus inter Christianos tantis posset meriti periculis, ad pacem Ecclesie revocans humilium ipsum ad hoc induceret, ut ipsi Regi jam pene desperato succursum competens conferat & festinum. Alioquin ipsi Dux & Comites

Dominum Papam tanquam in odio obstinatum & de honore dei minime curantem a sede removeant Lugdunensi. (d) p. 776.

(e) *Id. p. 777. Imponebant illi dicti Regis fratres quod per avaritiam Papae totum eventum infortunium memoratum. Ipse enim Pape cruce signatus, ne in succursum Regi advenirent, pecunia corruptus impedit.*

(f) *Id. pag. 800. Statuens retributionem mirabilem, om-*

by the Counsel of the Nobles seized upon the estates of those crossed men. For they said, *This Pope to encrease his dominion raiseth war against the Christians, and forsaketh the King our Lord who undergoeth so many adversities for the Christian Faith.* And the Queen said, *Let them be paid by the Pope that fight for the Pope.* Also the mendicant Fryers that preache that Croisada, and were the Popes Receivers and Collectors were roughly dealt with. The Pope not speeding that way, and *Conrad* strengthening himself daily, that young Prince beloved and honoured of all was soon after poisoned, yet by the speedy help of Physicians he recovered.

(g) An. Chr.
1252.

Then (h) lived in *England* a good Prelat Bishop of *Lincoln*, who among the darkness of that age had a glimmering sight of the errors of Popery; and maintained that for promoting unworthy persons to Ecclesiastical Charges, and for the horrible abuse of Excommunications and the ill use of the Keys, the Pope was an Heretick. He said that the Pope made no conscience to destroy Souls, and therefore that he was the Antichrist. *That Bishop* (saith (i) *Matthew Paris*)

(i) Matth.
Paris, in Hen.
III. p. 847, &
848. *Episcopus
dolens de iactu-
ra animarum
per Papalis Cu-
rie avaritiam
suspirans ait,
Christus venit
in mundam ut
animas lucrare-
tur. Ergo si quis
animas perdere
non formidat,
nonne Anti-
christus merito
dicendus?*

grieving for the loss of Souls by the covetousness of the Papal Court, would sigh and say, Christ came into the world to gain Souls, Then he that feareth not to destroy Souls, ought he not justly to be called the Antichrist? And he detested the Popes Bulls in which this clause was contained, *quod in subsidium Terra sancta impendentes, tantundem recipient indulgentie, quantum pecunie largientur.* *That they that contribute for the relief of the Holy Land, shall receive as much indulgence, as they shall give money.* He detested also that shameful traffick, whereby the Pope bestowed a Bishoprick upon an ignorant man, and never made him Bishop, calling him elect only; (k) And in general the covetousness, the usury, the simony, the rapine, the luxury of all sorts, the impudicity, the gluttony, the magnificence in clothes that reigned in the Papal Court. Such were the discourses of that Prelat on his death-bed, and he foretold that *the Church should not be delivered from the Egyptian bondage, but with the point of the sword.* So died that Prelat.

But before he died, he writ Letters full of admonitions unto the Pope; Which when the Pope had read, he said, with a ghastly squint look, and in terrible anger.

(k) Ibid.
Omne genus a-
varitiae usuram,
simoniam &
rapinam, omne
genus luxuriae,
libidinem, gu-
lam & ornatum,
que in Curia
illa regnant,
detestatur.

(l) *Who is that o'd dotting deaf and absurd fellow, who thus boldly and rashly gives his judgment of our actions?* By Peter and Paul, did not our natural ingenuity move us, *I would cast down the man into such a confusion, that he should be a fable, an astonishment, an example, and a prodigy unto all the world. Is not the King of England our vassal, or rather our slave? He may imprison him by our commandment, and bring him to the lowest ignominy.* Some Cardinals there present laboured to appease his Holiness. But the death of that Prelat put him out of the Popes power. It was not put to the question at *Rome* whether he should be canonized after his death.

(1) Id. pag.

844. *Quis est iste senex delirus, surdus, & absurdus, qui facta audax imo temerarias judicat? Per Petrum & Paulum, nisi moveret nos imata ingenuitas, ipsum in tantam confusionem precipitarem, ut nisi mundo fabula foret, stupor, exemplum, & prodigium. Nonne Rex Anglorum noster est Vassalus, & ut plus dicam, mancipium?*

But when the Pope had a mind to command the Dean and Chapter of *Lincoln* to cast the Bones of this Prelat out of the Church with shame, (m) *Matth. Paris* (m) p. 855; & 868. At which the Pope became in a manner half dead: And they that waited on him in his Chamber had much ado to bring him to himself again. But he lived but a little while after this accident, and died of a pleurisie, sore pressed with a pain of his side in the same place where he said that the Bishop of *Lincoln* had hit him with the end of his staff.

King *Conrad* being dead in the flower of his age, his Brother *Mamfred* succeeded him in the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*. And Pope *Alexander*, a hafter by inheritance of the posterity of *Frederick*, sent an Army of three score thousand men against him. But his Army was beaten, and the Popes Forces received many defeats. His remedy was to send *Franciscan* and *Dominican* Friars about, to preach the *Croisada* against *Mamfred*, and promised to all that should help the Pope in that War the like graces and pardons as to those that should cross themselves against the *Saracens*. That *Croisada* being preacht in *England*, many (n) were offended that the like grace was given to those that should shed Christian Blood as to those that should fight against the *Infidels*.

King *Henry* the III. had crossed himself a little before for the Holy Land, and had vowed with an Oath to go in person. But Pope *Alexander* (o) gave power to his Legats to dispense him from keeping his Oath, so that he would come into *Italie*, to make war in person against *Mamfred*, enemy of the Roman Church. Not that *Mamfred* was accused of any Heresie, but because being victorious in war, he ran to the very Gates of *Rome*. (p) In the mean while the Pope taxed every Bishöprick, Abbey, and Priory of *England* in summs that exceeded their whole revenue; And the remission of sins was sold to the people for ready money.

This King *Henry* the III. heard three Masses every day. Going thorough *France* (q) and discoursing with the good King *Lewis*, he told him of his Devotion and Assiduity to hear Masses: The good King rebuked him for it, and told him that he needed not to hear so many Masses, and that it had been far better to hear Sermons; shewing thereby that he had no great devotion to the Mass. But King *Henry* answered him, that he had rather see his Friend than to hear of him. (r) It was that Kings custom to make Vows and Oaths according to the exigence of his busineses; then to obtain a dispensation from the Pope and permission to break them. Wherein the Pope did willingly gratifie him, and never denied him a dispensation.

(s) After so much constant obedience to the Pope he was very near to have been excommunicated, but he prevented that thunderbolt by sending five thousand marks of Silver to the Pope.

sum Henrico suptr hoc conferentem dicere, quod non semper missis sed frequentius sermonibus audiendis est vacandum; Cui facti urbanitate respondens ait, Se malle amicum suum videre, quam de eo loquentem audire. (r) Matth. Paris p. 958. Rex juraverat provisiones Oxonienses se inviolabiliter servaturum; & penituerat eum jurasse talia metuens notam perjurii misit ad Papam secreto rogans, ut ab hoc se juramento absolveret, quod facillime impetravit. (s) Matth. Paris, p. 950.

(n) Id. pag. 877, & 885. *Mirabantur, quod Papa tantum eis promitteret pro sanguine Christianorum effundendo, quantum pro cruore Infidelium aliquando.*
 (o) *Dedit eis potestatem absolvendi Dominum Regem Cruce signatum a voto suo; ne iret in terram Hierosolymitarum, ita tamen ut iret Apuliam.*
 (p) *Matth. Paris p. 886.*
 (q) *Matth. Paris Suppl. p. 997. Contigit aliquando Ludovicum Francorum Regem*
 This.

This poor-spirited King being gone, a generous and valiant King, prudent and beloved of his Subjects came in his room. This was *Edward* the first, who seeing his Crown impoverished, and his people exhausted by the Popes extorsions, made to himself amends with the Goods of the Clergy, and despising the Popes Legats, and all his Mandates made use of the Revenue of Abbeys and Priories and other Benefices, and retained for himself all the mony that used to be sent to *Rome*. The Popes suffered it patiently, and durst not offend that warlike King, wellbeloved of his people. And so, under the following Kings, *England* was more or less subject unto the Popes, according as the Kings had more or less vigour. And the horrible Schisms and confusions, whereby the Roman See was torn soon after, gave other businessses to the Popes.

This Narrative containing a Summary of the Ecclesiastical History of *England*, from the beginning of the quarrels about the Investitures (which began to grow hot in the year 1094. until *Alexander* the IV. who was made Pope in the year 1254.) will serve as a scantling to shew the heaviness of the yolk of the Papal domination, how hard the bondage of *England* was, and how shameful the debalement of that illustrious Crown, in the time when the holy Scriptures being hidden unto the People, the Pope reigned in *England* with absolute power. The Sun-shine of the Gospel, which arose in *England* about seven-score years ago, hath scattered this darkness, and by destroying the error, hath also destroyed the servitude. So that in the Kingdom of *England*, which God was pleased to favour with inestimable graces, our Saviours saying was fulfilled. *You shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free*, Joh. 8.

In this relation, I have followed the History of *Matthew Paris*, both because he was a superstitious Monk not to be suspected in this cause, and because he writ exactly, the things which he saw himself. *Matthew* of *Westminster*, another English Monk, which was almost hiscontemporary, relates much the same things. And most part of that which we have here related, is found in the Annals of *Baronius*, in the Chronicle of *Genebrard*, and in many Authors of the Roman Church.

ADDITION.

THis excellent Author truly observeth that the cruel Tyranny of the Popes over the Kings and People of *England* in the long Reigns of weak Kings was in great measure stopt by the stoutness of King *Edward* the first. The Pope tryed his mettle by crossing the Election which the Monks of *Canterbury* by his consent had made of *Robert Burnell* to be Archbishop of that See, electing *John Peckam*, who got and kept the possession.

The Pope, encouraged with that success, sent a Bull to that Archbishop *Peckam*, whereby he exempted the Clergy from paying Taxes to the King. The Clergy accordingly, when the Parliament had granted Subsidies to the King, refused to pay him any. Whereupon the King seized upon all the Archbishops Goods, forbad Annats and *Peter Pence* to be paid to the Pope, and put the Clergy out of his protection, and the safeguard of the Laws; so that if any would pillage the house of a Clergy-man, or even take away his Life, there was no Law against the Offender. This frightened the Clergy to their Duty.

The Statute of *Carlisle* made in that Kings Reign declareth, *that the Holy Church of England was founded in the estate of Prelacy, within the Realm of England, by the Kings and Peers thereof. And that the many Usurpations of the Court of Rome, set down in that Act, did tend to the annullation of the State of the Church, the disinheriting of the King and the Peers, and to the destruction of the Laws and Rights of the Realm, contrary to the Laws and Rights of the first Founders.* 35. Edv. 1.

The last clause of that Statute sheweth, that the King and the State of *England* were deeply sensible of the Popes Extorsion in disposing of all the Ecclesiastical benefices of the Land, as contrary to the intention of the first Founders, which was to promote Gods Service by them, and to leave the patronage of them to their Families, not to make a prey ready for the Ambition and Avarice of a forrain Prelat.

That Statute of *Carlisle* did revive the acknowledgment of the Kings Rights, and the Liberties of the Church of *England*, by the Peers and Prelats of the Realm, in *Henry* the Second's time at *Clarendon*; when the Pope by *Thomas Becket's* means was most busie to invade them, and to get all the Investitures of Bishopricks and Abbeys to the Pope, contrary to the ancient Right of the Kings of *England*; for the *Saxon* Kings conferred Bishopricks *pleno jure*, and without controll. Neither did the Popes offer to make any claim to the Patronage of the English Church before the time of *Henry* the First.

In that quarrel the King and the Church of *England* having had the foyle in the Reign of *Henry* the II. and more yet in that of King *John*, and that of his

Papal Tyranny.

Son *Henry* the Third; the Kings that followed stood strongly to their defence against the Encroachments of *Rome*. Witness the many Statutes against Papal Provisions and Collations, which the Popes had multiplied in this Realm, more than in *France*, or *Spain*, or *Germany*, by reason of their peculiar pretence to a Temporal Supremacy over the Crown of *England*.

25 E. 3.
In the Statute of Provisors, after asserting the Kings Right to the Collation of Archbishopricks, and other Dignities, as granted by the Kings Progenitors, it is enacted,

That the King ought, and is bound by his Oath, to remedy and remove the damages happening to the Realm by the Oppressions of the Court of Rome.

16 R. 2. c. 5.
And another Law, looking to the main Chance, speaks thus: *The Crown of England hath been at all times so free, that it hath been in no earthly subjection, but was immediately subjected to God in all things touching its Regality, and to no other; and ought not to be submitted to the Pope.*

27 E. 3. c. 1.
By other Statutes it is enacted, *That whosoever shall draw any of the Kings Subjects out of the Realm [that is to Rome] in plea about any cause whereof the cognizance belongeth to the Kings Courts, or shall sue in any forreign Court to defeat any Judgment given in the Kings Court, shall be put out of the Kings Protection.*

Since those Statutes, the Popes forbore to meddle with the Investiture of English Benefices and Dignities; till the Troubles about the Quarrel of *York* and *Lancaster*, and the Weakness of *Henry* the Sixth, made him attempt somewhat in that kind, but with a short-liv'd Success. And it may be truly said that those Statutes have made one half of the Popes Ejection, of which *Henry* the Eighth made the other half; and that they gave a sure footing to the Reformation in his days.

But it is a wonder to me that it came not sooner, in a Nation so long, so horribly oppressed, and so insolently trampled under the Popes Feet: seeing (if they had had Eyes to see) that all those Outrages were committed under a pretence of penance, and promoting the Spiritual Good: For all the power which the Pope assumeth is *in ordine ad spiritualia*; And he will have us to believe that Christs saying to *St. Peter*, *Feed my Sheep*, gave power to the Pope to worry them, whensoever his Holiness shall judge that it is for their good. And whereas the Kingdoms of *France*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, have also curbed the Exorbitances of *Rome*, because they have found upon due Examination that the Popes had no ground for them in Divine Authority, why will they not examine also whether the Roman Doctrines of Purgatory, Indulgences, Worship of Images, and Invocation of Saints, which are so lucrative to *Rome*, be better grounded than their incroachments on the Rights of Kings and States? And how can they but see (but that a doom of blindness lieth upon these last corrupt Ages) that those Doctrines are spiritual Cheats to milk out the substance of the people, and plant the Roman Monarchy in all Monarchies?

Some perhaps will say, That those Statutes and Premunires before alledged, have so broken the Popes power, that if his Spiritual Authority were acknow-
ledge.

ledged again in *England*, they would not or could not run into those ancient Excesses. That those Exorbitances were suitable to the fierceness and stupidity of that Age; but that now that old rust is rubbed off; and the Popes by so many defections (as they call them) from the Roman See, have learned Civility and Moderation.

But that those Leopards have not changed their spots, and have abated nothing of their fierceness, it was evidenced by the experience of *Spain* in our Age; having found *Alexander* the III. *Innocent* the III. and *Innocent* the IV. revived in *Urban* the VIII. who did zealously imitate them with his devillish Pride and Extortion.

The Book is extant of the complaint of his Catholick Majesty against him. That the Pope imposed Pensions upon Dignities and other Benefices Ecclesiastical, even those that had cure of Souls, in favour of Strangers, in an excessive proportion, to the third part of the full value. That although Benefices were decayed in many places of *Spain* two third parts of the former value, yet the Court kept up the Pensions at the full height. That it was contrived so that the Pensions did begin long before the Beneficiaries entred into their profits; insomuch as they were indebted sometimes two years Pensions, before they themselves could taste of the Fruits of their Benefices. And then the charge of Censures and other Proceedings in the Court of *Rome*, fell so heavy upon them, that they could never recover themselves. And further, that whereas all Trade was driven in current Silver, only the Court of *Rome*, which neither coils, nor sweats, nor hazards any thing, will be paid all in Ducats of Gold; and those not after the current rates, but according to the old value. That to seek for a Remedy of these Abuses at *Rome*, was such an un-supportable charge, by reason of three Instances and three Sentences necessary to be obtained, that it was in vain to attempt any such thing. This they cried out upon as a most grievous Yoak.

They complained likewise of the Popes granting of Coadjutorships, with future succession, whereby Ecclesiastical Preferments were made Hereditary, persons of Parts and Worth were excluded from all hopes, and a large gap was opened to most gross Simony. Chap. 4.

They complained of the Popes Grants of Resignations with Reservation of the greatest part of the Benefice; insomuch that he left not above an hundred Duckats yearly to the Incumbent out of a great Benefice. Chap. 5.

They complained most bitterly of the Extortions of the Roman Court in the case of Dispensations. That whereas no Dispensation ought to be granted without just cause, now there was no cause at all enquired after in the Court of *Rome*, but onely the price. That a great price supplied the want of a good cause. That the Gate was shut to no man that brought money. That their Dispensations had no Limits but the Popes Will. That for a Matrimonial Dispensation under the second degree, they took of great persons 8000 or 12000 or 14000 Duckats. Chap. 6.

They complained that the Pope being but the Churches Steward and Dispenser, took upon him as Lord and Master, to dispose of all the Rights of Ecclesiastical Persons. That he with-held from Bishops, the true Owners, the sole disposing Chap. 7.

Memorial de
sa magestad
Catholica.
Chap. 1.
2.
3.

of all Ecclesiastical Preferments for eight months in the year. That he ought not to provide for his own profits, and the Necessities of his Court, with so great prejudice to the right of Ordinaries, and confusion of the Ecclesiastical Order, whilst he suffered not Bishops to enjoy their own Patronages and Jurisdictions. They cited S. Bernard telling Pope *Eugenius*, That *the Roman Church (whereof he was made Governour by God) was the Mother of other Churches, but not the Lady or Mistress. And that he himself was not the Lord or Master of other Bishops, but one of them.*

Lib. 4. de cons.
fid. cap. 7.

Chap. 8.

They complained that the Pope did challenge and usurp to himself at the death of Clergy-men all their Estates that were raised out of the Revenue of the Church: That a rich Clergy-man could no sooner fall sick, but the Popes Collectors were gaping about him for his Goods, and set Guards presently about his House: That by this means Bishops have been deserted upon their Death-beds, and famished for want of meat to eat: That some have not had before they were dead, a Cup left to drink in, nor so much as a Candlestick of all their Goods. That by this means Creditors were defrauded, Processes in Law multiplied, and great Estates wasted to nothing.

They complained that the Popes did usurp as their own all the Revenues of Bishopricks during their vacancies, sometimes for divers years together; All which time the Churches were unrepaired, the Poor unrelieved, not so much as one Alms given; and the wealth of *Spain* exported into a forein Land which was richer than it self. They wished the Pope to take it as an argument of their respect to the See of *Rome*, that they did not go about forthwith to correct these Abuses by their own Authority, in imitation of other Princes. So it was not the unwarrantableness of the act in it self, but merely their respect that did withhold them.

Chap. 10.

They represented the great Inconveniencies and Abuses in the exercise of the *Nuncio's* Office: That it was reckoned as a curse in Scripture to be governed by persons of a different Language. That the Fees of their Office were so great that they alone were a sufficient punishment for a grievous crime: They added that self-interest was the Root of all these evils: That such abuses as these gave occasion to all the Reformations and Schisms of the Church. That it was a work worthy of his Holiness, to turn all such Courtiers out of his Court, who did much harm by their persuasions, and no good by their example: adding this Distich:

Vivere qui sancte cupitis, discedite Roma.

Omnia cum liceant non licet esse bonum.

If the Catholick King and his Spanish Subjects, the great Worshipers of the See of *Rome*, were so requir'd by the Pope, what usage could *England* expect of him, if he got once the Mastery over us, that have born so little respect to his Unholiness? Great promises are made to us in print, That *the Catholicks of England would not touch the least hair of a Protestants head (were they in power) for their Conscience*: But how can they make that good, seeing their Conscience is pinned upon the will of a Master whom they must obey, when he commands them to destroy Heresie, by cutting the Throat of Hereticks? Of which the Popes have given us sufficient Caveats by the Butcheries of good Christians done by their order. But

E. C's Answer
to the Season-
able Discourse.

But supposing that which (we trust in God) shall never be imposed upon *England*, that it should bee subjected again unto the Court of *Rome*. Supposing also that *England* should enjoy under the Pope as great Liberties as the Gallican Church doth enjoy or challenge, *England* could not but pay to *Rome* in her proportion as much as *France* doth, and then the burden would lye most heavy upon the Nation; for one would hardly believe what masses of money are exported out of *France* to *Rome* continually. And who but the Professors of the trade can say how many ways the Romish Alchymists have to extract Gold out of all things, from a people enslaved to their Superstition? Who can think without horror what debasing of our Kings Dignity would attend such a change? what abatement of his Revenue? what impoverishing of his Subjects? if then they might be called his Subjects.

But what! These and the losses of all worldly interestes are but fleabits, compared to the loss of that Pearl of infinite value which to get and to keep every person must part with all that he hath. All good Souls will understand that I mean the precious saving Truth of God, of which this Nation hath bin, by Gods unspeakable mercy, the happy keeper and depository the best part of two ages; sometimes under, sometimes without the Cross: And which to preserve millions of good Christians in this Island will lay down their lives, and must: But it must be in the way and sense meant by our great Master, *Fear not them that can kill the Body and cannot kill the Soul, but fear him that can kill both Soul and Body in Hell.*

That would be the proper meditation of our English *Israel*, if we must have no other Pastors of our Souls but as the *Pontificale Romanum* of *Clement the VIII.* designeth *pro toto Orbe Christiano*, for the whole Christian World, over which the Pope claimeth a soveraign Empire. Such Pastors as must swear in their promotion to defend the *Regalities of St. Peter*, that is, that pretended Papal Empire over all the World; and to persecute Hereticks, Schismaticks and Rebels against his Holiness.

This is the Oath.

I N. elect to the Church of N. from this day forward will be faithful to St. Peter Pontificale Romanum
the Apostle, and the Holy Roman Church, and to our Lord N. Pope N. and his Clem. VIII.
Successors canonically entring, I will not concur by counsel, consent or deed, that cap. de consecratione electi
they lose life or member, or be unjustly taken, or that violent hands be laid upon them in any manner, or any injury done them under any pretence whatsoever. I will in Episcopum.
not knowingly discover to their prejudice any Counsel intrusted unto me, either by themselves, or by their Messengers or Letters. I will be a helper unto them against all men, to keep and defend the Roman Papacy, and the Regalities of St. Peter. I will treat the Legat of the Apostolick See with Honour, both in his going and coming, and assist him in his necessities, I will endeavour to preserve, defend, increase and promote the Rights, Honours, Priviledges and Authority of the Holy Roman Church, of our Lord the Pope, and of his Successors aforesaid. I will not join in Counsel, or Deed, or Treaty, in which any thing sinister and prejudicial to their

Papal Tyranny.

their Person, Right, Honour, Estate and Power shall be designed against our said Lord or the Roman Church. And if I shall know that any such thing is treated or attempted, I will hinder it to my power; and as soon as ever I can I will acquaint our said Lord with it, or some body else by whom it may come to his knowledge. I will my self observe with all my strength and cause to be observed the Rules of the holy Fathers; the Decrees, Ordinances or Dispositions, Reservations and Apostolical Mandates: I will to my power persecute and impugne Hereticks, Schismatics and Rebels to our said Lord or his Successors aforesaid. If I be called to a Synod I will come, unless I be hindered by some Canonical impediment, Every three years I will visit [Limina] the Palaces of the Apostles personally, and render account to our Lord and his Successors aforesaid of my whole Pastoral Office, and of all things belonging to the state of my Church, the Discipline of the Clergy and people, and the health of Souls intrusted unto me; and on the other side most humbly receive and diligently perform the Apostolical Commands. If I be detained by a lawful impediment I will fulfil all the aforesaid by a special messenger having a special Mandate to that purpose chosen from the bosom of my Chapter, or otherwise some Ecclesiastical Dignitary, or having some Ecclesiastical Parsonage; or (in defect of such) by some Priest Secular or Regular of approved Vertue and Religion, fully instructed of all matters aforesaid. And if such impediment I will make lawful proof to be sent by my said Messenger to the Cardinal presiding in the Congregation of the sacred Council. I will not sell nor pawn nor mortgage anew, nor alienate in any manner the possessions belonging to my table, even with the consent of my Church, without consulting the Bishop of Rome. And if I do proceed to any alienation I consent eo ipso to incur all the penalties contained in a certain constitution set forth of this matter.

In capite de
scrutinio sero-
tino.

In the same Pontifical there is another form of Oath which the Italian Bishops took in their admission four hundred years ago; in which the Bishop elect swore obedience, not to the Pope, but to the Archbishop or Metropolitan. But as the Papal tyranny increaseth from age to age the Oath of Obedience of the Bishop is made now to the Pope alone. And the Oath now used for the whole Christian world is that which I have here set down, and no other; although a Gentleman hath pronounced lately out of the Coffee-house, that there is no such Oath ministred but perhaps in *Italy*, which is a bold untruth. For I do more boldly, because more truly, affirm that in all places of the Roman Profession this Oath and no other is ministred in the reception of Bishops: And the words of the Oath justifie so much, *pro toto Orbe Christiano*. Observe that in that Oath there is no mention of God, or of Christ, or of his Word, or of his Glory; but the main thing that their Bishops are sworn to is, to defend the Roman Papacy and the Regalities of St. Peter — to increase and promote the Rights, Honours, Privileges and Authority of the Holy Roman Church, of our Lord the Pope, and of his Successors: for so much is with them the summary of all Religion and Piety.

By the same Oath also the Pastors of the Church oblige themselves, not to reduce but to persecute the strayed sheep, and all whom they hold for Hereticks.

Let all that possess their common sense free from prejudices, judg what safety there may be in a State for the Rights of Kings and States, and for the Consciences of all men that are led by Pastors initiated in those principles, and sworn to them in their reception.

The Papist Gentleman aforementioned is so ashamed of that Oath as to profess that *he would not take it for the best Bishoprick in Christendom, and that it is direct premunire, and perhaps worse.* Then he must never be a Bishop in the Roman Church, for there is none other for Romanist Bishops to take in their admission. Till he find another, I hope, he will stand to his assertion, that *the Popes cannot impose Oaths upon the Subjects of other Princes without the consent of these Princes.*

Before I part with that Oath, I must impeach the latter ritualists of a bold attempt, which beareth the face of a jocular Legerdemain, but is a deeply criminal forgery. That whereas the old Pontifical bound the Bishops to maintain *Regulas sanctorum Patrum, the Rules of holy Fathers;* the new Pontifical by a little alteration of Syllables of *Regulas sanctorum Patrum* into *Regalia sancti Petri,* makes the Bishops swear that they shall maintain the Royalties of *St. Peter,* those Royalties which rob Kings of their Crowns and Subjects of their Loyalty.

Certainly the large claim of those Regalities of *St. Peter* hath been for the last six hundred years *fundi Christiani calamitas,* the cause of all the corruption of Religion and of all the publick confusions and distractions in this West of our World. Sure we are in this Island by feeling experience that it is the great Wheel that sets those mischiefs on going, wherewith the State hath bin so many times shaken, torn, and brought to the brink of utter ruine. For when impetuous Zealots are once perswaded that it is (a) *absolutely necessary for Salvation to be subject unto the Pope of Rome,* that (b) *there is but one Name in the world; viz. that of the Pope,* and that to make that prime Article of Faith received in the world, *he hath power to depose Emperours* that will oppose it, and *absolve Subjects from their Allegiance to them;* what attempt, be it never so difficult or so unjust, will they leave untryed to bring their Countrey under the Popes Subjection, and to promote his Universal Monarchy? Or can it be expected from them, that they shall desist from attempting a conversion of their Countrey by the destruction of the same, as long as the Pope, (whose slaves they are) is himself a slave to his cruel and illimited Ambition, which to satiate all the Kingdoms and all the Blood of the world are too little.

When the Fires of Queen *Maries* bloody Reign could not do his work, how many and manifold Plots were made against the Life of Queen *Elizabeth;* that glorious Defender of the Faith, and of her Royal Rights? When neither the Dagger nor the Poison could reach her sacred Person, an invincible Army must be sent to invade *England,* three Popes having made way for the Sword by three thundering Bulls, which deposed the Queen, and commanded her Subjects to rebell against her. For which (if custom may justify injustice) they were justified by the practice of their Predecessors. And because many have found it strange that Kings were used more cruelly than private persons who are not divested of their Estates.

Pontificale ve-
tus.

Pontificale no-
vum.

[a] Bonifac-
VIII. Extra.
Unam Sanctam
subesse Romano
Pontifici omni
humane crea-
tura declara-
mus, dicimus, de-
finimus & pro-
nuntiamus om-
nino esse de ne-
cessitate salutis.
(b) Baron.
An: 1076. S.

Hist. Conc.
Trent,
Anno 1538.

Estates by the Pope for their Offences, that Objection is answered by the Bull of Paul the III. against Henry the VIII. for he not only deprived the King of his Kingdom, but all his Adherents also of whatsoever they possess. Let both Kings and Subjects learn how they must fare under the wrath of such a Master, who will not ouely be Lord Paramount, but Proprietary of all Estates.

When the *Invincible Army* had lost that name, being defeated by the powerful Arm of God, other Armies were poured from time to time into *Ireland*, ever prone to rebel. When all these Efforts were frustrated, God blessing *England* because the Popes cursed it; and *Elizabeth*, full of days and glory, was received into the Arms of her heavenly Father, her peaceful Successor, Defender of the same holy Faith, must be welcomed to his Crown by a Mandate of *Clement the VIII.* declaring him incapable to wear it, as an Heretick, and forbidding his Subjects to obey him. When all that would not swork the desired Deed, to make short work, a fine Device is excoigated; The King and his Royal Issue, Lords and Commons, all the Court, and all the Flower and Vigour of the Kingdom, must be blown up to Heaven by a gallant new way.

This Plot beareth its pedigree in its *Italian* Garb, and sheweth it self descended from the Court of *Rome* and the Devil, as we may well judge, since a forein Jesuite was acquainted with it before. For which notice we are obliged to the Judicious and pregnant Author of the *Seasonable Discourse*, who in his *Reasonable Defence* of the same giveth us the whole passage out of *Delrio*. For that Jesuite so propounds it in the way of a supposed case, that comparing it to the Gun powder-Treason, it is made evident that the Plot was on foot already. The Case he puts is this: *Whether if a Confederate discover in confession that he or some else have placed Gunpowder or such-like matter, under such or such a House, and unless it be removed the House will be blown up, the Prince destroyed, and as many as are in or are going out of the City will sustain great mischief, or run an extream hazard, the Priest ought to reveal it; which is determined in the Negative.* So this Jesuite prepareth all the Priests conscious of the Conspiracy to hold their peace; according to the Doctrine of his Church, that it is better to let all the Princes of the World to perish, than to reveal a Confession. Marry to reveal it to the Pope they scruple not. And *Garnet* perswaded the Conspirators to acquaint his Holiness before they proceeded, who accordingly dispatched Sir *Edmund Baynam* on that Service. But whether *Garnet* gave that Advice to inform the Pope of that which he knew not before, or for an argument that the Pope knew it not; howsoever it remains constant that the Pope was acquainted with the Plot, and that if he had disliked it, he might have hindred it: And how could he have found in his heart to have hindred such an admirable piece of Service to the Regalities of *St. Peter*?

The Pope being not used to hinder or to censure Treason, one may wonder why he hath condemned Mr. *Whites* Book of *Obedience and Government*, seeing that it is full of rank Treason. But (besides the indignation which that Writer had incurred of his Holiness by his other Books) the Pope could not but take offence at his ascribing the power unto the people of altering the Government at their pleasure, a power which the Pope claims in all Kingdoms, and in *England* more than in any other.

Delrio Dis-
quisit. Mag.
Lib. 6. c. 11.
S. 1.

Proceedings
against the
late Traitors.

others. For the Pope doth not love Treason but when it serveth his turn, and when he may have the managing of it.

The Popes Emissaries are never more dangerous than when they work Treason by the hands of their adversaries, transforming themselves into all shapes; yet so religious in their wickedness, that they will not work the destruction of their King before they have got the Popes leave, and armed themselves with his Apostolical Benediction.

For a charge of that nature, which I laid upon the English Jesuits, I have bin attacked by three adversaries.

The first is commonly said to be a person of Honour. In his two Books I find no material Objection obliging me to an Answer; only some playing with his gallant Wit, of which I wish him much joy. Yet to all that he objecteth he may find satisfaction in my Answer to my two other Adversaries; for I will not weary my Reader with Repetitions, and I will contend as little as I can with a Nobleman of a Family which I love and honour in a very high degree. Although he dealeth with me so unlike a Gentleman or a Christian as to point and recommend me to the fury of the people to be massacred. Of which one would think that he is in greater danger than I; especially if he appear before them in his new shaven Crown, and his Romish Priests Habit. For all the ill words which he bestoweth upon me I return hearty prayers that God sanctifie his good parts, and graciously reclaim him to his holy Truth, from which he hath bin miserably seduced.

My second Adversary is Mr. *Serenus Cressy*. Doth he not know (saith he of me) how oft, and particularly how upon the complaint of the late *Queen Mother of most precious memory* he hath been summoned to make good his forged calumny, but all in vain? I desire the Reader to observe the nimble juggling of Mr. *Cressy*, to make the world believe that which himself affirmeth not. I might in the same Stile say of an honest man, Doth he not know how oft he hath robbed upon the high ways, and particularly upon *Shooters hill*? and yet not affirm that he hath done so. And I might say of Mr. *Cressy*, Doth he not know how oft he hath done disservice to the King in the Irish Wars, and particularly in doing his utmost to seduce his Brother from His Majesties service to that of the Pope? and yet not affirm that he did so, though if I did affirm it, I should not speak, as he does, without any ground.

Pag. 84. of his Vindication of his Church from Fanaticism against Dr. *Stillingfleet*.

I answer then to Mr. *Cressys* Question, that I never knew of any such Summons made to me upon the *Queen Mothers* complaint, or of any Summons at all before his Book came forth, nor he neither. Mr. *Cressy* might have said with truth, that a few days after the coming forth of my Book Her Majesty desired that I might be forbidden to write any more, which was very far from summoning me to bring my proofs. And several persons of Honour and good Credit can remember what a dismal consternation there was at *Somerset-house* when my Book appeared.

Mr. *Cressy* also being deeply stung with the Truth of that Charge, as he shew-

eth by the extremity of his choler, will sting me in revenge with a foul aspersion upon my Reverend Fathers memory; denying him to have bin a loyal Subject, and calling all *France* to witness for it. But the famousst Pen of *France*, that of Monsieur *Balzac* a Roman Catholick, giveth him a contrary Character, in a Letter to a him which is extant among his works. For after he hath extolled his high parts, and yielded to him the Garland of Wit and Eloquence, he exalteth him more yet for his eminent Loyalty and Love to his King, shining in all his Writings; For which also he had solemn thanks given him by his King and the Council of State. But of nothing must we expect any thing beyond its nature. And Mr. *Cressy* is much of the nature of Dogs, who will lift up their leg against things that are higher than themselves.

Mr. *Cressy* concludes his invective against my Father with a worse against the Confession of Faith of the French Reformed Churches; saying, that it obligeth them to be Traitors and Rebels, whensoever the Honour of God (that is the defence of their execrable Religion) is concerned. I pass by that wicked abuse of their Religion, and say only that King *James* of most precious memory did not hold their Religion for execrable, when he employed one of their prime Divines, my Reverend Father, to defend his Confession of Faith, and again to defend him against Cardinal *Du Perron*. But I forget that these Gentlemen make now an open mock of King *James*, so far that one of their crew hath lately printed a Satyr, where speaking of that great and good King he hath the impudence to say,

*Since him some Stories sprung up, who (might it be)
Writ even more impertinently than he.*

None but a Pa-
pist in grain
would or could
have spoken so.

But I leave this digression, and return to my matter. How unfaithfully doth Mr. *Cressy* alledge the Article of the French Confession about Obedience? It is the XL. Article, and runs thus. *We hold that we ought to obey the Laws and Statutes of Sovereigns, pay Tributes, Taxes, and other Duties, and bear the yoke of subjection with a free good will, though they be Infidels; so that Gods Sovereign Empire remain entire.* So much good Christians and good Subjects might say, not only to a persecuting *Dioclesian*, but to a pious *Constantine* or *Theodosius*. *Sir we will obey your Commands as long as they interfere not with Gods Commands.* There is great difference between not obeying and rebelling. If not obeying for Conscience sake be Rebellion and Treason, how many Roman Catholicks in *England* have bin Rebels and Traytors these hundred years, for not obeying the Laws of the Land, which command them to resort to the publick Service of God in their Parish Churches? It were tolerable if they had bin such upon no other account.

Mr. *Cressy*'s Serenity is pleased to call me *A wretched Serpent, disgorging my Poison to the disturbance of this Island.* I hope that God will requite me Blessing for his Reviling. The least of his insolencies is the traducing of me as an Alien warmed with English Preferments. I have reason to praise God that my condition of Alien made my Services to the King and the Church more opportune and effectual.

effectual than if I had bin native of *England*. If my Diminution may be a pleasant hearing to Mr. *Cressy*, I will tell him, that of a Prebend and a *sine Cura*, which the King my gracious Master was pleased to give me, I had but the first, though I have still the Great Seal for both. And I might perhaps, with some Sollicitation, have got somewhat in lieu of the second, did I not make a question whether I could get more ease by getting more burden.

Quod satis est cui contingit nihil amplius optet.

But here comes in the rear a bold Champion who sends me a defiance out of the Coffee-house, to make the Charge good which I laid against the English Jesuits. The Gentleman is unwilling to consider that I have offered in my Vindication of the Protestant Religion to justify it whensoever Authority will require it. And therefore I ought not to answer any Summons that issues not from Authority. But his Friends the Jesuits were so far from suing for such a Summons, that when my Book came forth, after they had clamoured and stormed four or five days, they employed the greatest strength they had in the Court to stop my Pen by Authority, from writing any more. This behaviour of theirs (for which I have undeniable proofs) is the greatest evidence that can be of their guilt; unless it be their silence, now well-nigh eleven years. Whereas they ought to have sued their Accuser as soon as the Accusation came forth. And would they not have done it had they bin innocent? Had the like crime bin laid to the charge of the poor Protestant Ministers of *France*, as weak as they are, and wanting friends in the Court, they would not have lyen one day under it, but they would have made their way to a publick redress. Neither would they have learned of the English Jesuits to allow time enough for witnesses to dye in, while themselves are deliberating whether they shall sue for a trial.

The passage of the Priest flourishing with his Sword when the Kings Head was cut off (against which the Gentleman of the Coffee house declaimeth) was printed thrice before I ventured upon it, twice by Mr. *Prynne* and once by Mr. *Foulis*. And upon Mr. *Prynnes* credit I alledged it. To him I did write (though a stranger to me) upon the noise made about it; And he confirmed it to me by his Letters, which I keep.

Another passage which the same Gentleman excepteth against as incredible is punctually true in all the parts thereof. It is worth relating here again. An understanding Gentleman visiting the Friars of *Dunkerck*, who are Flemmish or French, put them upon the Discourse of the Kings Death; and to pump out their sense of it, said, that the Jesuits had laboured very much to compass that great work. To which they answered that the Jesuits would engreace to themselves the glory of all great and good deeds; whereas they had laboured as diligently and effectually to advance it as they. So there was striving among the Papists for the glory of that achievement; and the Fryers shewed themselves as much Jesuited as the Jesuits.

I will match this passage with another upon mine own credit. Travelling in

Warwick shire I was accsted by a Traveller in my Inne, who asked of me whether I was a Catholick; I told him I was. Whereupon he made unto me a passionate Discourse of the Grievances of the Catholicks. I told him that there would have bin another world with them if the Powder had taken fire at *Westminster*. He with a deep sigh answered, It was not Gods pleasure. I knowing my self not good at long dissembling parted from him suddenly, and went on my Journey, full of abhorrency and compassion together of such a zealous villany, but more with thankfulness to God for rescuing his *Israel* from the claws and fangs of those bloody Tigers.

Papal Tyranny:

TWO SERMONS

UPON

Rev. XVIII. 4, 5.

And I heard another Voice from Heaven, saying, Come out of her, my People, that ye be not partakers of her Sins, and that ye receive not of her Plagues: For her sins have reached unto Heaven, and God hath remembered her Iniquities.

P R E A C H E D

In the Metropolitan Church of *Canterbury*.

The First,

Upon the Anniversary Day of Thanksgiving:

For *ENGLAND*'s Deliverance from the

GUNPOWDER-TREASON.

The Other a little after.

London, Printed for *H. Brome*, at the Sign of the Gun at the
West End of *St. Pauls*, 1674.



Papal Tyranny:

The First SERMON

Upon REV. XVIII. 4, 5.

And I heard another Voice from Heaven, saying, Come out of her, my People, that ye be not partakers of her Sins, and that ye receive not of her Plagues: For her sins have reached unto Heaven, and God hath remembered her Iniquities.

THis which is called *another Voice*, calls us to hear a former Voice, that makes way for the understanding of this. We have it in the beginning of this Chapter, *I saw another Angel come down from Heaven, and lighting the Earth with his glory. And he cried mightily with a strong Voice, saying, Babylon the Great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the Habitation of Devils, and the Hold of every foul Spirit, and the Cage of every unclean and hateful Bird. For all Nations have drunk of the Wine of the Wrath of her Fornication; And the Kings of the Earth have committed fornication with her: And the Merchants of the Earth are waxed rich through the abundance of her Delicacies.*

After that other Voice of an Angel from Heaven, *Babylon the Great is fallen, is fallen*, twice over to express the certainty of her doom, it was time, if ever, for a second Voice to cry, *Come out of her, my People.* 'Tis true, the first part of that former Cry, *Babylon the Great is fallen*, is a prophetic anticipation of Time, a time yet to come; for to our great grief it stands to this day. The rest of the Prophecy, though it regard the final desolation of *Babylon*, looks as if it were already fulfilled: For *Babylon* is long since become the *Habitation of Devils, the Hold of every foul Spirit, and the Cage of every unclean and hateful Bird.* Those foul Guests are prudent enough to preserve their own Habitation: Those unclean Birds will not pull down their Cage over their Head as we do: They are wiser in their Generation than we are: The Kingdom of the Devil is not divided against it self. God then himself will pull down that which they hold up so wisely: He will destroy that building of *Babylon* so well cemented: Humane Policy is too weak a Bulwark against the Great Ordinance of Gods Justice. The deepest mysteries of worldly

wildom.

Verse 19.

wisdom keep her up, but her iniquities cry against her; *And Great Babylon is come in remembrance before God, to give unto her the Cup of the fierceness of his wrath; saith the same Spirit, in the sixteenth Chapter of this Prophecy: Wherefore, Come out of her, my People, saith God himself, that ye be not Partakers of her sins, and that you receive not of her plagues. For her sins have reacht unto Heaven, and God hath remembered her Iniquities.*

This Voice of God regards a double subject; the subject of Gods Wrath, *Babylon* with her sins; and the subject of Gods Mercy, Gods people in *Babylon*. The first must be considered in this order. First, what that *Babylon* is; Secondly, her sins; Thirdly, her plagues. Further we will not examine at this time. Of Gods Command to go out of it, another time.

As for the name of *Babylon*, it is borrowed from that famous City of *Mesopotamia*, once the Seat of a mighty Empire, in which the People of *Israel* were kept captive; and out of which God took his People before he poured his great Judgments upon it. The Prophecies under the Gospel delight to borrow the terms of the Prophecies under the Law. In most of them there is this especial reason for it, that the places and passages mentioned in the old Prophecies contain figures of those that are mentioned in the Gospel. That truth is exemplified in this Text, which hath a great Analogy with that of *Jeremy*, speaking from God to *Israel* dwelling in *Babylon*, Chap. 51. vers 6. *Flee out of the midst of Babylon, and deliver every man his Soul: Be not cut off in her Iniquity, for this is the time of the Lords Vengeance: He will render unto her a recompence.* And in the next verse *Babylon* is described with a Golden Cup, which made all the Nations of the Earth drunk and mad. And again in vers. 45. *My People go ye out of the midst of her, and deliver ye every man his Soul from the fierce anger of the Lord.*

By comparing the Old and the New Prophecy, the *Babylon* meant here may be known by any one that hath Eyes to see, and Ears to hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches in this Chapter, and more in the Chapter before. There a Woman is described sitting upon seven Mountains, which he calls *Babylon*, the Mother of Harlots and Abominations of the Earth, drunk with the Blood of Martyrs, and Saints of Jesus, making the Kings of the Earth drunk with her Cup of Abominations; and so bewitching them, that they voluntarily submitted their Kingdoms unto her. And there the holy Ghost expounds himself; *The Woman which thou sawest is the Great City, which reigneth over the Kings of the Earth: That City with seven Mountains, where the chief Wealth of the World resorteth, and which makes Merchandise of Souls of men. He that hath some reading and some knowledge of the World; and seeth not the Court of Rome described there, either hath no Eyes, or deserveth to lose his.*

It was not *Calvin* nor *Luther* that found this out. *Tertullian* well nigh fifteen hundred years ago expounded it so: *Babylon* (saith he) in our *St. John's Book*, beareth the Figure of the City of Rome.

Hierom also applieth to *Rome* that which is foretold in the *Revelation* of the Harlot in purple, and of the Name of Blaphemy written on her forehead, and of the destruction of *Babylon*.

To

Tertul. contra
Judeos, c. 9.
Babylon apud
Fobannem rō-
strum Romana
urbis figuram
portat.
Hieronym.
Epist. 17. ad
Marcellin.

To this St. *Austin* likewise agreeth, saying that *Rome* it self is as it were a second *Babylon*.

Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. 18. cap. 7. *Ipsa Roma quasi secunda Babyloniz.*
Bellarm. lib. 3 de Pontifice Romano, cap. 13. *Dici potest, & meo iudicio melius per Metreticem intelligi Roman.*
Rev. XIX.

All this is acknowledged by *Bellarmin*. It may be said, (saith he) and better, in my Judgment, that by the Harlot, Rome must be understood. Yea, but he will have it understood of the old Pagan Rome, not of that of our days. But that agreeth not with the Character which the Holy Ghost giveth of this *Babylon*, expressed under a Womans figure, A Woman which bewitcheth Kings, and makes them drunk; that is, she befools them with flattery and delusion; Whereas the Pagan Rome dealt with Kings by Force and Arms. *Babylon* of the Revelation reigneth over the Kings of the Earth. But the Pagan Rome destroyed the Kings of the Earth. Neither was Pagan Rome destroyed, which is the Doom past upon *Babylon* in this Prophetical Vision. Neither was Gods People commanded to go out of the Pagan Rome; but Gods People staid in it, and so wrought upon it, that by Gods Blessing; of Pagan, they made it Christian. Wherefore this Command, *Come out of her, my People*, and the Doom of Destruction upon her, regarded these last times, when the Christian Rome from a holy City is become a Harlot, the Persecutor of Christians, and the Bane of Christianity.

For this Exposition, we have three Jesuites on our side: The first *Ribera*, who saith, *That by Babylon we must understand Rome, such as it shall be in the end of the World*. The second *Viega*, who saith, *That the Name of Babylon must be transferred to Rome, such as it shall be in the days of the Antichrist*. The third *Suarez*, who saith the same.

In Apoc. c. 14. num. 4.
Com. in hung locum.

It is very observable, that in all Christian Ages all who had a just Quarrel to Rome, would never fail to call her *Babylon*, or the Beast, or the Great Harlot in Purple, of the Revelation. Thus *Bernard*: *That Beast of the Revelation, to which was given a mouth speaking blasphemies, and power to make War against the Saints, is sitting in St. Peter's Chair*.

Bernard. Epist. 125. *Beastia illa de Apocalypsi cui datum est os blasphemie & bellum gerere cum Sanctis, Petri Cathedra occupat.*
Conc. Rhema.

Before him *Arnauphus* Bishop of Orleans in a Council held at *Rhemes* speaks thus of the Pope to the Fathers of the Council: *Reverend Fathers, whom do you hold this man to be, sitting on a high Throne, glittering with a Robe of Purple and Gold? If he want Charity, and is swelled with Science onely, he is the Antichrist sitting in the Throne of God*. And he addeth, *That the Antichrist was at hand, and the Mystery of Iniquity was advancing it self*.

Well, we have the clear Texts of Scripture, the Testimony of Fathers, and the Confession of the principal Romanists, to perswade us that the *Babylon* of our Text is the Rome of our days. There being no other City *ἐπιδαροσ*, with seven Hills, clad in Purple, Mother of Harlots and Abominations, making Merchandize of Souls, keeping the Kings of the Earth in subjection, and invading their Authority and Revenues, by enchanting and inebriating them with cunning seduction.

From her Name of *Babylon*, we pass to her Sins, which will make good her Name, those Sins which have reach'd to Heaven. Those Sins are of two sorts, of Doctrine and Practice.

II.

For the Doctrine: As much of the true and fundamental Doctrine was kept as they could not abolish, and so much as might serve for their profit. That they did

Papal Tyranny.

not abolish the Creed, we owe them no thanks ; It was so generally receiv'd in all the Churches of East and West, North and South, most of them having nothing to do with the Popes, that it was impossible for them to suppress it. And that the Holy Scripture was not altogether taken out of the way, we are beholden to the Jews, who have carefully kept the Hebrew Originals of the Old Testament ; and to the Greek Churches, who have faithfully preserved those of the New. But for these impediments, there would have been no holy Scripture kept wheresoever the Pope hath any power. I shall be cleared from making an Uncharitable Supposition by all that will observe what care the Pope hath taken, and takes still, to hide the Scripture from the people. Why ? The Pope is afraid of it, as much as a Night-Thief feareth the Light. *For every one that doth evil hateth the Light, neither cometh to the Light, lest his Deeds should be discovered,* saith Christ : A Text upon which the right Comment was made by the Bishops met at *Bononia*, called by Pope Paul the III. to give the best Advice for restoring the decaying Papal Dignity.

John iii. 20.

Consil. de stabilienda Romana sede, p. 6
See this more at large in Dr. Stillingfleet's Discourse of the Idolatry practis'd in the Church of Rome, p. 232.

And that best advice which they gave, was, *That it should not be permitted to any mortal man to read more of the Gospel than that little which is in the Mass: for (said they) it is that Book which hath raised those storms which we are almost carried away with. And in truth if any compareth it with what is done in our Churches, he will find it very contrary to each other.* This is fair play, and above-board. Thus Wisdom is not onely justified by her Children, but by her very Adversaries.

But because in spite of the Devil and the Pope, the holy Scripture was translated in all the vulgar Languages of Christendom, whereby the Abominations of that Throne of Iniquity, and its Tyranny over the Consciences, are laid open, no wonder that they have declared open war against the Word of God, since the Word of God fights against them. They have to their power imbezelled the Authority of Scripture, and subjected it to that of the Church, that is, of the Pope. They have disgraced it; and charged it with imperfection. *Scripture is not a sufficient Rule of Faith,* saith *Gregorius de Valentia*. The remnant of that revealed or to be revealed Truth is not written, but lieth in the Popes Brest to declare and injoy as he thinks good. The reason why that remnant is not written, is given by *Salmeron* and *Costerus*, Jesuites, *Because holy things must not be given unto Dogs.*

Analyf. l. 5. c. 3.

Salmeron Tom. 13. Disp. 8. §. quinto.
Costerus Prefat. Enchirid.

So in their account the Written Word is for Dogs, the Unwritten for holy men or Angels. It is ordinary with the Popish Writers to call Scripture *Nasus Cereus*, & *Regula Lestri*, a Nose of Wax and a Leaden Ruler, which may be turned any way. No Authority they allow to it, but as much as it gets from the Pope. Without which, *Hofius* saith, that it hath no more Authority then *Esop's Fables*. And it is one of Pope *Nicolas* his Canons, *That if the Old and New Testament must be received, it is not because they are in the Canon of Scripture, but because of the Sentence of Pope Innocent, who hath decreed that they should be received.* How could these men have taken a surer course to justify that the Pope and his Champions are that *Beast that hath a mouth speaking blasphemies ?* Rev. xiii. 5.

Hofius contra Brentium, l. 3. p. 148.
Papa Nicol. Dist. 19. Can. Si Romano-rum

Platina in Paulo III.

Another great and reigning sin of that *Babylon* is, That it is neither Truth nor Right, but Interest that ruleth in it. The Pope bearing himself as infallible, and having all Truth and Right shrined up in the Chest of his Brest, as *Paul* the III. would

would

would say of himself, one would think that he having no need of Scripture, (as being above it) would presently give a decision about emergent differences in points of Doctrine. But he commonly takes time to examine the several Interests of Princes in such a quarrel, and which of the parties is more suitable to the Interest of his Court. These, not the Scripture, nor the Fathers, nor the Schoolmen, sway the ballance of their judicial Sentence.

It is observable that those points of Religion which are not fit to be bowed to temporal Profit or Greatness have suffered little alteration among them in many ages, as the points of the Trinity, the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, the Incarnation of the Son of God, the unconfounded and inseparable Union of the Divine and Human Natures in his Person. Why? Arianism, Eutychianism and Nestorianism would make them neither greater nor richer. And I could shew also that by maintaining Gods Truth in those points the Roman See hath got Credit and great Authority; and that their advantage invited them to protect the Assertors of those Truths. But all Points in which the Truth stood against their advancement, or which might be detorted to that end, have bin most shamefully corrupted.

Thus about that principal Point, the satisfaction made by Jesus Christ for the Sins of the world, which is the main ground of Mans Salvation and the Comfort of Consciences, all the craft of those Italian pates was and is bent to oppose that divine saving Truth, that *the Blood of Jesus Christ doth cleanse us from all Sin.* Why? were this generally believed, down would go the Purgatory, down would go Indulgences and all the foule traffick about the Remission of Sins, whereby they get infinite Riches. Down would go the Merits of the Monks, and the works of Supererogation, which being kept in the imaginary Treasure of the Church are distributed *manus porrigentibus adjutrices*, (it is the burden of the Song in all the Popes Grants of Spiritual Graces) *i. e.* to them that want Merits and will give Money to buy some. The same maxim holding for the Remission of Sins as in dispensation about Matrimonial Causes: of which the authentical Book of Taxes of the Roman Chancery giveth this sage warning. *Note diligently* (saith the Holy Court) *that such Graces and Dispensations are not granted unto the poor, because if they have no money to buy them, therefore they cannot be comforted.* While we read such things with horreur, yet we thank them for their round dealing. They that will come to the Roman Court for Consolation, are fairly warned what they must trust to. The Bank and Shop is set up openly in the Church to sell Spiritual Graces.

What a vast profit do they make of the fiction of Purgatory, a Fire seven times hotter than the Fire of Hell, in which the Souls of Sinners must be frying many hundreds of years, unless they be redeemed with Money or Land: For, as for the Redemption by the Blood and Merit of Christ, they make it little worth by their Doctrine; teaching against common sense, that the Blood of Christ, though it purge Souls from the Sin, doth not take away the Punishment; which they must bear in Purgatory. Of that Purgatory the Pope wears the Keys at his Girdle: And to obtain of him a Release from it, dull Sinners, frighted with that

1 Joh. 2.

Tax. Cancell. Apostolica. Et nota diligenter quod istiusmodi gratia & dispensationes non conceduntur pauperibus, quia non sunt, & ideo non possunt consolari.

Bagbear, and understanding neither Faith nor Repentance, have given their best Lands, yea their whole Estates, to Monks, who are singing for their Souls, while their disinherited Children are weeping and begging their Bread: In that foul commerce it is hard to say what is more to be admird, the Knavery of the Sellers, or the Brutality of the Buyers, or the deluding Power of Satan, or the Wrath of God upon the wilful Blindness and Disobedience of the wicked World.

What prodigious Gain is made by the Invocation of Saints; and the Multiplication of them! What concourse of people is there to the Indulgences affixed to the several places of their Worship! And how do they hit the people's humour, lovers of variety and novelty! for the new Saints are more courted, and do more miracles than the old. Praying to others than God is set forth by St. Paul as a piece of nonsense, in this interrogation, *How shall they call on him in whom they have not believed?* But if the truth were scanned it would be found, that the people of the Roman Church believe more in the Virgin Mary than in God, and therefore ten times more Prayers are directed to the Mother than to the Son.

Rom. 10. 14.

It is known what trances of Devotion (men especially) have to the Virgin Mary, which intelligent Travellers and wise Observers father upon Lust; The Devotion which they have for the Sex being far greater than that they have for God. And it is found that such men are enamoured with some beautiful enticing Pictures of the Virgin, which Painters will not fail to make as charming as they can. It is *Cassanders* observation that the beautiful Images are adored with more veneration than the ugly; So easie it is to justifie that most wisely the Prophets call Idolatry Whoredom, and that spiritual uncleanness hath much kindred with the carnal.

So strong in the Church of Rome is the Reign of Idolatry, that it is patronized by the greatest Scholars among them. *The Images of Christ and the Saints* (saith *Bellarmino*) *must be venerated not only by accident or improperly, but by themselves and properly, ita ut ipsæ terminent venerationem ut in se considerantur, so that they terminate the veneration as considered in themselves; & non solum ut vicem gerunt exemplaris, and not only as they represent the original.* *Aquinas* himself saith that the same reverence is due to the Image of Christ as to Christ himself. And so it is generally practised among them both by Clergy and Laity. It is not credible, but to those that have seen it, how madly the Romish Zelots are prostituted to that horrible sin of Idolatry, which God in his Word so abhorreth, and calls it Adultery against him. What sighs, what tears are poured before the Images of Saints, some that never were in the world, some that never were Saints, and before Bones, Chips, and Clouts, most of them Supposititious?

And can we speak of Idolatry in this Church without remembering that which was most superlatively bestowed here upon the Body of a wicked man wickedly slain? What Prayers, what Vows were paid to him? What Pilgrimages from all Nations? What rich Gifts were poured upon his Shrine? And was not this whole City become (but for her deep Ignorance) like *Athens*, *Jerusalem*, wholly given to Idolatry, the sole traffick upon which it lived? Blessed be our great and good

Saviour,

De Imaginibus. c. 21.

Thom. part 3. q. 25. Art. 3.

A. 17.

Saviour, who hath drawn us out of that darkness unto his marvellous light. Be he pleased to perfect that mercy, giving us Grace to walk in his light as true Children of light.

No Saint being worshipped but by the Popes Authority, he was not so ill a Husband as to bestow worship upon others, and retain none for himself. He hath then canonized himself in his life time, and bestowed upon his own self a religious adoration. And herein especially it is most evident and most eminent that Babels Sins have reacht up to Heaven. I mark this as the greatest of all the abominations of the Court of *Rome*, and that which sheweth the Pope to be that man described by the Apostle *St. Paul*, *The man of Sin, the Son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the Temple of God, shewing himself that he is God.* 2 Theſ. 2. 4.

The Pope opposeth himself to God by contradicting his holy Truth and persecuting the Professors of the same. He exalteth himself above all that is called God by making himself King of Kings, who are called Gods in Scripture. And he sets up himself as God by the *adoration* which he claimeth and receiveth. It is argued that the kneeling before him and kissing his Slipper is a civil not a religious Worship. Were that granted, the same could not be said of the *Adoration* bestowed upon him immediately after his Election and the next day after. I beseech all Christians to consider this without passion and prejudice. As soon as a Cardinal is elected Pope, a Deacon saith aloud *Ad Adorationem*. Then the Cardinals lead him from the Conclave into a Chappel near hand, and with their hands set him up upon the Altar, the place where they pretend to sacrifice Jesus Christ in the Mass; and there on their knees they bestow humble Adoration upon him, in the same manner as they adore the holy Sacrament of the Altar, which they hold to be God. Could the Pope better fulfil *St. Paul's* Prophecy, and shew himself more evidently to be that man of Sin who sitteth in the Temple of God; and sheweth himself that he is God? For is not the Altar, by the Confession of the Papists, the place belonging only to God, even to Jesus Christ God blessed for evermore? Do not all that have eyes see *St. Paul's* Prophecy fulfilled in that abominable Ceremony? This is indeed the height of Abomination and the most visible character of the man of Sin. All men are Sinners, Gods Children too, the more is our grief: But this spot is not the spot of Gods Children. None but the opposer of God and intruder into his Rights is capable of that sacrilegious attempt upon his Majesty.

To fulfil the Prophecy further, by *exalting himself above all that is called God or that is worshipped*; In the solemn Procession next after that Ceremony he doth exalt himself openly above it, making *that which is called God* to be carried before him upon a white Horse with a Bell hanging at his Neck, under a Canopy carried by four Roman Citizens. But himself is born upon the Shoulders of Men, and the greatest of Men; the Emperour himself, if he be present, lending his Shoulder to the Chair. And a Canopy is carried over him by great Princes or their Embassadors.

With the like modesty Pope Sixtus the fourth takes for himself that which we thought to belong unto Christ alone. *All power is given me both in Heaven and Earth.* Which is no more than the last *Lateran Council* alloweth to the Pope, even to *have power over all the powers of Heaven and Earth.* And let the Angels and Archangels look to themselves; though likely the Pope will spare them, and content himself with that the same Council alloweth him on Earth. *Adorabunt eum omnes Reges terra.* All the Kings of the Earth shall worship him, making no doubt but that *David* meant him in that Prophecy of the *72 Psalm.* And therefore he may not only use Kings as his Vassals, but make his Cardinals take place of them.

To the Pride of the Popes their Avarice is suitable; for those two Vices feed each other. Of their insatiable griping *Theoderick a Nibem*, a Secretary of the Popes, speaks thus. *The Apostolical Chamber is like the Sea into which all Rivers flow and never make it overflow; for streams of Gold from all parts of the world run into it by thousands yet it is never full. There is in it a Generation whose Teeth are Swords to devour the poor of the Earth.*

The Abbot of *Usperg* giveth the like account of the Papal Court, *Rejoyce* (saith he) *Rome our Mother*, for the iniquities of sins of men which are so lucrative unto thee. *Rejoice at the discord which is broken up from the infernal gulf, to accumulate heaps of Treasure upon thee. Thou hast that which thou hast always desired. Sing and shout for joy, that by the Wickedness of men, not by thy Piety, thou hast overcome the World.*

It might be held a hard censure if for the sins of a few Popes I called the Papal See the *throne of iniquitie*, and the Pope, *the man of sin.* But a long series of monstrous wicked men in that See cannot but leave that brand to that place and Office. From the year of our Lord 870. to the year 1050. there was none sitting in that See, but Necromancers, Adulterers, Murderers and infamous persons, as *Baronius* and *Genebrardus* acknowledg, both furious enemies of the Protestants. Neither was *Rome* much mended in *Mantuan's* time who calls the Papal Court the sink of wickedness: *Romæ eas arces & Pontificalia testis, Colluviem scelerum.* And is it grown better since *St. Bernard* called the Pope *the Beast of the Revelation, to whom was given a Mouth speaking Blasphemies, and to make war to the Saints, as a Lyon ready for the Prey?*

The Popes have justified that character even upon those that were most obedient to them, and because they were so; sending the Christian Princes so often on their errand to recover the Holy Land; but it was only to send them far from home, while themselves invaded their Land, and filled their Coffers with a great part of the money contributed for that service. Frauds and Robberies are then most criminal when Religion is made the stalking horse for them. This makes the iniquities of *Babylon*, nor only to reach to Heaven, but to knock and dare Heaven.

I undertake not to dive into those depths of Satan, those profound mysteries of iniquity, by which that pretended spiritual State stands. A State which hath no where any right, and yet planteth its dominion in all States, and fetcheth from them the clearest money, and heapeth inestimable Treasures. So much

visible, that whereas in the Exercise of Civil Offices there is Imposture, the very Constitution of that Spiritual Power is meer Imposture. In Civil Offices, Cheat is an Exorbitance; but in the Papal Jurisdiction, Cheat is the very Office. And who can wonder enough how between their Spiritual Jugling and the Stupidity of the People, a real Subjection of Nations, and a real Grandeur of the Papal Court is wrought upon false and imaginary Grounds?

This is so notorious that even the Canonist Doctors, who have made the Glosses of the Popes Decretals could not hold but they must put this Gloss among the others, That (a) *Rome founded by Robbers, keeps still the Genius of her Origine.* (a) *Roma à prædonibus fundata adhuc de primordiis retinet.* Tit. 9. de Elect. in sexto cap. Fundamenta. (b) *Vide Onuphrium in vita Marcel.*
 Two Popes, (b) *Marcel the II. and Adrian the IV.* were so sensible of that wicked and constant Genius of the Popedom, that they would say they believed not that a Pope could be saved. And if we may believe publick Report, the late Pope *Innocent the X.* seeing himself elected, wept, and cried out, *That now Hell Gates were open upon him.* And how can any man that hath some Relique of Conscience, but be frighted, seeing himself engaged by his Election to the Popedom, to maintain the Satannical Pride, Rapacity, and Mischievousness of the Roman Court? Which to satisfie all false and wicked Courses, are not onely allowed but enjoyed.

Enjoyed? Here a Papist will startle, and ask, Where are those Papal Injunctions to do evil? *Ancas Sylvius* (who since was Pope *Pius the II.*) had found so many of them, that he affirmeth that there is no great slaughter, and no notorious Calamity that hath happened to the State or the Church, of which the Bishops of *Rome* have not bin the Authors. And *Machiavel* in his Florentine History, saith no less.

Wherefore let them spare their pains that labour so much to reject far from the Court of *Rome* the guilt of the Gunpowder-Treason, and to prove that it was a Plot onely of a few *Unfortunate Gentlemen*, for so they stile them, very sorry that they were unfortunate in their Enterprize: But if it may be evidenced that by the Popes Mandate they were instructed and commanded to work any mischief, yea, as far as the total destruction of their King and Country, for the Popes service, none must put Calumny to our charge, if we father that Hellish Plot upon the Pope.

First then let it be considered that the Pope will have the World to believe, That *God hath made the Bishop of Rome Prince over all People and all Kingdoms.* So much *Pius the V.* teacheth the People of *England* in express words, in the Bull of Deprivation thundered against *Queen Elizabeth.*

Let it be considered also that the English Papists are taught that *England* belongeth to the Pope, by another Right besides a Right of especial Dominion. So much *Cardinal Bellarmin* made bold to maintain to King *James*, and to plead that *England* and *Ireland* are the Churches Dominions, the Pope the direct Lord, and the King his Vassal. This then being become an Article of Religion in which the English Papists are with great Care grounded by their spiritual Fathers; they may with very little Logick infer, That since the Pope disalloweth the King, and the King acknowledgeth not the Pope for his Lord, he is no more King of *England*, but

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an Usurper, and therefore they may use him as an Usurper, and destroy both him and all that will assist him in his Usurpation.

I will come nearer to the business of this day. The Pope in the last days of Queen Elizabeth, seeing that both the Right of the Succession, and the Affection of the People, called King James to the Crown, sent a Mandate into England, whereby he excluded from the Crown all persons that did not embrace the Roman Catholic Religion; forbidding the English to receive any such for their King. Did he not by that Mandate put the Sword in the hand of the English Subjects, and command them to rebel? In the examination of the Jesuite Garnat, was not that Mandate found the main ground and motive of the Powder-Plot? This stands upon publick Records.

Well, therefore Garnat and Hall, who suffered for that Treason, were put in the List of the Popes Martyrs. Why? They did what they were bidden: They might say to the Pope, We did faithfully endeavour to set up your Holinesses Sovereignty in England, by killing King, Peers, and Commons, with one blow: Six and twenty Barrels of Powder, and great weights upon them, we laid in a Cellar under the Parliament-House; the Match and the Train of Powder were ready, there wanted nothing but giving fire, when the Houses should sit: When we could not make our King and Country perish, we perish'd our selves in your Holinesses Service. If after such a meritorious Obedience to your Commands, and such constant sufferings in our zeal for your Exaltation, your Holiness keeps us burning in the fire of Purgatory, instead of advancing us to an Aureola in Heaven, and a Glory of Martyrs, we shall learn too late by your doing nothing for us, that we have done more for you than we should have done.

It is well for the Pope that Death is *Regnum Silentium*, the Kingdom of Silence; Else these Martyrs of his Holiness who had undertaken such a gallant Villany for his Service, and after a deserved ugly Death, are deservedly branded with perpetual infamy; these, I say, would speak to us from their Ashes under the Gallows, *Why do you lay upon us the whole Infamy of the Gunpowder-Plot? Did we do more than we were bidden by the Father of our Faith, the Pope? Though there had bin no especial Order for it from him, Did he not by his Mandate instruct and encourage us to do as we did? What were we but the Tools set on Work by his Hand? Upon him then, upon that unwearied Enemy, that perpetual Underminer of your Subsistence, lay the greatest burden of the Infamy. Look to shield your Heads from the Plots of the Living, and leave the Dead in the Hands of Gods Justice.*

O had the Mine plaid and done the Deed! What a store of Indulgences and Spiritual Graces would have show'd down from the Capitol upon the Doers and Abettors! What ringing of Bells! What Bonfires! What magnificent Processions at Rome! You may judge what they would have done, by that they did after the Great Massacre of the French Protestants, in which the Roman Court was less concerned than in the Success of the Gunpowder-Treason.

That Plot of the French Massacre, (though inferior to the English Plot for the Villany and the Consequence) had the preheminance of it, because it was executed. That fearful Execution was wrought by a Marriage of Henry Prince of Navarre,

Barre, the Head of the Protestant Party, with the Sister of Charles the IX. of France: A Marriage which Pope Pius the V. would never consent unto, by reason of their difference in Religion. But when his Successor Gregory the XIII. was told by the Cardinal of Lorrain that the Marriage was intended for a Trap to destroy Henry and his Protestants, he readily gave his Dispensation for the celebrating of it, and encouraged the Design. That horrible Massacre of above a hundred thousand persons slain in cold Blood, which (without Hyperbole) made the Kennels of Paris to run in Blood, attended the Jollity of the Marriage, and was received at Rome with all the Triumphant Expressions of Publick Joy. Soon after Cardinal Ursin was sent Legat into France, to praise the Kings Piety and Wisdom in that Great Action, and to pour Treasures of Blessings and Spiritual Graces upon the King, and all the Actors of that Hellish Tragedy.

Joyn to these the Massacre of Protestants in Ireland, where two hundred thousand Protestants were slain in cold blood. And soon after the Popes Standard was set up to re-conquer Ireland for the Pope: for no other King would those Irish have, that were Papists in grain. In such Sacrifices the Pope delighteth, and in these he and his Senate of Cardinals dye their Scarlet.

The Duke of Alva, out of his Catholick Zeal for the Pope, killed Thousands and Thousands of Men in Flanders, and the adjacent Provinces; which to requite, the Pope sent him a hallowed Sword, and consecrated Gloves.

Of elder date, by Croisado's raised by the Pope, four hundred thousand Albigenses were slain. By the Popes instigation the Remains of them at Cabriers and Merindol were cruelly butchered. And by the Popes means again some more of those Remains in Piemont were but lately put to the Sword. It is not to be forgotten, that when Lewis the XII. of France was solicited and importuned to massacre those of Provence, the good King would see their Confession of Faith: And having seen it, he said, and with an Oath, that they were better Christians than he and his People. That King neither loved nor feared the Pope. But Francis the First, his Successor, being engaged in his Wars of Italy with the Pope, did for his sake give way that they and many other good Christians should be massacred.

Having aid so much of the Iniquities reaching up to Heaven of wicked Babylon, of which none reach higher or cry louder than sins of Blood, the order of the Text would require that I should speak of her plagues. But because Gods Voice speaks of her sins in the present, and of her plagues in the future, which depends onely upon Gods knowledge and will, it is enough for us to rest upon this Sentence pronounced by God himself, *God hath remembered her Iniquities*: That's enough. God will never forget the sufferings of his People, nor the iniquity of their Oppressors. *It is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you,* (saith St. Paul to the persecuted Thessalonians) *And to you that are troubled peace with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed with his mighty Angels.* As the Great Harlot hath her full Cup of Abominations, God hath for her the full Cup of his Wrath, and the Vials of his Judgments to pour upon the Seat of the Beast. It is a fearful thing to be remembered of God in that notion, *God hath remembered*

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her iniquities. Lord grant us the Grace to forsake our Iniquities, that thou mayest forget them. Remember not our manifold Transgressions, but *according to thy Mercy remember thou us, for thy Gods sake, O Lord.*

There is a main part of the Text yet untouched: Gods Call from Heaven to his people to come out of *Babylon*, and the danger that Gods people runs into, of being partakers of her sins, and receiving of her plagues by staying within her. This is work for another Exhortation.

Blessed be God who hath delivered our Consciences from her Tyranny, and our King, Church, and State, from the utter Desolation which she had plotted against us, and brought so near to the Execution.

Lord, Convert and forgive our Enemies: Be the saving Strength of thine Anointed: Save thy People, and bless thine Inheritance: Feed them also, and lift them up for ever.

PAPAL

Papal Tyranny:

The Second S E R M O N

Upon REV. XVIII. 4, 5.

And I heard another Voice from Heaven, saying, Come out of her, my People, that ye be not partakers of her Sins, and that ye receive not of her Plagues: For her sins have reached unto Heaven, and God hath remembered her Iniquities.

THe former Voice from Heaven, going before this, pronounceth a Doom of Destruction upon *Babylon* the Great, and the Wicked. Whereby *St. Pauls* Sentence is confirmed, that the *Wrath of God is revealed* Rom. 1. 18. *from Heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men.* But in this other *Voice from Heaven* the Mercy of God is revealed from Heaven to his people being in *Babylon*, in which God hath yet a remnant according to the Election of Grace. He bids his people to come out of her to avoid a double danger, partaking of her sins, and receiving of her Plagues: The one will draw the other by a necessary Consequence. So if we will say with *David*, *Lord gather not my Soul with Sinners, nor my life with bloody men,* and have our prayer heard, we *Psal. 19. 9.* must put on *David's* resolution, by him express'd before in the same Psalm, and make it good, *I have hated the Congregation of evil doers, and will not sit with the Wicked.*

I have endeavour'd in my last Exhortation to represent unto you the Iniquities of *Babylon*, which have reached up to Heaven. Should I now for that reason urge upon you this Call from Heaven, *Come out of her, my people;* you might tell me that this Call is not address'd to you, because you are not in *Babylon*, and need not be called out of it.

To them I might reply, That of this great Audience some may be in *Babylon* still. And that for those that are come out of it indeed, this Call will call to their Mind the Heavenly Benefit of God to have called their Ancestors out of *Babylon*, and given them the grace to hear and to follow his Call, so that themselves their Posterity, were born out of it, and reckon'd Citizens of *Sion* from their infancy: Also that there is neither Piety nor Reason on their side that would bring them to

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Babylon again; which is the great Work that *Rome* hath been labouring for, and is hammering still, ever since *England* hath shaken off her Yoke.

We will not have the presumption to say with St. *Paul*, That we are not ignorant of all the wiles of *Satan*: As that Great Apostle dived deep in the Mystery of Godliness, so he did in that of Ungodliness, far beyond our reach. Yet we are not ignorant of some of the wiles of *Satan*, they have been so pernicacious and so palpable for the bringing back of this Nation to the old slavery, labouring sometimes to divide, sometimes to flatter, sometimes to threaten, but always to pervert and destroy us. Wherefore to us who by the infinite Mercy of God are free from the slavery under *Babylon*, this Doctrine of St. *Paul* ought to be carefully recommended, *Stand ye fast in the Liberty whereby Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the Yoke of Bondage.*

Gal. 5.1.

But because our coming out of *Babylon* is by the Children of *Babylon* branded with Schism, as if we had rent our selves asunder from that Mother-Church out of whose Communion there is no Salvation; yea as if we had committed Rebellion against our pretended Sovereign the Pope; We have need to clear four Propositions.

The first, That those Great Actors in the Reformation owed no Obedience to *Rome*, and the English less than any; since *England* was no part of her Church, and so it was no Schism for them to Reform themselves.

The second; That if there was a Schism in that Separation, the whole guilt of it lieth upon the Pope and his Court many ways.

The third, That if the Roman Church hold damnable Heresies, and require Christians to own them, it is no Schism to depart from her.

The fourth, That we have not departed from the Church, but from *Babylon*; and hold still the sound Doctrine remaining in the Church captivated by *Babylon*, and hold still Communion with that Church as far as she holds that sound Doctrine.

As for the first Proposition, That the Reformers, the English especially, could not justly be taxed with Schism by the Roman Court, because they owed no obedience to it, it is of a most necessary consideration. For the Church of *Rome*, which I have shewed to be that *Babylon*, out of which Gods People must come, beareth it self as our Sovereign, and the Universal Church, out of which there is no Salvation; And therefore chargeth us with damnable Schism for not acknowledging her Authority, and for reforming our selves without her leave. It will be therefore to very good purpose to shew that *Rome* had never any right Authority over *England*, whether the Pope claim it by the Canons of the Church, as our Bishop and Patriarch; Or by Divine Right, as Vicar-General of Christ. And therefore the English cannot be Schismatics for reforming themselves without him.

I say he hath no Authority over us by the Canons of the Church as our Bishop: *Ruffinus*, a Roman Priest, confines the Bishop of *Rome's* Jurisdiction to part of *Italy*, and three Islands adjoining, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Corfica*. Great part of *Italy* acknowledged the Archbishop of *Milan* for their Ecclesiastical Head.

The

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The Council of *Ephesus* gave this Sentence in the case of *Cyprus*, No Bishop is to occupy another Province which formerly and from the beginning was not under the Power of him and his Predecessors.

Wherefore all the Power which the Pope claimeth over *France*, *Spain*, *Germany* and *England* is meer Usurpation, for these were not from the beginning under his Episcopal Power, and *England* further than any. For the Bishops of *Rome* had not the least communication with the Britanick Churches for near six hundred years after Christ: And there were Churches in this Island above five hundred years of those six hundred. And whereas about six hundred years after Christ *Austin* the Monk who was sent from *Rome* had a happy hand in converting the English Saxons, that gives the Pope no more right over *England* than the French over *Brittain*, or the preaching of *Denis* the Areopagite to the French (if that Tradition be true) gives power to the Athenians over *France*. Wherefore when the old British Christians, whom *Austin* found in this Island, were summoned by him to submit to the Roman Bishop, they answered by the Mouth of *Dinotus*, the Reverend Abbot of *Bangor*, that they knew no Obedience due to him whom they called Pope, but that of Love. And that under God they were to be governed by the Bishop of *Carleon*. But the poor Souls paid dear for refusing Obedience to the Pope; for shortly after, at the instigation of *Austin*, the King of *Northumberland*, a Pagan Prince, put twelve hundred innocent Monks of *Bangor* to death; *Bangor* being then an University and Seminary of Preachers of Gods Word. *Rome* was ever built in Blood.

But what, the Pope himself waves that Title; for he claims not the Obedience of so many Nations out of *Italy* by the Canons of the Church, as other Patriarchs do in their several Provinces; but by particular divine Right, as Universal Vicar of Christ, having the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven committed to him, to the exclusion of all others. The first that devised that Title was *Leo* the I. about the year 460. of Christ. But at the first the Popes did but mutter it, and durst not speak it out. And although they built ever since upon that ground, meddling with the businesses of remote Churches (to which they were not called) as Universal Vicars of Christ; yet six hundred years past before the Churches of the Roman Provinces would understand their meaning. *Gregory* the VII. in the year 1075. being the first that offered to terrifie the whole Christian world with the clinking of his Keys, and that made bold to depose an Emperor.

All that power being without ground, a meer and a damnable Usurpation; none that would shake off that tyrannicall yoke could be justly taxed of Schism and Rebellion. For who hath given the Pope that Authority? Or why should any Soul, redeemed with Christs Blood, suffer this new Creed to be imposed upon him, that it is of absolute necessity for Salvation to be subject to the Roman Bishop? And that if the Pope should err by commanding sins and forbidding virtues; yet the Church were bound to believe that vices are good

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De Rom.
Pont. l. 4. c. 5.

good and virtues evil? They are the very words of *Bellarmin*, words of the most devillish abomination, and the horridest tyranny over consciences that the Devil himself could have invented.

Joh. 20. 21.

We believe all godly Fathers and Pastors of the Church to be Vicars of Christ. *As my Father hath sent me so have I sent you*, said Christ to his Apostles. And his Apostles have sent Labourers into Christs Vineyard, even as Christ hath sent them. But for an Universal Vicarship over the Church we see no Authority from Christ; Neither hath he imparted to any that Charter which the Pope most blasphemously and sacrilegiously assumeth, *All Power is given me in Heaven and Earth*. Whosoever assumeth that power which belongeth to none but Christ is an Antichrist. Shaking off his power and flying out of his *Babylon* is obeying the Voice from Heaven, *Come out of her, my people, lest you be partaker of her Sins and receive of her Plagues*. So I have made good the first Proposition, That they that embraced Reformation in our fore-fathers time ought no Obedience to the Pope and his Roman Court, and the English less than any. And therefore there could be no Schism (on their part) in that separation.

II.

We will prove now the second, That if there was a Schism in that separation, the Pope and his Court and Emisaries were the Schismatics, not they that forsook their abominations.

In this matter I will begin by that which is peculiar to *England*. For this is worthy of especial notice, that in the point of the Popes Supremacy both in the spiritual and the temporal (which is the grand Article of the Romish Faith) not the Protestant but the Popish Bishops were they that made the separation from the Pope, denying to him that Supremacy which he claimeth to be his by Divine Right, and *acknowledging the King supreme Governour, under God, within his Dominions in all Causes, and over all Persons, both Ecclesiastical and Civil*. Let it never be forgotten that this was done before the Reformation, and by those that proved afterwards the greatest opposers of it. That being the main point of the Roman Creed, which before they part with they will yield the whole Religion; Is it not evident that they broke down that chief Bulwork of their Subsistence, opened that great Floodgate in the Papal Monarchy, at which Reformation presently rath'd in; and that they led the way to bringing Pope and Poperie to the rest? And what did the Reformers soon after but what they were taught by the Prelats and Universities of the Kingdom? Then indeed was the separation made from *Rome* when the Papal Power was put down in *England*. Let that great and miraculous Work of Gods Providence, promoting his Truth by the greatest Opposers of it, be admired and praised in all Generations.

But what! The Pope was a Sufferer not an Actor in that Breach. Yet so much is proved, that the Protestants were not the doers of it. But see where the Pope was the immediate Actor of the Schism. They that took in hand the great and blessed Work of Reformation, took such a wise and pi-
ous

ous care to leave no just reason of Schism that they kept in the publick Liturgy all that was ancient and orthodox; so agreeing with the Catholick Faith, that to this day the most zealous Romanists do not charge it with any Error. And so well did all the English Christians like to have the publick Service performed in a Language which they understood, that they bore easily with the want of the Litanies of Saints, and of the superstitious Rites, which were weeded out of the Roman Service. So that for some years of Queen Elizabeths Reign Papists and Protestants resorted to the Church together, and joined in the publick Devotions. Till there came a Bull from Rome prohibiting all Roman Catholicks to joyn with the Protestants in publick Prayers; which Prohibition was obeyed and is to this day. By this true Relation it is justified that we have done our best so to avoid the Errours of the Roman Church, as to keep a Christian and Catholick Union with them, and that the lamentable Disunion and Rent in the Church is the Popes work.

But he did worse; For he did actually drive us out of his Communion, and (as far as in him was) from the Church of God and eternal Salvation by his thundering Excommunications. It was time for us to come out of Babylon when Babylon thrust us out.

Indeed if England had given just causes for his Excommunications, the Charge of the Schism would lie at our door. But Rome excommunicates England for denying the spiritual and temporal Supremacy of the Pope by Divine Right, and for rejecting the erroneous Novelties wherewith he had defaced and defiled the ancient Holy Christian Religion.

But this is the case, not of England only, but of the Reformation in general, wheresoever God hath made his Light to shine in the darkness of Popery. For this we may set down as a true and safe maxim; Those that corrupt Religion in the Essentials, not they that reject the Corruptions are the Schismatics. Those that make new Creeds, not they that keep to the old only. Those that transgress the Commandments of God by their Tradition, not they that reject all human Traditions contrary to the Commandments of God.

I speak after the Lord Jesus. The Pharisees seeing his Disciples eating with unwashen hands told him, *Why do thy Disciples transgress the Tradition of the Elders? But he answered and said unto them, Why do you also transgress the Commandment of God by your Tradition?* The Pharisees charged Christs Disciples with Separation for not observing a superstitious Jewish Tradition. And Christ charged them with Separation for transgressing the Commandments of God by their Traditions, which they observed more religiously than Gods Laws. It is easie to judg upon which the guilt of Separation rested. It is as easie to judg whether the Romanists who have brought in Traditions besides and against the Gospel, or the Protestants who have rejected them, be guilty of the Separation.

This will justifie our third Proposition, That if the Roman Church hold any damnable Herefie, and require all her Members to own it, it is no Schism to depart from her, though it were granted that all Christians are subject unto her.

III.

I will

I will do to the Romanists that right, not to charge their whole Church with the hard sayings of particular Writers, unless they be authentically allowed. I will only object unto them the Roman Councils, the Popes Decrees and publick Actions, and the common Practise.

I put in the first place the Popes encroaching upon the Titles and Authority of God, as the Title of *Divine Majesty*, ascribed to *Leo* the Tenth in the last *Lateran Council*. And that horrible Decree of the same Council, That *the Pope must be adored by all Nations, and that he is most like unto God*. And we are told in the same place, That he must be adored with the Adoration enjoyned *Psal. lxxii. All the Kings of the Earth shall worship him*; in which Text the Sovereign Adoration due to the Son of God is understood, and so it is taken by *Tertullian*. That Doctrine being authorized by a Council, no wonder that this Inscription is seen on the Gate of *Tolentino* in *Italy, Paulo III. Opt. Max. In Terris Deo: To Paul the Third, the most Good and most Great, God upon Earth*. Who would have suffered such a Title to be given him in a publick Inscription, or permitted it to stand one day, but the Man of Sin, foreshewn *2 Thes. ii. Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, shewing himself that he is God?* And who but a very Antichrist would have received that Prayer and Adoration made thrice over to Pope *Martin the IV. by the Embassadors of Sicily, O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the World, Grant us thy Peace*. And shall Bishops, that rake to themselves those blasphemous Titles, call those Schismaticks that separate from them, and will not be partakers of their sins?

What if that See which hath born more Monisters of the blackest villany than the whole List of the Pagan Emperours, yet boasteth of Infallibility, and will be the uncontrollable Rule of Faith; Must we so far blind our Reason, as to say after *Bellarmin*, that if the Pope will say that Vertue is Vice, and Vice Vertue, we must without further inquiry believe it? What if he extol himself above the Word of God, and say that he can dispense *ab Evangelio & Apostolo*, from the Gospel, and the Apostle, and declare that no Scripture is Canonical without his Approbation? What if he command us to rebel against our Kings, and to kill them when he hath excommunicated and deposed them? What if he command us to break Gods Commandments, and kneel before an Idol, and offer our Invocation unto others than God? What if he appoint us other Redemers than Christ, and other Merits for our Propitiation than those of his Obedience in the Death of the Cross? What if contrary to the Apostle he tell us that the Blood of Christ cleanseth us not from all sins, and will send us to be cleansed in an imaginary Fire of Purgatory, and fright our Consciences to drain our Purfes? Must we to please the unmatched pride and insatiable griping of that Tyrant, hoodwink our Reason, befool our Consciences, make shipwreck of our Faith, and blindly and wilfully inflave our selves under the Yoke of the Romish Bondage? Nay to run away from it is both Obedience to God, and Prudence for our safety.

It is obedience to this preemprory Voice from Heaven. Have we known
once

Self. 3. & 10.
Papa est uni-
versis populis a-
dorandus &
Deo simillimus.

L. 9. contra
Marc. c. 7.

Agnus Dei, qui
tollis peccata
Mundi, dona
nobis pacem.
Paul Emil.
Hist. Franc.
in Philippo
III.

once Popery to be *Babylon*, and the Mother of Abominations? Then, *Come out of her, my People*, saith God himself to us. *All ye that love the Lord, hate evil. What Concord hath Christ with Belial? What Agreement hath the Temple of God with Idols?* 2 Cor. vi. 16. Hear what followeth: *For you are the Temples of the Living God: As God hath said, I will dwell in them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my People. Wherefore come ye from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you.* A Majestical Text relating to another, *Isa. lii. 11. Depart ye, depart ye, go out from thence; touch no unclean thing. Go ye out of the midst of her.*

None is further than I from making a Rent in the Church. But when a particular Church from being the Spouse of *Christ* turns a Harlot, and will compel us to joyn with her in all her abominations, then indeed it is time to break company with her; then is the Voice of Heaven crying to us, *Come out of her, my People.*

It is objected that the *Roman Church* hath kept the Fundamental points of *Christian Religion*, the *Apostles Creed* and the *Decalogue*. But if she hath built upon those Foundations such Superstructures as destroy the Foundations, and obtrude those as *Catholick Doctrines* necessary to be received: If she impose new *CreeDs* upon us, unknown to them that made the old one, and new *Commandments* which clip or contradict Gods *Commandments*, then it is not reciting the old *Creed* and the old *Decalogue*, that will justify their keeping the foundation, when that *Creed* is contradicted by Additional *Doctrines*, and the *Decalogue* is curtailed of one of the *Commandments*, and when Traditions take place of Gods Law. If keeping those old Foundations which they pretend to keep, could ingratiate us with them, we might dwell together in one common Faith. But when they will have none of our Society unless we admit of all the Erronious Superstructions inconsistent with the Foundation; What is left to us, rejected and cast away by them, but to keep our selves without them in that ancient true Faith and pure Worship, of which we see the prescript in Gods Word, and the practise in the purest primitive Church?

As that Voice from Heaven calls upon our conscience to obey, *Come out of her, my People*; It calls also upon our prudence to look to our safety, *That we be not partakers of her sins, and that we receive not of her plagues*: A double danger to be avoided, the first as much greater than the second, as our duty to God ought to be more precious to us than our preservation.

That first danger seems to be proclaimed to prevent the lazy excuse of *Flesh and Blood* to stay in *Babylon*, though one know her abominations. For too many, to keep their temporal Conveniencies where *Babylon* reigneth, will say, Though I stay in that Church, I tie not my belief and practise to that she believeth and practiseth, but to that she ought to believe and practise. I call upon none but God, I worship neither Sain nor Images, I acknowledge no Mediator between God and Men but *Christ*, I look for no other purgation but his Blood for the remission of my sins. But such a person cannot live long in *Babylon* without being partaker of her sins. Either he must not come to the publique Worship, or he must worship as others do,

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and bow before the Idol, and bestow more Honour and Service upon the Holy Virgin than upon God. Besides other sins wherein he shall be engaged by his Profession and Conversation. Wherefore as a Christian loveth God and himself, let him come out of *Babylon*, lest he be partaker of her sins.

And what followeth? And that *you receive not of her Plagues*. That's the second danger sticking close to the first. Your very standing with them makes you lyable to be partakers of her plagues. If a victorious Royal Army find you in the Rebels Camp, whatsoever you think or say against their cause, you shall be put to the Sword. Let our Travellers think of this, when they are come to the places where *Babylon* sits on the Throne, *presentes ut absentes sint*; that they so behold her sins, as not to be partakers of them by compliance and carnal indifferency, which will soon degenerate into Consent and Approbation. Take heed, God looks upon you, while you make your Conscience to wink. He withdraweth his Grace from them that forsake his Fear; and will in his own time pour his plagues prepared for *Babylon* upon them that were partakers of her sins, whether they were in earnest or in jest.

Such as are unsettled in their Religion, having given too much ear to the flattering insinuations of the Emissaries of *Rome*, I beseech as they love God, as they love themselves, that they look seriously and impartially into her sins; how she gulleth the World, getting good Land and good Money for false wares; how she domineers over it with insufferable tyranny, without the least ground of any right; how her Agents amuse the Eyes and pick the Purfes of the simple; how they creep into the bosom of great persons with a counterfeit zeal and humility, very sedulous to conquer Consciences, where Power and Treasure are the price of the Conquest. What superstitious folly, instead of true piety, they instil into their Converts; What alienation from their Allegiance, and what dependance from forein Power they frame them to. And that they may know what *Rome* is, when in her full power, Let the English but read the History of their own Countrey; there they shall see *Rome* in her colours, *Babylon the Great, the Mother of Harlots and Abominations of the Earth, drunk with the Blood of Gods Saints*. And then on Gods Name let them obey this Voice from Heaven, and speedily, *Come out of her, my People, lest you be partakers of her sins, and that you receive of her plagues: For her sins have reach'd up to Heaven, and God hath remembred her Iniquities*.

By the greatness of her iniquities heaped up through the continuance of her ungodly prosperity for so many Ages, till they have reached up to Heaven, you may judge of the greatness of her plagues, but you may better judge of them by the full and pregnant expressions from the beginning to the end of this long Chapter, which I recommend to your reading. There you may see the profound indignation of God against her, and the most horrible plagues prepared for her, after Gods long patience. Believe those terrible and unavoidable threatnings; and if any of Gods people are yet in *Babylon*, let them come out; they that are come out, let them stand far from it, far from her sins, that they be not involved in her plagues.

IV.

But there is a word in this Call from Heaven which we must not pass by, *My People: God hath a People in Babylon*. True; but that People of his is commanded

to come out of of her. Howsoever a people of God is there with whom we have not broken and must not break Communion. And this is my fourth Proposition, That we have not departed from the Church but from *Babylon*, and hold still the sound Doctrine remaining in the Church captive in *Babylon*, and keep still communion with that Church as far as she holds that sound Doctrine.

I was telling you before that in the Roman Church the Fundamentals of Christian Religion are kept. There you have the Word of God, though hidden and forbidden. There you have the Apostles Creed, though contradicted by new Articles. There you have Gods Commandments, though maimed and put behind mens Traditions. Howsoever all these Foundations are in the Roman Church, and there we found them. Neither do we doubt but that even in *Rome*, there are good people, and Gods people, that stick to those saving Foundations.

Besides we make some difference, if not in kind, yet in degree, between the Court of *Rome* and the Church under her Tyranny. The Court of *Rome* is properly the *Babylon* of my Text, the great Shop of all Iniquity, the Seat of Satans Tyranny, the great Witch that bewitcheth and inebriateth the world with the Wine of her Fornication. To her primarily, and her too faithful Emissaries, belong those terrible plagues mentioned in this Text and Chapter. The Church of *Rome* is the people bewitched by that Roman Court into a stupid and damnable Subjection. These being so far partakers of the sins of *Babylon* shall also receive of her plagues, unless God in mercy open their eyes, and turn their hearts to come out of her.

That Grace God giveth to some of them every day. Every day some of Gods people come out of *Babylon*. And there are numbers even in the darkest places of the Papal Reign, sighing under the Tyranny and aspiring to the light and liberty of the Gospel. With them we keep communion, and with all every where that love the Lord Jesus Christ with sincerity. With them we are grounded upon that Foundation of the Prophets and the Apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone. With them we keep fast to those Divine and Apostolick Truths which in the Roman Church are still kept, though much abused. God forbid we should break Communion with any member of Christs mystical Body, wheresoever he be; or forbear to take up and keep carefully any of the Gospels Pearls, though we find them trodden under by swine.

This use we must make of this Meditation.

1. Upon that horrible prospect of the Iniquities of *Babylon* reaching up to Heaven, let us praise God who hath brought us out of that darkness unto his marvellous light. Let us thank him that we are none of those many blind Zealots, whose great Devotions are great Iniquities, which make them liable to Gods Plagues prepared for *Babylon*. For which great Deliverance the greatest duty of our Thankfulness consisteth in living in this Light of God like children of Light, soberly, righteously and godly; that it may appear by our conversation that we are past from *Babylon* to the *Jerusalem* which is from above.

2. Next, let us pray for Gods people that are in *Babylon* still, that they may come out of it; And for the people of *Babylon* that they may become Gods people, that by their conversion *Babylon* may fall, and Christ have his Kingdom where the Seat of Satan is.

3. Let not our charity make us look back to return to them or consider the differences between us and them as inconsiderable. As soon shall God agree with the Devil, as the Truth of God and the Purity of his Worship with bowing before Images, or praying to others than God, or expecting Salvation from other Merits than those of Jesus Christ, or styling the Pope the *Divine Majesty*, or subjecting our Faith to his determinations, the Holy Writ to his Bulls and Canons, and the Crown of our Kings to his Tripple Crown.

Neither let his pretended Succession enslave our respect to him as if we could have no lawful calling without listing our Ministry under it. All the Succession that the Roman Clergy hath we have. And it affords us an invincible argument *ad hominem* against them: We doubt not but that a valid Ordination may be conferred by an Heretical Church, if it retain the fundamental truths though much abused. Yet God forbid that our Ministry and our Christianity should hang upon the rotten thred of their Succession, so defiled by monsters of wickedness, so many times broken, so many ways interrupted. And of which *Bellarmino* himself confesseth that *there can be but a moral certainty*; which moral certainty he acknowledgeth to be but an opinion grounded upon the approbation of their Church, not upon any Historical Truth. Many times the Succession of the Popes hath bin broken. I will bring but one instance of it. *Eugenius* the IV. who was elected in the year 1431 was deposed in the year 1439 by the Council of *Basil* which himself had convoked, *Amadeus* Duke of *Savoy* being chosen in his place, and called *Felix* the V. Yet *Eugenius* kept the Popedom by force all the days of his Life, about eight years; and created many Bishops and Cardinals. Which Cardinals created by a deposed Pope and an Ullurper created the three Popes that followed, *Nicolas* the V. *Calixtus* the III. and *Pius* the II. who had bin Scribe in the Council of *Basil*, and had voted the deposition of *Eugenius*; & from that deposed Pope, the Popes of these days have their Succession.

Blessed be God, our Church stands upon a better Succession from the Apostles than that of the list of Popes, even the Succession of the same Truth which the Apostles taught and left in Writing. *Stapleton* very positively affirmeth, that there is no true Succession of Chairs without the true Doctrine. Whether by that Assertion he doth service or disservice to his Church, let the world judge. *Τὸ ὁμολογεῖν καὶ ὁμολογεῖν*, saith *Gregory Nazianzen*: *If we have the Succession of the Apostles Doctrine, we have also that of their Chairs*. And comparing these two Successions, the one of the Persons, the other of the Doctrine, he addeth, *ἡ μὲν προσωπεῖος ἡ δὲ ἀληθεύουσα τὸ δαδαχῆς*, that *the first hath the name, the other hath the reality of the Succession*. And so *Epiphanius*, *We must not look for the Succession of the Persons, but for that of the Doctrine*. And so *Tertullian* much in the same words. But so it is, that although we are taught by Christ, our great Master, that his Kingdom is not of this world, yet men in all ages have bin prone to tye the Kingdom of Christ to things of this world, Places, and Persons, and Chairs, and to stand more upon the bark and outside than upon the sap and vital parts of Religion.

4. I have a suit to Gods people that are come out of *Babylon*, that they take heed.

Bellar. l. 3. de
Ecclesia. c. 10.

Platina.

Stapleton
Princip. fidei
controv. 1. de
Eccles. q. 1.
art. 2.
Epiraph.
Athanas.

Heresi 35.

De Praescrip.
adu. haereticis.

Papal Tyranny

heed of making buttresses to hold up her crackt and ruinous walls. You will wonder at the request, and tell me that you desire nothing so much as to see her razed: even to the ground. But let me tell you, Separatists, that by your separation from your Mother the Church of *England*, you are cementing again the shattered walls of *Babylon*; for it is by our disunion that she stands. Had they that came out of *Babylon*, in that great revolution of the Reformation, bin so wise and so happy as to have stood as a City that is compact together, and not to have fallen out about circumstances and points of less moment, when they agreed in the main substance; *Babylon* that was sore shaken with the Trumpet of the Gospel wald have long since fallen down, as *Jerico* at those of the Sanctuary. But she stands to this day by our divisions. For lazy and superficial Wits (and that's the great Herd of the world) being forestalled with the Errours of Popery, and seeing the disagreement of the Reformed about lesser points and outward forms, will not take the pains to examine which party is in the right; nor whether the differents among Protestants be essential or circumstantial, but will infer from our disunion that both the contending parties are in the wrong, And so they stay in *Babylon* partake with her Sins, till in the end they receive of her Plagues. I beseech the God of all mercy not to lay the guilt of their miscarrying to our charge.

5. Let me say also to all bold sinners among us, that by their sins they hinder much people from coming out of *Babylon*. For when that people shall be questioned by their great Judge, why they did not come out at the summon of his Voice from Heaven? Me thinks I hear them answering, We saw so much sin among those that were come out of *Babylon* that we were disheartened from embracing their Reformed Doctrine, which wrought no Reformation in their lives. Among them also we saw there was danger for us to be partakers of their sins, and to receive of their plagues. For among them we saw griping Covetousness, unbridled Lust, excessive Intemperance, iniquity done with both hands, the Gospel made a bolster for carnal security, Cheating made the grand mystery of commerce, the Law from a haven to the oppressed become a shelve to wrack them and get the spoil. We saw those truths for which the Reformed came out of *Babylon* neglected, derided, and made Themes for the profane Wits of Atheists. We saw those that made nothing of Purgatory make nothing of Hell. We saw those that have a Form of Godliness in their Devotions deny the power thereof in their conversation. We saw the pretenders to a further Reformation look askint with a sacrilegious eye upon the smal remnant of the Churches Patrimony. We saw persons of all degrees and professions seek their own not the things of the Lord Jesus. So we were stopt by their sins from coming out of *Babylon*.

These allegations will not justifie their stay in *Babylon*; for they were called to leave the Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ the Lord of Glory without respect of persons. But these reproaches are so true that they will draw a just and fearful doom upon us, unless we remove by our conversion the bar which we have set against their coming out of *Babylon* by our open and crying sins. St. Paul having charged the Jews with grievous sins, brings this for the last and the great

Waval Tyranny.

rest exaggeration, that *through them the name of God was blasphemed among the Gentiles.* I am sorry that this needs no application; their case and ours are so like; I pray God it prove not liker yet, for at that time when *St. Paul* laid that reproach upon the Jews, most of them were cast away out of Gods Covenant.

God make us sensible of his Goodness who hath called us out of the darkness and slavery of *Babylon* to the light and liberty of his Gospel. And of his severity which hath plagues ready for those that are partakers of the sins of *Babyl.* And of our duty to make our light so to shine before men that they seeing our good works may glorifie our Father which is in Heaven. And of his Rewards, who to those that seek his Kingdom and his Righteousness will give his Kingdom and all things together with it; and will make those that turn many to Righteousness bright as the Stars for ever and ever.

One word more. God inviteth us this day to the Divine participation of his Sons Body and Blood. Let this stir up our Thankfulness to God that we are not denied the Cup of Blessing, which is the Communion of the Blood of Christ, as the Roman Clergy deny it to the Laity. And that you are not made bare beholders of a Priest receiving alone in the Mass, which is a Communion without Communicants. But that you are admitted to the whole participation and the full benefit of these sacred Mysteries.

1 Cor. 6. 17.

May ye in this Sacrament of Love be joyned unto the Lord, and be one spirit with him; and withal joyned unto all Gods people; his members, and be one spirit with them; whether they be come out of *Babylon* or be yet in it. O Lord Jesu, gather, protect and sanctifie thy whole Catholick Church; and grant that we be one Flock under one Shepherd, thy self, O Christ, the Author and Finisher of our Faith. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be all Honour and Glory now and for evermore. Amen.

FINIS.

Serious Inquiry

Into that Weighty

Case of Conscience,

Whether a Man may Lawfully Marry
his Deceased Wife's Sister :

John (the Baptist) said unto Herod, it is not Lawful
for thee to have thy Brother's Wife, Matth. 14. 4.
None of you shall approach to any that is near of kin to
him, to uncover their nakedness, I am the Lord,
Levit. 18. 6.

And if a Man shall take his Sister, his Father's Daughter,
or his Mother's Daughter, and see her nakedness, and
she see his nakedness, it is a wicked thing : and they
shall be cut off in the sight of their People. He hath
uncovered his Sisters nakedness. He shall bear his In-
quity, Levit. 20. 17.

A Man may not Marry his Wife's Sister.

Table of Marriage set forth by Order of the Most
R. R. Dr. Parker, and Dr. Speldon L. L.
Archbishops of Canterbury.

By JOHN QUICK Minister of the Gospel.

LONDON, Printed for J. Lawrence at the Golden Angel in the
Poultry, and R. Parker under the Royal Exchange.

201012

Intd. class. Weig.

CASES OF CONDUCT

The first case is that of a man who was found guilty of a crime. The court in this case was divided into two parts. The first part was the jury, and the second part was the judge. The jury found the man guilty, and the judge sentenced him to a term of imprisonment. This case is a good example of the way in which the law is applied to a crime.

The second case is that of a man who was found guilty of a crime. The court in this case was divided into two parts. The first part was the jury, and the second part was the judge. The jury found the man guilty, and the judge sentenced him to a term of imprisonment. This case is a good example of the way in which the law is applied to a crime.

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JOHN W. WALKER, Attorney at Law

JOHN W. WALKER, Attorney at Law

To the Truly Honoured

Sir *Samuel Blewett* of *Walthamstow*

in the County of *Essex* Knight:

S I R,

IT pleased the R. R. Pastors of this City, in one of their Synodical Assemblies, to request me to give them my Thoughts on this difficult Subject of a man's marrying his deceased Wife's Sister. The Spirit of the Prophets is subject to the Prophets, and I accounted their Request as an express Command. Their Wisdom saw further than my Weakness, who could not imagine the Reasons they had for this unusual Question. But since, I find that there was too great occasion to have it debated, for no less than Four Men, even within the Precincts of this City, as I have been most credibly informed, were unhappily involved in these sinful Marriages. The Number and Quality of the Perfor-

one of those Arguments urged to me for their Legality; though the holy Spirit of God hath rendered this Argument inconclusive: We being positively and peremptorily forbidden to follow a Multitude to do evil, nor are we to walk by Example, but by Precept.

There is not a Minister of the Gospel, who doth not by Vertue of his Office lie under an indispensable Obligation to destroy Sin and save Sinners.

Possibly this poor Diatribe may contribute something thereunto, and be as a sacred Amulet, to prevent and preserve others from falling into those pernicious Snares, which is the principal Cause of its Publication. I presumed to prefix your worthy Name to its Frontispiece, thereby entitling you to its Patronage. You have Goodness enough to pardon my Presumption, and to accept of this tho' a slender Testimonial of that unfeigned Love and Honour which is born you by,

SIR, *Your most*

Humble and Obedient Servant

JOHN QUICK.

ADVERTISEMENT S.

WHereas there was about Three Years since
Published by Mr. *Quick*, Proposals for the
Printing his *Icones Sacrae*, being the Lives of Seventy
Eminent Divines, English and French in Three Vo-
lumes in Folio; the Reason of it's not Publication
is this, the very next Week after the Death of his
most noble Patron, who would have Printed his
Works at his own Expences, it pleased God to vi-
sit Mr. *Quick* with those cruel Torturors of Scholars
the Stone and Gout, the Strangury and Nephritick
Collick in his Bowels, &c. together with a Compli-
cation of several other inveterate Distempers, under
which he has groan'd Night and Day for above these
Three Years time, so that till the Lord shall please
to restore him to his former Health, that he may
be able to get in Subscriptions, or to raise up for
him some other munificent *Mecenas*, the Publication
is suspended.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON THE NATIONAL DEFENSE

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
SUBJECT: [Illegible]

[Illegible text]

[Illegible text]

Quest. *Whether a Man may marry his Wife's Sister.*

THIS Question is not about matter of Fact but of Right. For the Rule in Law is, *That is only possible which is lawful.* Nor do we here enquire about Humane Laws, such as the Imperial Civil Law, nor about Laws Ecclesiastical, such as the Decrees of Councils, or the Papal Canon-Law, whether by virtue of these such Marriages being solemnized are therefore lawful. None of these do either bind or oblige our English Protestants, our English Reformed Christians, for we are not under any foreign Power or Jurisdiction; or if we were, could that discharge us from our Antecedent Obligation to the Divine Law; but the Question is of the Divine Law, whether by the Law of God a Man is warranted in this Action? whether God doth allow and approve, and will give his good Blessing to it? A Man had need look to it that he have God's Authority for such a Marriage, for no less than his will license him to undertake it; and if he hath this, he hath that which will indemnify and save him harmless from all Impeachments and condemnatory Sentences, not only in these inferiour Terrestrial Judicatories, but from others which may be brought against him at that dreadful Tribunal of the last and great Day.

One thing more I cannot but advise my Reader of, which is this, That this Case is of very great Importance, and should be of very great Account with us Protestants. For it gave Occasion, 1. To the Abolition and Extirpation of the Papal Authority out of this Kingdom. 2. To our just Secession from the Communion of the Antichristian Church of *Rome*. 3. To the Reformation of Religion in the midst of us. For *Henry* the 8th. having married the relict of his deceased Brother (*Katherine Princess Dowager of Wales*;) by whom he had Three Children (which is the very self same Case with ours, only the Tables are turned: For if a Man may marry his deceased Brother's Widow, he may also by parity of Reason marry his deceased Wife's Sister, and if Two Brothers may not marry successively the same Woman, then also Two Sisters may not successively marry the same Man) I say that *Henry* the Eighth having married *Katherine Princess Dowager of Wales*, the Relict of his deceased Elder Brother, and this by vertue of the Pope's Dispensation, *Dr. Longland*, afterward Lord Bishop of *Lincoln*, but at that time the King's Confessor; suggested to him the unlawfulness of his present Marriage, as being incestuous, a mortal and damnable Sin. The King hereupon is wounded, or at least professed to be wounded in his Conscience, and having no rest nor quiet Night nor Day, as he solemnly declared before many Witnesses, doth endeavour a legal Divorce from his present Wife, and thereby a Legal Dissolution of that his Marriage with her.

This Marriage having been at first consummated by Papal Authority, he applyed himself unto the Court of *Rome* for a Dissolution of it; but the Pope abroad, and his Commissioners here at home, the Cardinals *Woolsey* and *Campegius* having juggled with the King, not acting as religious Casuists, but as subtle Politicians in this Affair; after some Delays and Shiftings, they declared at last that they had not full and sufficient Powers to make a final Decision of it, and therefore dismissed the Suit back again unto the Pope; and ordered the King and Queen both to appear by their Proxies at *Rome* to receive their final Sentence. Nor at *Rome* would, or durst the Pope judge impartially of this Affair, because he was terrified by the Emperor *Charles* the 5th, Nephew to Queen *Katherine* of *England*, who appeared zealously in his Aunt's Cause, and besieged the Pope himself in *Rome*, with an Army of Lutherans under the Conduct of the Duke of *Bourbon*.

The King having been thus abused by the dilatory and deceitful Proceedings of the Papal Courts, steereth another Course, for he propounds his Case to our famous Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, and to the foreign Universities in *France* and *Italy*, requesting their Judgments about it, who do all generally declare in his Majesty's Favour; to wit, that of *Paris*, May 23. 1530. That of *Orleans*, April 1. 1529. That of *Angiers*, May 7. 1530. That of *Bourges*, June 10. 1530. That of *Thoulouse*, the 1st of *Octob.* 1530. That of *Bononia*, June 10. 1530. And that of *Pædua*, July 1. 1530.

Dr. *Cranmer* (who was afterwards Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*) being consulted with by the Secretary of State, (who met with him accidentally at *Waltham*) about this Case of the King, He gave his Opinion in these Words.

That it would be a shorter and safer way once to clear it well, if the Marriage was unlawful in itself by virtue of any divine Precept, for if that were proved, then it was certain that the Pope's Dispensation could be of no force to make that lawful, which God had declared to be unlawful.

This Decision of that most reverend Prelate and renowned Martyr is most pat and pertinent to our purpose, and accordingly I shall resolve the Case in this Proposition.

That the Marriage of the deceased Wife's Sister is sinful, utterly unlawful, forbidden, and condemned by God.

SIN is not to be perpetrated upon any account, whatsoever Honour, Pleasure or Advantage may be pretended, expected, acquired, or enjoyed by it; they will never countervail those Damages the delinquent Creature shall sustain by it. But this Marriage is a Sin, for it is forbidden by the Law of God. See 18. *Leviticus* 6. 9. *None of you shall approach to any that is near of kin to him, to uncover their Nakedness. I am the Lord.* Note, I beseech you, that the Prohibition is General, and that the Authority of the Legislator, which is Sovereign and Despotical, doth establish and render it inviolable and unchangeable. But in verse the 9th, the Law is more special

special and particular, 'The Nakedness of thy Sister, the
 ' Daughter of thy Father, or Daughter of thy Mother, whe-
 ' ther she be born at home or abroad, that is, whether she be
 ' of the whole or half Blood, thou shalt not uncover their
 ' Nakedness. And again, Chap. 20. v. 17. If a Man
 ' shall take his Sister, his Father's Daughter, or his Mother's
 ' Daughter, and see her Nakedness; and she see his Naked-
 ' ness, it is a wicked thing, and they shall be cut off in the
 ' sight of their People. He hath uncovered his Sister's Naked-
 ' ness. He shall bear his Iniquity. And verse 21. If a Man
 ' shall take his Brother's Wife, it is an unclean thing. He
 ' hath uncovered his Brother's Nakedness, they shall dye
 ' Childless.

' I cannot pass by the judicious Annotations of our
 ' most learned Ainsworth upon these Texts. By this
 ' word Approach, saith he, The Hebrews do say, who so com-
 ' eth to any of these Nakednesses, (the unlawful Copulations
 ' mentioned in those two Chapters) either by way of Copulation,
 ' or that embraceth and kisseth by way of Lust any of his kin,
 ' is to be beaten by the Law. For the meaning is, ye shall not
 ' approach unto the thing, which may bring you to the unco-
 ' vering of their Nakedness. And it is unlawful for a Man to
 ' make Signs with Head, Foot, or Eye, (as 6. Prov. 13.) to
 ' any of these, to sport with her, or to gaze on her Beauty, near
 ' a kin. The Hebrew Sheër signifieth Flesh, 73. Psal. 26.
 ' 5. Prov. 11. And as Basar Flesh is used sometimes for
 ' Kindred, 29. Gen. 14. So is Sheër in this Case of Mar-
 ' riage and Copulation, and so by the Chaldee and
 ' Greek it is translated near and near of kin. Nakedness,
 ' that

• that is the secret or shameful parts of the Body, whereof
 • since Sin came upon Mankind, we are most ashamed. There-
 • fore the Greek translateth it shame or uncomliness, which also
 • the Holy Ghost alloweth in 16. Revelat. 15. and 3. Reve-
 • lat. 18. It is called the shame of Nakedness. To uncover
 • the Nakedness here meaneth carnal Copulation and Incest,
 • not only out of married Estate, but also unlawful and ince-
 • stuous Marriages. The Hebrews say whatsoever Copulation
 • is forbidden in the Law, for which one is guilty of cutting
 • off, and which are spoken of in Leviticus, v. 18. They
 • are called Nakednesses, as with Mother, or Sister, or Daugh-
 • ter, and the like.

• Verse 9th. Whether she be born at home, Hebrew,
 • of the birth or kindred of the House (or Home,) or of the
 • birth abroad; which the Chaldee expoundeth thus,
 • Which is begotten of the Father or of another Woman, or of
 • thy Mother by another Man. The Hebrew Canons
 • further explain it thus, whether she be his Sister by the
 • Father, or by his Mother, either in married Estate or by
 • Fornication, as if his Mother or his Father have committed
 • Whoredom with others, and he hath a Sister from Fornica-
 • tion; Loe this is Nakedness that is forbidden unto him, as
 • it is written; born at home, or born abroad. So in Targum
 • Jonathan 'tis expounded, whom thy Father hath begotten
 • of another Woman, or of thy Mother, or whom thy Mother
 • hath born by thy Father, or another Man.

Now the great enquiry will be what kind of Law is
 this, which prohibits these Marriages. To which I
 answer,

answer, it must be either one of the Ceremonial, or Judicial, or Moral Laws.

1. Not a Ceremonial Law, because those Laws had an especial Reference unto Christ, typified Christ, or something relating to Christ, which this doth not in the least.

2. The Ceremonial Law was abolished by the Death of Christ, and utterly extinguished with the Temple of *Jerusalem*, which was the Seat and Center of all the Jewish Ceremonies. But this Law is in Being, and full Power, Force, and Vigour to this very Day, not only in the Christian World, but among the civilized Nations that are not Christian.

If any one should urge that these Marriages are solemnized even in the Christian World, and that a great Prince dethroning some Years ago the King his elder Brother, did also marry his Wife, his Sister in Law, and this by Papal Dispensation. I answer, that any Lawyer will tell you that the Dispensation procured for the solemnizing of this Marriage, was so far from invalidating or enervating the Law which prohibited this Marriage, that it did the more validly ratifie and confirm it. For if so be the Marriage had been lawful, there was no need of a Dispensation to proceed unto its Celebration; but because it was unlawful, therefore there was a necessity of getting a Dispensation to legitimate it.

2. Nor secondly is it a Judicial Law, because it was violated by them, to whom *Moses* his Judicials were :

were never given, yea and long before this divine Legislator had enacted or promulgated any of these Laws. For 'tis most certain the Judicials did primarily, if not solely affect and oblige the Citizens of the Commonwealth of *Israel*, who of all People of the World had this peculiar Priviledge to be under a *Theocrasy*, a divine Government, whose King and Sovereign was Jehovah the most high God (as is evident from *1 Sam. 8. 7.* and *33. Esay 22.*) and whose Laws were divine Laws, given them by God himself, *20. Exod. 1. &c.* Nor were any other People or Nations obliged by them, farther than by their Equity. But the *Amorites* who dwelt in the Land of *Canaan*, had transgressed this negative Precept, *It is not lawful for thee to marry thy Brother's Wife, she that had bin so, nor thy Wife's Sister,* and were therefore destroyed by the *Israelites*. And this Sin of theirs was committed before *Moses's* Judicials were known or published in the Land of *Canaan*, therefore it is none of these Judicials.

3. Wherefore thirdly it remains that it must be a moral Law. And thus when the Lutheran Divines in *Germany* had been consulted with in this Case, did they peremptorily determine it. Their Decision was sent unto *Henry* the 8th, in Latin, which for the benefit of my English Reader, I shall translate into our Mother Tongue.

‘From this Conference which we had with the Right Reverend Lord Edward, Lord Bishop of Hereford, and with Mr. Archdeacon Nicholas, and Mr. Doctor Barnes, we were fully

fully informed of those Arguments which they had propounded,
 and most industriously managed in and about that weighty
 Controversy of the Divorce of the most serene and most illustrious
 King of England, France and Ireland, and they gave us to understand that his most Excellent Majesty was
 induced by very great and powerful Causes, and even necessitated to do as he hath done in this Business of his Marriage. For this is evident, nor can any one deny it, that the Law delivered in the 18. Leviticus verse the 20. doth forbid a man to marry his Brothers Wife, &c. That this Law must be understood to be a divine, natural and moral Law, forbidding not only the marrying the Wife of the living but of the dead Brother. And that against this Law none other Law can be made or ordained, even as the Universal Church hath always kept and observed this Law, and judged such Marriages to be incestuous, as is evident from the Decrees of Synods, and the declared Opinions of the most holy Fathers. Yea also the Civil Laws do forbid these Marriages, and do style them incestuous. And we our selves also are of the same Judgment with them, that this self-same Law of not marrying the Brothers Wife is to be observed in all our Churches, as a divine, natural, and moral Law. Nor would we allow or suffer especially before the Fact, that such Marriages should be contracted. And by the grace of God we both can and will defend easily as with a wet finger this our Assertion. But as to what concerns the Divorce, we are not as yet so fully persuaded as to declare our Opinion about it, whether after a Marriage so

contracted (as is the particular Case of this most Serene King) there should be a Divorce made. We therefore beseech his Majesty to take in good part this Suspension of our Opinion till such time as we are better satisfied in our Minds concerning it.

If any one should ask of me whether this be a moral natural Law, or a moral positive onely, this particular negative Law given by Moses, I answer it is not much material whether it be the one or other: It will be enough for us if it be only a *moral positive Command*. It's true the *Lutheran Divines of Germany*, who were consulted with all the last Age about this Article of *Henry the Eighth's* marrying his deceased Brother's Widow, did in this Rescript of theirs, which I just now produced, peremptorily and expressly assert it to be a divine, natural, and moral Law. And if so,

Then 1. It is an *Universal Law*, binding and obliging all Mankind in all Ages, in all Places and Bounds of their respective Habitations.

2. It is perpetual, of lasting Force and Power at all times, as long as there shall be any of the Children of *Adam* upon Earth.

3. And therefore thirdly, it must needs be indispensable, no Man, no King, no Emperor, no Pope can permit, warrant, or authorize the Marriage of such near Relations: For it must be a Power equal to that of the Supreme and Sovereign Legislator and of God Himself, the Author, Creator, and Preserver
of

of Humane Nature, that can dispense either with the Breach of a divine moral positive Law, or of a divine moral natural Law. But certainly it is beyond all possibility of doubting or denials that the Power of Men, Kings, Emperors and Popes is infinitely inferiour to that of God's.

Before we proceed any farther, it will be necessary to enquire a little into the Notion and Degrees of Kindred, and the Line of it. Persons are said to be akin each to other, either by Consanguinity or Affinity.

1. By Consanguinity, which is a Communion in Blood, derived from one and the same Stock, as Brethren and Sisters from one or both Parents, of the full or half Blood: And so likewise the Father's or Mother's Brother and Sister are of Consanguinity and their Children.

2. Kindred by Affinity is a Relative Alliance, wrought out, and coming in by Marriage. As the Brothers Wife is of Affinity to the Brother, and thus also the Uncles Wife is of Affinity to the Nephew.

3. A Line is a Collection of Persons coming from the Stock or Root. This is threefold.

1. The Right Line ascending, as the Father, Grandfather, Great Grandfather, &c. or the Right Line descending downward, as the Son, Grandson, Great Grandson.

2. The Line collateral *above* as the Fathers Brother,

er, or 2. in the *middle*, as Brother, Sister, Uncle's Children, or thirdly *below*, as Brother's Son or Daughter, and their Sons and Daughters.

3. A Degree in Affinity or Consanguinity is the distance of Persons from the Stock, either near or afar off. Here note

1. That in the Right Line ascending and descending, there are as many Degrees as there be Generations and Persons: As the Son is one degree from his Father, in the second degree from his Grandfather.

2. In the Collateral Line there are so many Degrees as Persons, one being taken away, as *Isaac* and *Betuel* the Sons of *Abraham* and *Nachor*, both the Sons of *Terah*, by whom the Account passeth, and from whom they on each side descend, is not reckoned. Thus *St. Ambrose* Bishop of *Millaine*, in his time shewed that the Computation was thus, Brother's Children are joined together in the fourth degree. See his 66. *Epist.*

3. In the Collateral Line the Prohibition is extended to the fourth Degree.

4. In the Right Line ascending and descending, the Impediment of Marriage is perpetual, when they are alive and dead, because grounded upon the Law of Nature.

5. The same Degrees are forbidden ascending or descending by the like Analogy.

6. The

6. The same Degrees are restrained, by the like Analogy in both Sexes, as well on the Man's part, as on the Womans, as 'tis not lawful for the Father to marry his Sons Daughter or his own Daughter, so neither is it lawful for the Mother to marry her own Son or Grandson, either by Son or Daughter.

7. Where the Degrees farther off are forbidden, the nearer are inclusively prohibited. For if it be not lawful for Lot to uncover the Nakedness of his Grand-daughter, much more unlawful is it for him to uncover the Nakedness of his immediate Daughter.

As to Degrees of Affinity there are Two Rules.

1. That in what Degree of Consanguinity the Husband is distant, in the same Degree of Affinity is the Wife removed; because the Husband and Wife are but one Flesh. As the Uncle is in the third Degree of Consanguinity, so is his Wife of Affinity.

2. One Person added unto another by carnal Copulation changeth the kind of Affinity but not the Degree. As the Brother's Wife is of Affinity in the second Degree and first kind, if after she marry another Husband, he is in the same Degree of Affinity, but in the second kind.

We must note that there are Three Kinds of Affinity, the next, the middle, and the remote. Thus the Brother's Wife, and the Sister's Husband are

are in the first, the next kind. The Brothers Wife's Husband is in the second, the middle. The second Husband's second Wife is in the third, the remote. Affinity bindeth only of necessity in the first kind, in the second for publick Honesty and Decency, in the third of mere Curiosity not in Conscience.

Affinity in the first kind is a perpetual Bar and Impediment to Marriage, not only during Life but afterward. For though the Wife be dead, yet her Kindred are of Affinity still unto her Husband. The Husband himself is of Affinity to all his Wives Kindred. And so likewise the Wife to her Husbands.

But I foresee some Objections that will be raised, let me assail them, and I will then confirm my Proposition.

1. *Object.* This cannot be a moral natural Law binding and obliging all universally. For then Mankind must have perished in their Root. Cain married his own Sister, for if He had not, there could not have been a Succession of Men in the World. God creating only one Man and one Woman.

Answer. But 1. I reply, that 'tis none of my Assertion that this is a Moral Natural, but a Moral Positive Law: So that this Objection doth not here in the least affect me.

2. I shall grant once for Dispute sake, and to gratifie my Opponent, that this is a Moral Natural Law;

Law; and yet *Cain* did not sin against, nor violate the Law in marrying his own Sister. For God, the God, Author, and Creator of Humane Nature, when he gave this Law to be a perpetual and inviolable Rule to human Nature, did not thereby tie up himself, although he tyed up Mankind. Besides he can for wise and just causes of his own (reserved in the Cabinet of his own Breast, and which he is in no wise obliged to give his Creatures an account of) dispense with his own Law: Yea and he did actually dispense with it unto *Cain*; and if Men will demand a Reason of God's Dispensation, it may be this, *The present Exigent requiring it, such is my Will and Pleasure.* We are bound indeed to observe the Law; but God is not bound to observe and keep it: And as the Lord of the Sabbath hath changed the first Sabbath from the last Day of the Week in the Creation, into this first Day of the Week, which we now celebrate because of his Resurrection: So also as I said even now for wise, good, just, holy Ends and Reasons of his own, the Lord of the Law of Marriage may and did dispense with his own Law of Marriage. He hath obliged us thereunto perpetually, but never did himself: Absolute Sovereignty can do what he pleaseth, nor can we say unto him, why dost thou so?

2d. *Object.* Then it seems Necessity is a sufficient Warrant to violate God's Moral Law.

Ans.

Answ. I think we must here consider a few things.

1. That there is a twofold Necessity, one of Man's making, and another of God's.

2. We must distinguish betwixt God's Permission and Tolleration, and betwixt God's Allowance and Approbation.

3. Betwixt an involuntary Suspension of Duty upon an unavoidable Occasion, and a willful deliberate Rebellion against the Divine Law. Let's apply these to our purpose.

1. The Necessity into which *Cain* was brought, was not a Necessity of his own making, but of God's, who though he had, and still hath, and will for ever have an inexhausted fullness of Omnipotency, and could if it had so pleased him, have created at first many Men and many Women to have been the Parents of Mankind, yet in his infinite Wisdom he saw it most fit and meet to create but one Man and one Woman, to be the common Source and Root of their future Offspring. Now there being none other Women in the World besides his Mother and Sisters, *Cain* must of necessity marry his own Sister, or not marry at all; so that he is thus far acquitted from the Violation of this Moral Natural Law. But if a Man bring himself by sin into a Necessity, which he might have at first avoided, although he could not afterward, of breaking this Law, I cannot see how he can be absolved. His Plea
of

of Necessity is of his own making, therefore it will be rejected. How can he answer this Interrogatory? Who brought you into this Necessity? Not God; for he never necessitateth any one to Sin, or to violate his Law. So that notwithstanding his Pretence of Necessity, he is yet guilty before God; at best, his Necessity will excuse him but *à tanto*, not *à toto*, from somewhat, not from the full and whole Offence and Guilt.

2. In the Case of *Cain*, the Act of Obedience unto this Law was suspended, and that for this once, it being an Occasion unavoidable; for he had none but his own Sister to marry, and he must either marry her or burn. But now adays the World is wide enough, and Men may pick and chuse where they please, without leaping over God's Pale, or breaking down God's Hedge and Inclosure; so that here is no room nor ground at all for pleading Necessity. It must therefore needs be a deliberate, wilful, and if also it be wittingly done, a most horrid aggravated Impiety and Rebellion against the Divine Majesty. Were a Man in the Isle of *Pines*, out of all possibility of Commerce with the rest of Mankind, there would be some Shadow of Reason for such a Plea. When the Heathen Mariners in that dreadful Storm did cast *Jonas* over-board, and when Soldiers shall fight in their own Defence, or Christian Slaves shall work upon the Sabbath Day, their Plea of Necessity is admittable, and will excuse them if not *à toto*, yet *à tanto*; especially if this Necessity came from God immediately, and not from themselves.

3. Lastly let it be considered, that in the Case of Necessity at the best there is but God's Permission and Toleration for that time, not an indefinite Approbation of the like Action for the future.

3^d Object. But what will you say to the Case of Abraham? He was under no Necessity, yet he did marry his own Sister, 20. Gen. 12. *And yet indeed she is my Sister, the Daughter of my Father, but not the Daughter of my Mother, and she became my Wife.*

Answer 1. All Actions of God's Saints are neither imitable nor justifiable, because Amram married his ~~Wife~~ Sister, his own Aunt Jochebed, and because Abraham married his Niece or Half Sister; this is no warrant for any Man to marry the Widow of his deceased Brother, or the Sister of his deceased Wife. These were Blemishes in these Saints, as there be Spots in the heavenly Bodies, we are to walk by Rule, and not by every Example, by Precept, and not by Precedents; we are to be followers of Saints no farther than they are of God.

2. But if it should be urged, that this was a moral natural Law; I reply, that Nature, since the Fall is very much impaired and depraved, a dark Night of Ignorance of many necessary and important Duties hath envelopped the Understanding of Man, and our Memories are exceeding feeble, leaky and forgetful. So that it might be, as I conceive it was, a Sin of Ignorance in those Two famous Patriarchs; and the Times and Facts done in that estate of Ignorance God *immedi* did overlook, did seem to connive or wink at, to pass them by, as if he did
take

take no notice of them. And *Paul's* Plea in another Case might be theirs in this, I obtained Mercy, because I did it ignorantly through unbelief; so they obtained Mercy, because they did it ignorantly, either not knowing, or having quite forgotten the Moral Natural Law of Marriage.

3. But there is another Answer, which if it do not cut the Throat of this Objection, yet may dissolve much of the Power and Force of it, and it is this. That *Sarah* was the Sister of *Abraham*, as *Lot* was his Brother, that is, she was his Cousin German: Any one that is acquainted, tho' but in a little measure with the Commonwealth of the Hebrews cannot but know this, that they did ordinarily stile their Cousins their Brethren and Sisters. And so *Abraham* might say truly according to the Hebrew Idiom, that *Sarah* his Wife was his Sister, that is, his Kinswoman. But if this will not go down, let me add in the Fourth Place, that the Hebrew Divines do say (and I know no reason to the contrary why we should not believe them) that *Sarah* was not *Terah's* Daughter, but his Grand-daughter, her Father was *Haran* the Son of *Terah*, and she is the same that is called *Ischah*, (she having Two Names, a thing common and usual among the Hebrews) 11. *Genes.* 29.

Instance. But *Abraham* saith she was the Daughter of his Father.

Answer. And I do own it also. *Terah* begat *Haran* of his first Wife, but by another Wife he begat *Abraham*, who married *Ischah* alias *Sarah*, the Daughter of his Half-Brother *Haran*; so that he did not marry his uterine Sister, but his Niece of the half Blood, his own Father's

Grand-daughter ; a Marriage in those Days against which there was no known Prohibition, and which God the supreme Lawgiver connived at, or indulged for that time, altho' he did afterward expressly forbid it.

4. *Object.* But yet 'tis farther urged, that the Israelites did marry, yea and were commanded to marry the Widow of their deceased Brother, 25. *Deuterom.* 5. Therefore the Marriage of a dead Brother's Widow, or of a dead Sister's Husband is not unlawful.

Answer 1. I could reply that there is no general Rule, but admits of some particular Exception, Limitation, or Restriction. This was a special Case, and for a special end, viz. to raise up Seed unto the deceased Brother, that his Name might not be forgotten in *Israel* ; but if he had left any Issue behind him, it had been utterly unlawful, an hainous Sin, no less than Incest in the Brother to have copulated with this Widow.

2. This was a particular Law unto the Hebrews, not in the least binding us, or any other Gentile Nations, and it expired when the set appointed time of Reformation by the great and sovereign Lawgiver of the Church came, when the Church-State and Civil-Polity of the Jews were both dissolved. It was one of *Moses* his Judicials which he gave unto that People, and could be no longer in force than whilst they were a Church and Body Politick : But 'tis Sixteen Hundred Years ago that they ceased to be such, and have been ever since rejected and cast off by God, having committed that most execrable and unparalleled Parricide upon the Lord of Glory: God hath branded

ded them with that infamous mark of *Cain*, to be Fugitives and Vagabonds upon the Face of the Earth, and so are become *Lorubamah* and *Loammi*, none of God's People, such as upon whom he will have no Mercy, and the Generation of his Wrath and Curse. How these should come to be invested with the Priviledge of a Theocracy, and to be the present Proprietors, Possessors, and Subjects of divine Laws, is a riddle that I cannot resolve, especially when as at this Day, they are not Owners of one Foot of Land in the known or civilized World. Yea and although they have their Synagogues allowed them in many Christian States, Kingdoms and Dominions, yet those Lords and Princes where they live, do take sufficient care to abridg and restrain them in the Exercise of their Discipline, and Observation of any Laws given unto their Fore-fathers, which do clash with those of that State and Kingdom, in which they are permitted as Strangers to reside and sojourn.

3. This Law of marrying the Widow of the dead Brother, did not extend to every Brother, but only to the first-born; so that it only obliged *Simeon* and *Levi* and the younger Brethren of *Reuben*, in case he had no Children to marry his Widow: But in Case *Simeon* the second Son of *Jacob* and Brother of *Reuben* had died without Children, neither *Levi* nor *Judah* were under any Obligation by this Law to marry the Relict of *Simeon*. God seems to have provided this Law to preserve the Dignity and Name of the first-born.

4. Yea and our Jewish Masters do acquaint us, that it bound the Brother by the Father's side only, for the Brother of the half Blood was with them counted no Brother in this Case, and so not under the Obligation of this Law.

5. *Object.* But the divine Historian giveth us this Account of *Jacob's* Marriage, that he married Two Sisters together at the same time, and possibly within a Week, or a very short time one of the other, 30. *Genes.* 21. to 30.

Answer. This Objection is so very weak and trifling, that were not our incestuous Persons hard put to for Arguments to vindicate their sinful Pranks and Nuptials, they would not as drowning Persons catch hold of such a feeble twig as this to help and preserve them, one word will easily cut its Ham-strings.

1. *Jacob's* Marriage with *Leah* was a mere trick put upon him by his unrighteous Father in Law. Cunning Crafty *Laban* cheated honest plain-hearted *Jacob* by substituting his Daughter *Leah* instead of *Rachel* in the dark Night into his Bed, who might therefore most justly have repudiated her, for she was not the Person that they had both agreed upon in their Marriage-transaction, to have been given him for his Wife. And such a notorious Error as this was, the very Person not being the same for whom they covenanted, and He served Seven Years Apprenticeship, and who was upon these Conditions promised him, and whom he intended to have espoused; Casuists do unanimously determine that it doth null, dissolve, and make void the Marriage: It being

no Marriage before God, yea notwithstanding that he had cohabited with her by conjugal Performances, *Jacob* might warrantably enough have returned *Leah* back again unto her deceitful Father, she was none of his Wife, and that both *Leah* and *Laban* did very well know.

2. This very Marriage was afterward expressly forbidden of God, 18. *Levit. 18. Thou shalt not take a Woman to Wife to her Sister, it will vex her, thou uncoverest her Nakedness,* that is, if thou hast the other in her life time, it is Incest, and that he should not after her Death marry her Sister, I shall prove evidently by and by.

3. Some by a Woman to her Sister to Wife, do not understand a Sister born of the same Parents, whether of the whole or half Blood, but a Woman at large, who by Reason of her Sex and Nation, not because of Consanguinity is her Sister; she is not to be married during the Life of the first Wife, and so make this Law to prohibit Polygamy, the Sin of *Lamech*. But I shall not enter upon the Examination of this Gloss; what I have said before is a sufficient Answer unto the Objection.

6. *Object.* But the Palmary Argument for these Marriages, and upon which the Parties concern'd do most depend, is this, their great Expediency. *'A Man hath received some Thousands of Pounds with my deceased Child, and was a very kind Husband to her, why should so much Money, such a fair Stock in Trade, and so good a Relation as this be lost as to my Family? I have another Daughter to dispose of, let her enjoy this good natured Gentleman, and his Money, Stock, Trade, Estate,*
and

and Wealth will be devolved upon the Children that shall be begotten on her Body, let them be married.

Another saith, I am left with a Family of small Children, my own Relations are unnatural both to me and them, they take no care of them, nor of my Concerns; I am necessitated to be abroad in the World to seek a Livelyhood, and to get Bread for them; and in my Absence my poor Orphans are neglected, and my Goods imbezelled and purloyned. My dead Wife hath a surviving Sister, of a sweet loving Disposition, kind and compassionate to my Children, she will make a good Wife for me, and the best Mother in Law for them.

Hereupon the Marriage is consummated, *Answ.* But in truth Incest is hereby committed, Infamy, and Troubles both in Body and Mind, upon their Estate, Family and Posterity are contracted, accumulated and entayled: These are the Expediencies of such a Marriage; God is highly dishonoured, his holy Law violated, the Consciences of the married couple after some time woefully entangled and perplexed; they are the common talk of Town and Country, a Reproach among their Neighbours, the Pity and Grief of their best Friends, their Children are hooted and pointed at as a spurious, illegitimate Brood and Off-spring, upon whom God will visit the Iniquity of their Parents. And pray what good will a great Estate, or a Mass of Riches do unto an awakened and disturbed Conscience? For it ordinarily issues in this; Here is Death in the Pot of all their Comforts. Now they lament their own Rashness and Follies in entring
so

so inconsiderately upon this sinful and unfortunate Marriage, and curse the Authors and first Contrivers of it, who have plunged them by their mischievous Advice and Counsel into those Doubts, Fears, and Perplexities, that they cannot tell how to extricate themselves out of them. As Strangers do not intermeddle with other Men's inward Joys and Comforts, so also it is not possible for them to see and feel their inward Disquiets, Fears, Sorrows and Horror. A guilty Conscience rouzed up and alarum'd with the Sight and Sense of Sin, with the Fear of God's Wrath and Vengeance, proveth an insupportable Burden; fain would it under its sorrowful Apprehensions of the just Displeasure of an incensed God depart from its *Herodias*, be divorced from this unlawful Marriage: But then it meeteth with great Oppositions from its own corrupted self, from this miserable World, from carnal Relations, from its unhappy Yoke-fellow and poor Children, who do all severally act their parts upon the Theater of this perplexed Soul, to its sore Affliction and Distraction, oppose and obstruct its good Resolutions possibly to its eternal undoing. Sinful self thus argues, 'O! this is a most dear, affectionate, faithful, careful, and beneficial Partner to me; why should I disoblige her, cast her off, and loose her? 'Twas I that courted, wooed, and brought her into these Bonds and Shackles; why shall I be so base and disingenuous as to separate my self from her, and leave her in the lurch? I shall never meet with such another Woman for conjugal helpfulness and assistance whilst I live; she hath deserved better at my Hands, than that I

E. should

' Should for her endearing Love, for her winning and engaging Car-
 ' riage, for her very considerable Fortune, so ill requite her, as to
 ' shake her quite off. What will the World say of me? but that
 ' I am one of the worst of Men, a Prodigy of Baseness, Unnatural-
 ' ness and Ungratefulness; One who having satiated my brutish
 ' Appetites upon a vertuous, harmless Person, do now most wickedly
 ' and unworthily seek her utter Ruin. How can I bear up under
 ' the heavy load of such deserved Calumnies and Reproaches?

' But I hear also the Rage and Thunder of her exasperated
 ' Relations, ringing loud and large Peals daily and hourly in my
 ' Ears. What? do you make Conscience and Religion a pretext
 ' to cover your Violence and Injustice? Do you thus ill requite us
 ' for our Love and Esteem of you, in preferring you above all
 ' other Persons in the World to the Marriage of our Daughter?
 ' Take heed what you do, and look to your self, for we will not
 ' put up the Affront; you shall give us the utmost satisfaction for
 ' this Injury and Indignity you do us and our Family. You shall
 ' be called to an account for it sooner or later. And now
 ' my poor Wife and Children also are in Tears, weeping and
 ' crying out, what have I done, saith she, to be thus wronged
 ' and abused by you? Have not I readily and chearfully perfor-
 ' med all the Duties of my Relation to you? Can you with any
 ' shew or shadow of Reason complain of me, that I have failed
 ' in any one point of conjugal Love, Loyalty, and Obedience to you?
 ' you cannot, yea and your own Conscience tells you you cannot; be-
 ' sides, if you will ruin me, why will you ruin and undoe these
 ' sweet Children? They are yours, Man! as well as mine, they
 ' be the Fruits and Pledges of our mutual conjugal Affection; I
 ' brought them to you in a lawful and honourable Marriage: Why
 ' did you seduce and chouse me with your golden Complements into this
 ' disastrous

' disastrous Estate ? Why will you stigmatize these innocent
 ' Babes of ours by your folly and frenzy ? Why must these pass
 ' for a brood of Bastards with the World, and be branded as in-
 ' cestuous Births, Brats begotten of incestuous Parents ? Have
 ' I, or they deserved this at your Hands ? Then the poor Children
 ' cry, why, Father ! will you put away our poor Mother ?
 ' Why must she be turn'd out of Doors ? If you leave her, we
 ' will leave you, and so you will loose all that Comfort, Delight
 ' and Satisfaction that Parents have in their Children.

Here now the very Bowels of this unfortunate Hus-
 band are torn in pieces ; and what between Nature and
 Conscience, what between Relations, Wife and Chil-
 dren, what between worldly Interests, and the Sense
 and Dread of God's Wrath, the Man is at his Wit's
 end, he knows not what Course to steer and take, he
 is grinded to pieces betwixt these Millstones ; and whom
 may he thank for his continual and unsufferable Anguish,
 but his own fleshly Lusts, his unreasonable and unsatia-
 ble Desires after the World, his foolish Compliance with
 those sinful Oracles, which he at first consulted in this
 vexatious and afflicting Business. These are the Imagi-
 nary and conceited Expedients, but real Mischiefs of this
 wretched and wicked Marriage. In truth had these Per-
 sons made God's holy Word the Man of their Counsel,
 when they first undertook it, had they but asked Advice
 from some Judicious Divine and able Casuist, from a
 faithful, skillful, spiritual Guide, 'tis very probable all
 these Heart-cutting, Soul-wounding Accidents might
 have been prevented. But when they first designed Mar-
 riage,

riage, God's end in it (which should have been theirs, and theirs principally) was never so much as thought upon, nor in the least intended. God's end in Marriage is an holy Seed, Children for God, to keep up his Name and Glory in the World; but this was quite neglected and forgotten. The Marriage-makers, and Marriage-undertakers in our Days, do set up for the World, not for Heaven in their Marriages: They are for a rich and great, not for a religious and godly Family; God was not in all their Thoughts about it. Thus the degenerate Sons of God in the old Antidiluvian World, chose the Daughters of Men because they were fair and beautiful, of high Birth, and noble Extraction; because they were plentifully endowed with rich Portions, and an overgrown Estate. So that *Mammon* and *Belial*, Pride and Avarice are the only Gods with whom they consulted in the making of these Matches, and to these Deities did these Muckworms offer Sacrifice in the beginning, and pay their full Homage in the final Consummation of them. These are the Expediences and Conveniences which they pretended for them. But as for Religion, Profession, Practise and Power of Godliness to be kept up in their Families, and to be propagated by them down unto their Posterity after them; this was the least in their Thoughts, possibly never at all in their Minds or Purposes. No wonder then that God doth blow upon, blast and accurse such Marriages, depriving them of those Comforts, that holy Marriages warranted and solemnized according to God's Institution are crowned and blef-

fed withal ; and visiting them with those bitter Afflictions, and uncomfortable Circumstances which makes them execrate the very Day and Hour that they ever ventur'd upon them.

But if any should reply, that these Married Persons are not disquieted, nor distracted with any of these inward Fears and Troubles of Conscience that you have even now mentioned ; they are brisk and lively, joyial and chearful in their Conversations ; they have Prosperity and Blessings upon themselves, Families, and temporal Estates, all is but sham, vain, and imaginary Terrors that you have been discoursing of and suggesting.

I answer, It may be true what you say concerning some of these married Persons, they are swimming at present in the pacifick Seas of worldly Happiness, but the Storm will certainly come, that is well which ends well : *There is no peace saith my God unto the Wicked,* the Worm of Sin is at the Root of all their Gourds, so that how thriving and flourishing soever they may be, in a little time they will fade and wither. *I have seen,* said the kingly Prophet, *the wicked in great Power, and spreading himself like a green Bay-Tree, yet he passed away, and Lo! He was not : Yea I sought him, but he could not be found.* I pray God the Prosperity of Fools may not destroy them.

Having

Having removed these rubs out of our way, and dismissed these Objections, I shall now confirm my Position with these Arguments: 1. No incestuous Marriages may be lawfully celebrated. But the Marriage of the deceased Wife's ~~is~~ **is** incestuous Marriage.

Therefore it cannot be lawfully celebrated.

THE Minor or second Proposition in this Syllogism, is that only which needs Proof, and I shall prove it presently; only before I prove it, let me a little explain the Major, which is this, that incestuous Marriages may not be celebrated, for they be forbidden and condemned of God. But it will be demanded of me, what is Incest? unto which I shall answer in the Words of the Casuists, *That it is a Coition with any Person nearly related to us by Blood or Affinity (the degree of nearness they generally assert to be the Fourth) in the fourth degree.*

There is a twofold Incest, One which is committed betwixt those of the ascendent or descendent Line; as if *Adam* or *Noah* were now alive this Day, they could not marry, or if they did, they must marry one of their own Children, (for they be all descended from them) which is Incest. This kind of Incest is called *Nepharious*, because 'tis a Wickedness that should not be so much as mentioned by any one, and when committed, its Memory should be buried in the Grave of everlasting Oblivion, and the Parents Names should never be registred, altho' the Children begotten of them were admitted unto Baptism. There have been such *Nepharious* commixtures both

both in ancient and latter times. In the *East-Indies*, the brutish Natives have apologized for it with this Argument, such an one as it is, That if the Husbandman may lawfully eat the Fruit of that Orchard, which he hath planted, then a Father may with as good a Warrant know carnally his own Daughter, and the Mother her own Son, but Parables prove nothing. I have been credibly inform'd, and met with it also in Print both in French and English, ' That a young Lady living in the Province of ' *Languedoc* in *France*, being left a Widow with an only ' Son, her fond Affection to her Child, and heavy Grief ' for the Loss of her dear Husband, engaged her into a ' rash Vow of perpetual Widowhood, which she religiously observed for the space of Twelve Years, but ' then violated it after a most astonishing manner. For her ' Son being grown up, solicited a Maiden Gentlewoman ' that waited on her to commit Folly with him; but al- ' tho' she did vertuously and resolutely reject his Court- ' ship, he renews his Suit and Battery with more fre- ' quency and Importunity than ever, insomuch that she ' to be rid of this dangerous Tempter acquaints his Mo- ' ther with it. The Lady can hardly believe this Infor- ' mation against her Son, counting it a mere Calumny, a ' malicious Forgery to alienate her Affections from him. ' But this Accuser avowing stedfastly her Accusation, and ' demanding leave to quit her Service and Castle, that ' she might be out of the Rode of Temptation; the La- ' dy then bad her make an Assignment unto her Son of ' Time and Place for Enjoyment, and she would be there

' in her stead to give him such a Schooling for his attem-
 ' pting upon her Chastity, as he never had in all his Life,
 ' and which should be a warning to him even to his dy-
 ' ing Day. This young Gentlewoman at the next inter-
 ' view doth hereupon promise her Gallant, that the Night
 ' following, at such an hour, in such a Chamber she would
 ' bed with him. His wretched Mother according to A-
 ' greement supplies her Place, but instead of schooling
 ' and ratling her Son as she threatned and possibly had
 ' intended, she is now under a violent Temptation, and
 ' being surprized with a burning fit of unnatural Lust,
 ' she doth sottishly yield unto his Embraces, insomuch
 ' that she conceived by him. Finding her self to be with
 ' Child, she is overwhelmed with Horror and Confusion,
 ' and to provide against the Shame and Reproaches of the
 ' World, she calleth for her Son's Tutor, and furnishing
 ' him with Money, orders him to convey her Son unto the
 ' Lord *de Chaumont*, Great Master of the King's Hou-
 ' shold (*Louis* the 12th was then King) who is my near
 ' Kinsman, and a principal Commander in the Wars of
 ' *Italy*, who will gladly receive him, and said she, dis-
 ' patch hence without delay, and let him be gon early
 ' without bidding me Adieu. Accordingly the Gover-
 ' nour taking the young Esquire with him, who was glad
 ' of the News, rideth away that very Morning. His
 ' Lady Mother after his Departure is plung'd into a deep
 ' Melancholy, and drowns her self in Floods of peni-
 ' tential Tears for her abominable Sin, and feigning her
 ' self to be very sick, she retires to the House of her
 ' Bastard-

' Bastard Brother, who lived in another part of the
 ' Country, whom she had obliged with very many Kind-
 ' nesses; unto him she discovers her unhappy Circum-
 ' stances, how that she is with Child, but conceals the
 ' Name of its Father, and begs his Assistance for her pri-
 ' vate lying in, and disposal of her Infant as soon as it
 ' shall be born; He performs faithfully the Office of a
 ' kind Brother, gets a Midwife and all necessary Accommo-
 ' dations for a Woman in her Condition; being well de-
 ' livered of a Daughter, he puts it out secretly as his own
 ' unto a Nurse, and the Lady at the Month's end being
 ' finely recovered, returns to her own Castle again, where
 ' she passeth her time in great Austerities, Devotion and
 ' Pennance. When the Wars in *Italy* were ended, her
 ' Son writes unto his Mother to give him leave to see *France*
 ' again, and to pay his filial Duty to her; she fearing to
 ' relapse into her former Sin, doth not presently grant him
 ' his Request; but he soliciting her by divers Letters again
 ' and again for her License, she at last yields for his Re-
 ' turn, but upon this express Condition, that he never
 ' see her Face till he be first married, and bring his Wife
 ' with him. During this long Absence of her Son, the
 ' Daughter is grown Marriageable, and a perfect Beauty,
 ' and was by the Consent of her unknown Mother, put
 ' by her Bastard Uncle into the service of the Queen of
 ' *Navarre*, who loved her very tenderly, because of her
 ' Beauty and excellent Disposition, and resolved to prefer
 ' *Katharine* (for so she was called) to a rich Husband.
 ' Her unknown Father returning out of *Italy* happened to
 ' wait upon the Queen of *Navarre*, at whose Court he
 ' had

' had the first sight of this rare Beauty, and fell immediate-
 ' ly in Love with her, and with the Queen's consent
 ' marries her : Having consummated his Marriage, he ac-
 ' quaints his Mother with it, and brings home his young
 ' Wife with him. The Lady understanding with whom
 ' he was married, finds her to be his own Daughter and
 ' Sister. This incestuous Marriage of her two Children,
 ' throws her into greater Distress of Conscience than ever,
 ' infomuch that not being able to bear the burden of her
 ' inward Torments any longer, she rides over to the Pope's
 ' Legate at *Avinion* (whose Name was *George*, and of the
 ' House of *Amboise*) unto him she declares her enormous
 ' Sin in Confession, penitently craving his Ghostly Advice
 ' for her Conduct under these most perplexing Agonies :
 ' The Legate in Order to her Satisfaction, calls together
 ' a *Juncto* of Divines, able Casuists, to whom he propounds
 ' her Case, but without mentioning the Persons con-
 ' cern'd. These grave and judicious Doctors having ma-
 ' turely considered all Circumstances, do come to this
 ' Resolution, that the Mother should not in the least no-
 ' tifie this Affair unto her Children, because 'twas but a
 ' sin of Ignorance in them, but that she should under-
 ' go a very severe Pennance all her days for it. See *Les*
 ' *deux Marquerites*, pag. 433. to 441.

I have read also another such Case in a piece of Mr. *Luthers*, which happened on his Knowledge at *Erphurd* in
Germany : And that holy Man of God, Bishop *Hall* in his
 Cases of Conscience hath the like Instance with this French
 one, related by me, see Cases of Consc. p. 413. to 417.
 &c. A certain Ship-Carpenter, who lived near a great
 Town

Town in the West of *England* had begot a Child upon the Body of his own unmarried Daughter, and when the Minister of that Parish was taxed for baptizing this Infant, born of incestuous Parents, who testified no Remorse, nor had undergone any publick Penance for their scandalous and most abominable Crime, he replied in his own Defence, that he was no Bishop to injoyn them Penance, nor was the Discipline of the Church committed unto him, who was a Priest only, but no Prelate.

2. There is another kind of Incest, which altho' not so great as this before mentioned, yet is a very hainous Sin before God; this is committed by Persons in the same Line and Degree of Consanguinity and Affinity, as when Brethren and Sisters of the whole or half Blood, or Brethren and Sisters through Affinity shall cohabit together, and have carnal Knowledge of one another, whether they be married together, or be single Persons, this their Commixture is Incest.

Such Coitions as these are utterly unlawful, exceeding sinful in the Eyes of God, and because of the nearness of the Relation, are called Incest by the Civil and Canon Laws, which are in force in other European Nations, as also by the Statute Laws of *England*.

Such a Marriage as this is, betwixt a Man and his Wifes Sister, or betwixt a Woman and her dead Husband's Brother is Incest, in the Judgment and Opinion of Divine and Humane Law-givers; and therefore forbidden, 20. *Levit.* 17. *And if a Man shall take his Sister, his Father's Daughter, or his Mother's Daughter, and see her Nakedness, it is a wicked thing, to Chesed,* that is, it is a

most horrid Impiety, Shame and Reproach, 'tis an unlawful Action, 'tis an unspeakable Filthiness; we are at a loss, and want words to express the foulness of this Sin; 'Tis a very great Misery, a most woeful, and much to be lamented Transgression, *And they shall be cut off in the sight of their People: He hath uncovered his Sister's Nakedness, He shall bear his Iniquity.*

If any one reply, the Text prohibits the uncovering of a Brother or Sister by Consanguinity, but not by Affinity, I shall refute this weak Evasion by this my second Argument.

2. If a Man may not marry his own natural Sister, then he may not marry his Wife's Sister, so if a Woman may not marry her own natural Brother, nor may she her Husband's Brother; for married Persons are one Flesh, by God's holy Ordinance and Institution; *They two shall be one Flesh*, the most intimate and strictest Union in Nature; so that in the Account of God, their Relations by Affinity are as near to them as those by Consanguinity, a Man may not marry his own Sister, and therefore not his Wife's Sister. There is an Exception made against this Assertion, that notwithstanding the nearness of their Relation, we allow two Brothers to marry two Sisters, and yet these collateral Marriages, these reciprocal and cross Marriages are not all accounted incestuous. Nor indeed can they, for they are far enough from being such. Let me set this matter in its clear Light; *Zabulon* hath Three Sons, *Sered*, *Eblon*, and *Jemuel*; *Sered* marries (for Supposition I lay this down, not that he did so in truth) with *Rezia* the eldest Daughter of *Job*, *Sered* by this Marriage

Marriage is become Brother to the Two Sisters of his Wife, but his Two Brethren have no Relation at all unto them, neither by Consanguinity nor Affinity: If therefore *Eblon* marrieth *Jemima*, and *Jemuel* marrieth *Kerena-hapuch*, they do not uncover the Nakedness of any one near a kin unto them; for before their Marriage, tho' their elder Brother stands related to them by Affinity, yet they did not; so that they might lawfully contract their Marriage. And thus did *Mablak*, *Tirzah*, *Hoglab*, *Milcab*, and *Noah*, marry with God's Approbation and good Blessing, Five Brothers, the Five Sons of their own Uncle: Families are hereby strengthened, fraternal Love corroborated and maintained, mutual Assistance in Case of Exigency and Necessity given and received. But I proceed to a third Argument, by which to confirm my Position, and it is this.

3. Marriages condemned by all Laws, Divine and Humane, Scriptural, Imperial and Canonical, ought not to be celebrated; but such Marriages as these, with the Widow of the deceased Brother, or with the Sister of the deceased Wife are condemned by all those Laws, therefore they ought not to be celebrated. The Assumption I have in part proved from express Texts of Scripture; and altho' I am no Jurist, nor are either the Civil or Papal Laws my Study or Profession, yet I shall offer one or two Quotations out of them, to evidence that such kind of Marriages are condemned by them. First, the Imperial Law will not suffer them, *We do utterly refuse all License to marry the Brother's Wife, or to be joynd unto two Sisters*, Code Book 5. Tit. 5. Law 4. of *Valentin* and *Theodosius*. Again

Again in the same Book, Law 9. Thus the Emperor *Anastasius* enacteth, *we decree that all Dispensations and Licenses granted by the Prince, which do give leave to marry the Brother's wife, &c. shall be null and void.* My Author draweth hence this Inference, viz. *That seeing the Laws of Princes do concur with the Law of God in the Prohibition of such Marriages, it followeth, that they are mere moral Precepts, and agreeable to the Law of Nature.*

The rude and brutish Muscovites (whose Christianity hath been called in Question in a publick Disputation in one of the German Universities) are yet in these Marriages more nice and strict than the very Romanists. For *Joannes Faber* in his Treatise of the Religion of the Muscovites, assureth his Readers, that there was none ever found among them, who contracted Matrimony in the fourth Degree, nor do they dispense with any for so doing, wherefore they condemn the Papists for marrying their Kinswomen. *Damianus*, a *Goes* writes that the Christians in the Churches of *Aethiopia* do not marry any of their Blood until the seventh Degree; neither is it lawful for their *Abana* or Patriarch therein to dispense with any. The Churches of *Switzerland* in their last Confession, Chap. 29. do teach, that Marriages ought to be made lawfully in the fear of God, and not against the Laws, which forbid certain Degrees to join in Matrimony, *lest the Marriages should be incestuous.*

The Reformed Churches of *France* have fully and clearly published their Judgments on this Article, as I have evidenced in my Synodicon, in *Galliâ Reformatâ*, Tom. 1. first national Synod of *Paris*, in the Year 1559. cap. 2. can. 36. *The faithful may not contract Marriages within the prohibited Degrees of Affinity and Consanguinity, and the Churches are to take heed that all Scandals in this particular be avoided.*

And in the 2d national Synod at *Poitiers*, pag. 18. cap. 6. They do authoritatively determine this Question, in these words. *May a Man lawfully espouse the sister of his deceased wife, who hath left him Children begotten on her Body by him? To which was answered, that this is in no wise lawful nor expedient, and the Church must see to it that no such Marriages be solemnized in it.* Again, let no Man marry his Brother's Widow, nor any Woman him, who was her Sister's Husband, Synod of *Vertueil*, in *Synodic. Gal. Reform.* vol. 1. pag. 84.

And in the 3^d national Synod held at Orleans, in the Year 1562. When as the Lady *Margaret de la Vorie*, presented unto that grave Assembly her Petition concerning a Marriage, which she pretended to have been contracted, *between her self* and the Noble *William de Schillant*, requesting that the said Marriage might be ratified by their Authority. That general Council of the Reformed Churches of France rejected her Petition, and gave this Reason for it, *That they had approved, and do approve of that Sentence given by the Provincial Synod of Touraine, held at Mons the last October, by which the said Marriage was declared Incestuous, because the said de Schillant had formerly espoused the Sister of the said Petitioner, and it enjoined the said Lady to submit quietly thereunto, and to observe it with Repose and Tranquility of Conscience.* Moreover this Council exhorts her to return unto her own Church, and there to make such acknowledgment of her Fault as the Consistory shall think meet. And in the Synod of Vertueil, p. 34. 1567. 'Let no man marry his Brother's Widow, nor any woman him who was her Sister's Husband; and this was the judgment of that famous Man of God, Mr. Calvin.

Yea and the Canons of the Church of Rome are evidently against these Marriages; for say they, *The Brother cannot have to wife his Brother's Spouse, much less can he have his Brother's Wife, that was not espoused only, but married to him, Cauf. 27. qu. 2. cap. 11. & Decret. Gregor. Lib. 4. Tit. 1. cap. 4. And it is not lawful to marry the Brother's widow, nor the wife's Brother's widow, Cauf. 35. qu. 3. c. 8.* Again, *I must so regard my Kinsman's wife of what degree soever, as tho' she were in the same Degree of mine own kindred: By which Rule it is no more lawful for a Man to marry his Brother's Wife, (or his Wife's Sister) than his own Sister, and the Canon goeth farther, they that think otherwise are Antichrist, Qu. 5. c. 3. N.B.* The Pope calls himself by craft, Antichrist, for 'tis he that by the Plenitude of his Power doth give and grant Dispensations for these Marriages. My fourth and last Argument shall be this.

4. God is not to be provoked to jealousy, for we are not stronger than God, but to marry with the Brother's Widow, or the deceased Wife's Sister is a provoking of God to Jealousie, and a bringing down Wrath and Vengeance upon our selves, and upon the Land. I read of no less than Three particular Judgments denounced.

gainst such Marriages; see *Levit.* 20. v. 17. 22. and 23.

1. They shall be cut off, i. e. Cut off with the Sword Ecclesiastical, they shall be excommunicated from the Body of the Church, from the Communion of Saints, which is holy, for these are unclean and prophane. Or, 2. They shall be cut off with the Civil Sword, for 'tis an Iniquity to be punished by the Judges; and the Civil Magistrate is God's Minister, God's Avenger to punish evil Doers, the Contemners and Transgressors of God's Laws. Or, 3. They shall be cut off by God himself, who will not hold them guiltless altho' Man doth: For in Case the Magistrate shall not concern himself for the Violation of God's Law, yet God will vindicate his own Glory to the Costs of such daring Transgressors, who in this bright Day of Scripture Light shall affront his moral positive Laws. And they will at last find it by woeful Experience a very fearful thing to fall into the Hands of the living God.

2. There is another Judgment thundered against them, *They shall dye Childless*, God will destroy their flourishing Children.

3. *Yes and they shall be destroyed, even as the Canaanites were with an utter Destruction.*

Upon the whole it be considered, 1. That this Divine Law was never repeated by the Divine and Supreme Lawgiver, so that it is still in as full Force & Vigour as when it was first promulgated.

2. That such Persons are not upon any Pretence whatsoever to be contracted and married, because it will engage them in the horrible Sin of Incest, and expose them to the eternal and insupportable Wrath of God Almighty.

3. Lastly, in Case such Marriages have been solemnized, they should be dissolved by lawful Authority, and the Parties divorced each from the other, and never upon the severest Penalties be suffered to cohabit one with the other, tho' they profess themselves to be Man and Wife.

4. And it might be wished that the Minister who celebrated such an ungodly Marriage did feel the just Indignation of the Civil Magistrate, for the great Dishonour he hath done to God, and Mischief to the poor ignorant and well-meaning Persons, and for the Sin and Guilt he hath brought upon the Nation, and great Reproach upon his holy and honourable Calling.

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THE
ABSURDITY & FALSNESS
OF

Thomas Trion's
DOCTRINE

MANIFESTED, IN

Forbidding to Eat Flesh,

CONTRARY TO

The Command of GOD, the Example of
Angels, CHRIST JESUS, and the holy Apostles :

AND

Proved to be *Doctrine of Devils*, by the Testimony of
HOLY SCRIPTURES:

In a few Queries thereon, as laid down in his Books, —one In-
titled, *The Way to Health, long Life and Happiness* ;
the other, *The Way to make all People Rich* :

Subscribed *Phylotheos Physiologus*.

ALSO,

His great Errour in affirming, That *Killing the Creatures for Food, is from
the fierce Wrath of God, and Hellish Nature in Man, and a Fruit of Hell.*

AND,

The Lawfulness of Eating both *Flesh of Fowls and Fish, &c.* in the Fear of God, being
received with Thanksgiving, proved by Scripture, and the Example of Christ and his
Apostles.

TOGETHER WITH

Some Remarks on the Verses Printed as a *Preface* to his Book Entitled, *The Way to make
all People Rich, &c.* In which Verses it is said ;

*Not He that bore the Almighty Wand could give
Diviner Dictates how to Eat and Live.*

Than Thomas Trion.

John Feilde

London, Printed for Tho. Hawkins, in George-Yard, in Lumbard-street. 1685



TO the READER.

FRIEND,

T Hese ensuing lines or *Queries on some things in the Books intituled, the one, the Way to Health, long Life and Happines, subscribed, Philotheos, Philologus; the other, The Way to make all People rich, or Wisdom's Call, &c. by the same Author, which is generally reputed to be one Thomas Trion, a person I have no personal knowledge of, nor any acquaintance with, but by his Books: I find he is wholly against, and doth absolutely forbid the Eating of Flesh, thò he doth direct how to Roast, Boyl, Bake, Stew, Fry and Broyl it, &c. and also the Eating of Fish, and is against killing of any Creature whatsoever, let the pretence be what it will; and also in the last named Book there are Verses printed in his praise, which calls the Plowing the Earth, Ingratitude in Man.*

Now, first, I desire thou mayst do like the Noble Bereans, search the Scriptures, and see if these things are so or not; for in Gen. 2. 15. and Gen. 3. 25. thou mayst find Man was to dress or till the Earth, by Gods own direction, before the Fall; for dress is the same word with till, thò variously rendred.

Secondly, And then we read, Abel offered the Firstling, and was accepted; and Noah offered of every clean Beast and Fowl. And then Abraham the Father of the faithful, at the command of God, Gen. 15. 9. took an Heifer of three years old, and a She-Goat, and a Ram of the like age, and a Turtle-dove, and a young Pidgeon, and divided them in pieces: Tho killing (the pretence what it will) T. T. doth affirm from a true light and ground, as he saith, proceeds from the fierce Wrath of God, and is contrary to the friendly love and Light of God in Christ; yet I read God commanded both to kill and eat: See Exo. 12. to the 9. v. and all Israel did both kill and eat flesh, and Moses and Aaron, and Samuel eat flesh, see 1 Sam. 9. 24. And many Instances might be given of the holy Ancients; yea Christ and his Apostles eat flesh and fish; and therefore finding his Doctrin was wholly contrary to Scripture, and the practice of them mentioned before, and yet by some unstable People too far credited, I thought meet to make

To the Reader.

*the ensuing Queries, and write what I have. For I can truly say, It's not for Contention, nor to be seen in Print, or any sinister end, advantage or profit; but only to shew the folly, absurdity and inconsistency, and falseness of his Doctrine, and how contrary to Scripture and right Reason his Reasonings and Writings are, against killing any Creature or eating flesh and fish in Moderation, and the fear of God, and with Thanksgiving, which only is the Eating that I plead for; and I do believe that flesh and fish may and ought to be so eaten, and every Creature with thanksgiving ought to be receiv'd; for I am against Excess and Intemperance in Eating and Drinking, and Apparel, and all other things, and desire the good Exhortation of the Apostle might be more minded and practised, 1 Cor. 10. 31. Whether therefore you eat or drink, or whatsoever you do, do all to the glory of God: Yet I also judge all ought to be careful (and my Advice as a friend is, that they may) that under specious pretence of Temperance and Moderation, &c. they are not by a seducing Spirit led into the very Doctrine of Devils. There are several things in his Books I have took little notice of, as his Obscene discourse about Women, &c. which I judge not fit for many to read, neither to proceed from a true Light and ground, as his Phrase is: He also greatly applauds and extolls Musick, saying the Bag-pipes are an excellent Harmony for Shepherds to entertain their Flocks with, which saith T. T. Sheep much delight in, p. 655. But how he either knows or can prove it, I shall leave the Reader to judge; as also that the Organs sounds are full of Majesty, sweetness and gravity, and seem to be as much **Divine** as **Humane**; (but is it so to any fearing God, and guided by his Spirit?)*

And he saith Musick works upon the Minds and Passions of Men; but let him prove that it makes them better: for though he saith the Mental and Instrumental Harmony of David did assuage or mitigate, by awaking and strengthening its simile, and by its friendly Influences compose, and as it were by a sweet violence chase away Inequality, Discord and Enmity in Saul; yet the Scripture doth not so say, see 1 Sam. 16. 58. and the 18th Chapter, and Verse the 11th, it's said, Saul cast the Javelin, and said, I will smite David even to the wall with it: The Enmity was not so chased away it seems, though David did then play as at other times, but that Saul therein sought to

kill

To the Reader.

kill David: mark, Though he played, saith the Text, as at other times; from whence observe, whether the Musick had such powerful Influence as he doth assert, (or any at all) to chase away Enmity. And I desire that it may be considered, whether the Fruit of Hell, (which he calls Killing the Creatures) doth not help him to Guts to make Musick with, or Fiddle-strings: But if they dye of themselves, would he have the works of God so defaced, as to have their Guts pulled out for him to make Musick with? — Well, I have enlarged beyond my own Expectation, but shall now draw to a Conclusion; and I shall by the Manifestation of the Truth, commend my self herein to every Man's Conscience in the sight of God, desiring what I have writ be no further received by any, than it answers the Truth in them, and is agreeable to the Holy Scriptures. And remain,

Thy Friend,

John Field, Junior,

IF all those things were true T. T. doth say,
It seems like Day turn'd Night, not Night turn'd Day:
For if it sinful be on Flesh to feed,
Of Fish, or Fowl, or Beast, I pray what need
The Man to teach us how to roast and boyl?
Do'n't his Receipts his Doctrine give the Foyl?
One while he builds, then down he throws again;
Confused working of his rambling Brain!

No true Philosopher, no true Divine;
His Error's shews, his Light but dim doth shine:
He takes upon him many things to teach
He knows not of, they are beyond his reach;
For Holy Writ if Men read and believe,
T. Trion's Doctrine they should not receive;
'Cause in the Scriptures they may plainly find
Christ and th' Apostles of another mind:

The Son of God, whom all should hear and heed,
Eat Fish, and of the Paschal Lamb did feed :
And what is sold in Shambles Paul bids take,
And eat, not questioning for Conscience sake.
But Thomas Trion otherwise doth tell ;
Whence Springs false Doctrine, but from Pit of Hell ?
To forbid Marriage, and from Meats abstain,
Doctrine of Devils is, appeareth plain :
For whatsoever from without doth go
Into the Mouth, doth not defile, I know ;
But that which from the Heart proceeds within
Defiles the Man, as Envy, Pride, all Sin :
Yet Snakes and Fleas and Lice, which do annoy,
Can it be sinful such things to destroy ?

And will the sound of Bagg-pipes please the Sheep ;
Or Pastures green, where they may feed and sleep ?
Did Thomas e're dumb Creatures hear complain,
And speak as Balaam's Ass ? or did he feign
The Jack-daw's Story, and the many cries ?
They're either true, or else fictitious Lies.

Is catching Fish, or Fowls, or killing Deer,
To be accounted Wars and Blood-shed ? Here
I judge the Text the Preacher misapplies,
As those may see that will not shut their Eyes.

I rest, commending all to Truth Divine,
God's Grace and Light which in their Hearts doth shine ;
Which teacheth Man to eat and drink, and wear
What's lawful, sanctify'd by th' Word and Prayer.

B. A.

THE

THE
Absurdity and Fallness

OF

T. T. R I O N's Doctrine Manifest, &c.

In his BOOK

The Way to Health, &c. p. 513.

IT's said, "Let Man know this for a certain truth, that the groaning of that Creature that suffereth wrong, is the beginning of Pain and Torment to him that doth it.
Now, *Gen. 4. 4. Abel* (who *Christ, Mat. 23. 25.* called Righteous) brought of the Firstlings of the Flock, and of the Fat thereof, and the Lord had respect to his Offering.

From whence I Query,

1. Whether that Creature suffered wrong? 2. If so; Whether the Killing of the Firstling was the beginning of *Abel's* Pain and Torment? And in *p. 342. T. T. saith,* "There is greater Evil and Misery attends Mankind by killing and oppressing his fellow Creatures, and eating their Flesh, and that without distinction, than is generally apprehended, &c.

From whence I Query,

1. Whether Righteous *Abel* committed Evil in Killing the Firstling? 2. Whether the Firstling was his fellow Creature? And, 3. Whether every living Creature, as a Dog, a Cat, a Lamb, a Fish, &c. be Man's fellow Creature? And, 4. Whether *Abel* was an Oppressor for Killing the Firstling? And the aforesaid *342 p. T. T. saith,* "Had Man continued in the pure Law of God, and followed the voice and Dictates of the divine Principle which he was Created to live in, he would have been far from Oppressing, Killing and Eating the Flesh and Blood of Beasts.——

Que-

From whence I Query,

1. What Voice, Principle and Dictates did *Abel* follow when he killed the Firſtling, ſeeing the Scriptures ſay, *God had reſpect to Abel, and to his Offering*, and Chriſt calleth him *Righteous Abel*? And, 2. Could he be *Righteous*, and yet departed from the pure Law of God? and if not departed from the pure Law of God, (he would have been far from Oppreſſing and Killing, &c. ſaith *T. T.* And in 412 p. of the ſaid Book, *T. T.* ſaith, “ *Abel’s Blood cryed unto the Lord*; the very ſame “ is to be underſtood in all kinds of Oppreſſion both to Man and Beaſts; “ they all by a ſweet ſympathetical Operation call for Vengeance. And in p. 413. *T. T.* ſaith, “ Every violent Action and Oppreſſion, “ let it be little or much, or offer’d unto whatſoever Creatures, does “ as naturally and ſpiritually awaken in them and without them, the “ fierce Wrath of God and Nature, as the Blood of innocent *Abel* did “ cry, and awaken the Lord; whence *Cain’s* Judgment proceeded. And in p. 513, 514. he maketh the Beaſt ſay, “ We move the Prin- “ ciples of Nature by a certain ſympathetical Operation, which awa- “ kens the Wrath; and draws down Judgments on the Oppreſſor.

From whence I Query,

1. Seeing *T. T.* moſtly joyns Oppreſſing and Killing together, whether the Blood of the Firſtling or Lamb *Abel* killed, cryed to the Lord (as *Abel’s* did) (or by a ſympathetical Operation, as his term is) for Vengeance on *Righteous Abel*, whom *T. T.* acknowledgeth to be *Innocent*? And, 2. Whether Mans Killing of any Creature whatſoever, as any Beaſts, Fowl, Fiſh, Worm, Frog or Louſe, does awaken within and without them the fierce wrath of God and Nature, as the Blood of *Innocent Abel* did? And, 3. Whether the Lamb *Abel* killed, or Man’s killing any Creature whatſoever, did (or would ſo) move the Principles of Nature, &c. as to awaken the wrath, and draw down Judgments on *Righteous Abel*, or on any that ſhall Kill any Creature whatſoever without exception. Alſo the like may be queried of *Righteous Noah’s* Offering of every clean Beaſt and Fowl, *Gen. 8: 20.* and whether his Killing them were from the dark Root, and wrath, and doth awaken, &c. as aforeſaid. I alſo Query from what *T. T.* ſaith in the afore-recited Page 514, and 515.

1. Whether *Abel* and *Noah* proved diſobedient to the voice of *Wiſdom*, or kept to the Eſſential Law of God by (or in) Killing the Lamb, clean Beaſt, &c? 2. And whether *Abel* and *Noah* entred with their Deſires, not only into the Nature of the wild ſavage Beaſts of Prey, but awakened the fierce *Wrath*, and thereby deprived themſelves of

the divine understanding, and did invade the Rights and Priviledges of the inferiour Creatures by killing the Firstling, clean Beast, &c? 3. If so, whether God will not retaliate the wrong of the Lamb, clean Beast, &c. whose blood *Abel* and *Noah* shed, on Righteous *Abel* and *Noah*, that offered the same, or the Fat thereof? I also query the same of *Abrahams* killing the Lamb caught in the thicket? And in *T. T's* book, intituled, *The way to make all rich, or Wisdoms Call*, p. 45, 46. he saith, That Flesh and Fish cannot be eaten without violence, and doing that which a man would not be done unto, and making destruction of Gods Creatures;—All kind of Violence, whether towards our Kind, or inferiour Creatures, arises from the Awakened wrath in Nature, and that the same does by Simile excite the fierce, wrathful Principle in the man that kills and eats them, and renders him prompt and ready for any Acts of Cruelty or Oppression.

Now I read in *Luk. 24. 42, 43.* *And they gave him (that is Christ) a piece of broiled fish, and of an Honey-comb; and he took it and did eat before them.* Note, This was after his Crucifixion, and Resurrection.

From whence I Query,

1. Whether Christ Jesus did commit Violence?
2. Did he break that golden Rule he laid down, and do as he would not be done unto?
3. Did he make destruction of Gods Creatures?
4. Did his eating Fish arise from the awakened wrath in Nature in him?
5. Did the same by Simile excite the fierce, wrathful Principle (if I may, without Blasphemy so say) in Christ Jesus, after his Crucifixion and Resurrection, and render him prompt and ready for any Acts of Cruelty or Oppression?
6. Did the Disciples or the 9000 men, besides Women and Children, which all eat of the Loaves and Fishes at Christs command, commit violence, and do as they would not be done to? and did they make destruction of Gods Creatures? And was their eating Fish (at Christs command or direction) from the Awakened wrath in Nature? and did their eating by Simile excite the fierce wrathful Principle, and render them prompt and ready for any Acts of Cruelty or Oppression, as Murder, Blood-shed, and what not? And can any Christian believe, that ever Christ would have commanded such a great multitude (as we may read *Mat. 14. v. 17, 18, 19.* and *Chap. 15. v. 34, 35, 36, 37.*) to have eat Fish, &c. (and wrought such a Miracle as he did for them) if their Eating would have been of such ill consequence, as *T. T.* affirms the

Eating of fish is, and will produce? would ever Christ, who knew all things, have fed such a multitude with that which he knew would make them ready and prompt for any Acts of Cruelty or Oppression; when as he went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed? See *Acts* 10. 38. And would ever Christ have commanded such a Multitude, of whom the Text saith he *had Compassion*, to be fed with that which the eating of would be a breach of that great command he before had laid down, of doing as they would be done to? Or dare any besides *T. T.* affirm Christ commanded to do that at one time which before he had forbid?

Again, did the three Angels mentioned in the 18. of *Gen.* that eat the Flesh of the Fat Calf, thereby incorporate in them the Beastial, Savage and Sensual Properties, or the dull, Savage and brutish Nature, as *T. T.* speaks, p. 60. and 75. termed *Wisdoms call?* and did the same excite the fierce, wrathful Principle in them, and render the Angels prompt and ready for any Acts of Violence; seeing it's said in the 19th. *Chapt.* that *the Men laid hold on the hands of Lot, or pulled Lot into the House*, and did prevent the wicked *Sodomites* from doing Violence? Also I Query, Whether Christs eating the Passover (or Paschal Lamb) with his Disciples, did thereby Incorporate in him and them (if I may without Blasphemy so say) the Beastial, Savage and Sensual Properties, and Dull, Savage and Brutish Nature; and Excite in them as aforesaid?

And in the said Book call'd *Wisdoms call*, &c. p. 60. *T. T.* saith, "If man had kept his High, and Illustrious State of that Dominion, wherewith he was Invested with Dominion over the Creatures, he would have been far from killing them or eating their Flesh, nor have made his Body, which ought to have been the Temple of the Holy Spirit, a stinking Sepulcher, or common Burial place for the dead Bodies of Beasts, by which the noble faculties of the Soul come to be depraved, &c."

From whence I Query,

1. Whether Christ and his Apostles made their Bodies a stinking Sepulcher or common Burial place, when they eat flesh, or the Passover? See *Luke* 22. 14. and 15. and *Mat.* 26. 21. *Mark* 14. 16. and 18. 2. Whether Christ who never fell, and Redeems man out of the fall, did not keep his High and Illustrious State, and yet Eat Flesh, and Fish? 3. Whether a man being Redeemed out of the fall, by Christ who never fell, may not eat Flesh, without Incorporating in him the Beastial, Savage and Sensual Properties, and dull and brutish Nature,

or depraving the noble faculties of the Soul? Also whether Christ and his Disciples, by eating Flesh and Fish, did thereby deprave the noble faculties of their Souls?

And T. T. saith, in his *Way to Health*, page 345. "All kinds of violence, whether towards our own kind or upon Inferiour Creatures; and whether little or much, doth wholly arise from the awakened wrath of God in Nature, and from the very same Root proceedeth all backbiting, Envy, Strife, Rancour and Contention, &c. And when ever any man does hurt, oppresse, kill or speak evil of any other Creature, it proceeds from this Original Spring of Wrath.

Now in *Luke*, chap. 5. v. 4. Christ said, *Let down your Nets for a Draught*, and *vers. 7.* they filled both their Ships: And in *John 21.* it's said, That *Simon Peter* said to *Nathaniel of Gallilee* (of whom Christ said he was an *Israelite indeed, in whom there was no Guile;*) and to the two Sons of *Zebedee*, (of whom Christ said they should be Baptized with the same Baptism he was Baptized) to them said *Simon, I go a Fishing;* and *verse 5.* *Jesus saith to them, Children have you any Meat?* See also *Luk. 24. 41.* how he asked for Meat; and *verse 5.* *Jesus bid, cast the Net on the right side of the Ship and ye shall find,* &c. And they were not able for to draw it for the *Multitude of Fishes,* &c. and *verse 9.* they saw a fire of Coals and Fish thereon: and *verse 10.* *Jesus saith unto them, bring of the Fish which he have now caught;* and *vers. 11.* it's said there was 153. great Fishes.

Now I Query:

1. Whether the pulling of the two Ship-load of Fish out of the Sea their natural Element; and the one hundred fifty three great ones, the laying them on the Coals and eating of them, was little or much, or any kind of Violence, or did hurt or oppresse, or kill those Creatures?

2. And if so, whether the pulling them out of their Element, laying them on the Coals and eating of them, did proceed from the original Spring of wrath, or did wholly arise from the awakened wrath of God in Nature, and the same root Backbiting doth? And seeing T. T. saith, *Call to Wisdom*, so term'd, p. 65. "That the Kingdom of Satans Darknes, Wrath and Eternal Sorrow, does consist in Oppression, violence, killing and the like Enormities, which are Fruits of Hell, and their Original is from the Dark fountain of Wrath and Eternal Woe: And having said before, The killing of any Creatures proceeds from from the Spring of Wrath:

I Query,

1. Whether the Killing of the Fish, and laying them on the Coals, were

were Fruits of Hell; and whether their killing was from the Original Spring and Dark Fountain of wrath and eternal *Woe*? 2. Whether the killing (seeing it's said *any Creature*) of a Lamb, Gudgeon, Bird, Worm, Frog, Louse or Flea, or any other Creature, proceeds from the awakened Wrath of God in man, or the Original Spring of Wrath, and is a fruit of the Kingdom of Darkness and of Hell, and will produce eternal woe to them that do it? And whether *Abrahams* killing the Ram caught in the Thicket, did proceed from the Wrath of God, &c. and was a Fruit of Hell, &c. And seeing that *T. T.* saith, "Do no violence to any Inferiour Creatures, nor in no kind Oppress, hurry or kill them; nor eat the Blood or Flesh of Beasts, that so they may avoid the Incorporating of the Bestial, Savage, and Sensual Properties, p. 75. *Wisdoms call.*

1. Query: Whether the Viper mentioned *Acts* 28. 3. was not an Inferiour Creature; and if so, Whether *Paul* did in no kind hurry, oppress or kill that Creature, when he shook it off into the Fire, as in *verse* 6. And 2^{ly}, Whether his so doing was any Act of Violence, in any kind, and did wholly proceed from the Wrath of God in Nature, and the very same Root Backbiting doth, &c.? And seeing *T. T.* saith, as before, "Do no violence to *any* Inferiour Creatures, nor in *no* kind oppress, hurry or Kill them. I Query:

1. Why then doth *T. T.* give nine Receipts, or prescribe nine several ways how to kill Buggs and Fleas? Or doth *T. T.* account them no kind of Inferiour Creatures? If so, let him prove it: but if otherwise, why doth *T. T.* direct to that which cannot be done, without Acting from the Spring of Wrath? and will not the killing of them, if Creatures, be some kind of Violence? And therein, and in killing (without distinction) consists (saith he) the Kingdom of Satan and Wrath; and killing, and the like Enormities, says he, are the Fruits of Hell; for killing of *any* Creature, saith he, proceeds from the Original Spring of wrath, and in wrath doth Satans Kingdom stand: Why then, say I, doth he direct People, and teach them how they shall bring forth the Fruits of Hell? doth the holy Scriptures or right Reason enjoyn to this?

And seeing in his *Call to Wisdom*, so termed, &c. p. 68. *T. T.* saith, "I am far from the Vanity or rather *Wickedness* of desiring to Start or promote any new Sect or Party, and have no Ambition, to impose my own Dictates on any, further than Holy Scriptures and right Reason enjoyn.

From whence I Query,

1. Where doth the Holy Scriptures say, "If man had kept or continued in the pure Law of God, and followed the voice and dictates of the Divine Principle, &c. he would have been far from killing or eating the Flesh of the Beasts?"
2. Where doth the Scripture say, "That the Blood of Beasts, when they are killed by a sweet sympathetical Operation calls for vengeance, as *Abels* Blood cryed to the Lord?"
3. Where doth the Scripture say, "Every violent Action and Oppression, let it be little or much, or offered unto whatsoever Creature, does as naturally and spiritually awaken in them and without them, the fierce wrath of God and Nature, as the Blood of Innocent *Abel* did cry and awaken the Lord, whence *Cains* Judgments did proceed?"
4. Where doth the Scripture say, "The Beasts move the Principle of Nature, by a certain sympathetical Operation, which awakens the wrath, and draws down Judgments on the Oppressors?"
5. Where doth the Scripture say, "That Flesh and Fish cannot be eaten without violence, and doing that which a man would not be done unto, and making destruction of Gods Creatures?"
6. Where doth the holy Scriptures say, "All kind of violence, whether towards our Kind, or upon Inferiour Creatures, arises from the awakened wrath in Nature, and that the same doth by *Simile* excite the fierce wrathful Principle, in the man that kills and eats them; and renders him prompt for any Acts of Cruelty or Oppression?"
7. Where doth the Holy Scripture say, "If man had kept his high and illustrious State of that Dominion over the Creatures, he would have been far from killing them, or eating their Flesh; nor have made his Body, which ought to have been the Temple of the Holy Spirit, a Stinking Sepulcher, or common Burial-place, for the Dead Bodies of Beasts? Or where doth it say, that the Noble Faculties of the Soul come to be depraved thereby?"
8. Where doth the Holy Scripture say, "When ever any man does hurt, oppress, kill, or speak evil of any other Creature, it proceeds from this Original Spring of Wrath?"
9. Where doth Holy Scripture say, "Do no Violence to any Inferiour Creature; nor in no kind hurry, oppress or kill them, nor eat the Blood or Flesh of Beasts; that so they may avoid the Incorporating of the Bestial Savage and Sensual Properties?"
10. Where doth the Holy Scriptures say, "The greatest excellency,

lency, and common virtue of mens eating much Flesh and Fish, is, That it makes them Surly, Robustick, Sordid, and of cruel inhumane Dispositions and Inclinations; it being the most proper for Souldiers, Hunters, Moss-Troopers, and all such as would have the Bestial, Savage Nature strengthen'd and encreased; and have a mind to be Lyons and Devils, not only to their own Kind, but to all other Creatures?

And now I shall proceed to give a few Instances out of the Holy Scriptures about eating of Flesh, &c.

The Holy Scriptures Doctrine.

Gen. 9. 1, 2, 3. *And God blessed Noah and his Sons, and said unto them, Be fruitfull and multiply and replenish the Earth: And the fear of you, and the dread of you shall be upon every Beast of the Earth, and upon every fowl of the Air, and upon the fishes of the Sea, into your hands are they delivered; every Moving Thing that liveth, shall be Meat for you, &c.*

And 1 Cor. 10. 25, 26, 27. *Whatsoever is sold in the Shambles, Eat, making no question for Conscience sake; for the Earth is the Lords, and the fullness thereof; and if any of them that believe not, bid you to a Feast, and ye be disposed to go; whatsoever is set before you, eat, asking no question for Conscience sake.*

And 1 Timothy 4. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, That in the latter times some shall depart from the Faith, giving heed to seducing Spirits, and Doctrines of Devils, speaking Lyes in hypocrisy; having their Consciences seared as with an hot Iron; forbidding to Marry, and Commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath Created to be received with Thanksgiving of them which believe and know the Truth: for every Creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with Thanksgiving, for it's sanctified by the Word of God and Prayer.*

And now I shall collect some of T. T's Doctrine, that the Reader may see, read, hear, try, Judge of both, and which is moit according to Truth: Also whether his Doctrine or Dictates be according to what the Holy Scripture or right Reason enjoys.

T. Tryons Doctrine.

“ Do not eat the Flesh of Beasts; it's neither necessary nor expedient, Flesh and Fish cannot be eaten without violence, and doing
“ that

“ that which a man would not be done unto; and violence is a
 “ Fruit of Hell, and its original Spring is from the dark Fountain
 “ of Wrath and Eternal Woe, and from the eating of Flesh, &c. Many
 “ Evils and Mischiefs proceed, it Excites the fierce wrathful Principle,
 “ and renders man prompt and ready for any Acts of Cruelty or oppres-
 “ sion: And the greatest virtue of mens eating much Flesh, and Fish,
 “ is, that it makes them *Surly, Robustick, Sordid*, and of cruel inhumane
 “ Dispositions and Inclinations; it being the most proper for *Souldiers,*
 “ *Hunters, Moss-Troopers,* and all such as would have the bestial fa-
 “ vage nature strengthened and encreased, and have a mind to be *Lyons*
 “ and *Devils*; not only to their own kind, but all other Creatures.
 “ p. 339. Had man kept his High and Illustrious state, he would have
 “ been far from eating the Creatures Flesh, nor have made his Body,
 “ which ought to have been the Temple of the Holy Spirit, a stink-
 “ ing Sepulcher or common Burial-place for the dead Bodies of Beasts,
 “ and so avoid the Incorporating of the Beasts Savage and Sensual Pro-
 “ perties, and depraving the noble faculties of the Soul, &c. With
 “ more that might be collected. But take this in brief, and observe
 the Difference betwixt his Doctrine and the Scriptures.

A few Comparisons of the Scripture and Tryons Doctrine, and a
 short Animadversion thereon.

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| <p>☞ God saith, <i>Every moving thing shall be Meat for you, &c.</i></p> | <p>☞ Tryon saith, <i>Do not eat the Flesh of Beasts; Flesh and Fish cannot be eaten without violence, &c. Many evils attends the eating of Flesh, &c. So T. T. contradicts God.</i></p> |
| <p>☞ Christ saith, <i>Whatsoever thing from without entereth into the Man, it cannot defile him, and the Reason he gives, is, because it entereth not into his Heart.</i></p> | <p>☞ Tryon saith, <i>Eating of much Flesh and Fish makes surly, or sordid, and is most proper for them that have a mind to be Lyons or Devils; and if their eating makes them such, sure it defiles, and so he contradicts Christ.</i></p> |
| <p>☞ Paul saith, <i>Whatsoever is sold in the Shambles eat, &c.</i></p> | <p>☞ Tryon saith, <i>Do not eat Flesh; or what's sold in the Shambles, in effect, and so contradicts Paul as well as God and Christ.</i></p> |

A N I M A D V E R S I O N.

Now observe, God hath said, *Every moving thing shall be Meat for you.*

And Christ saith, *Whatsoever goeth into a man defiles him not, &c.*

And Paul saith, *Whatsoever is sold in the Shambles, eat, &c.*

“ And Tryon forbids the eating Flesh, and saith, that Fish and Flesh cannot be eaten without violence; and in effect saith, it defiles the Body, and depraves the faculties of the Soul; and that many Evils proceed from thence. But I shall rather believe God and the Scriptures, and follow Christs Example and his Apostles, than believe *T. T.* or follow his example, contrary to Gods saying, Angels, Christ and his Apostles Example. But *the Spirit speaketh expressly that in the latter times some shall depart from the Faith, giving heed to seducing Spirits, &c.*

From whence I Query:

1. Whether *Tho. Tryon*, (if he ever knew or was in the true Faith, which stands in Jesus the Author of Eternal Salvation to all them that believe) is not departed from the Faith, and is led by a seducing Spirit, thus to write?

2. Whether he, and all they have not given heed to seducing Spirits and Doctrines of Devils, speaking lyes, &c. that forbid the eating of Meat, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving?

And now Observe,

1. *Meat, or every Creature of God* is to be received; that's positive; but how? Why, with thanksgiving: of whom? *Ans.* Of them that believe and know the Truth, (and the eating of it cannot defile the man, saith Christ:) Wherefore? *Ans.* Its sanctified, &c. So that it's clear by the afore recited Scriptures and right Reason, that every Creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused; *If*, mind the condition, *if it be received with thanksgiving*: So that this makes void that notion or conceit that *T. T.* seems to have, That the Creatures were made for mans Admiration, and in no wise to be killed: when in *p. 63.* of his *Way to make all Rich, &c.* he saith, “ Remember, O Vain man, that the “ All-wise Creator formed all those Myriads of Creatures for his Glory “ and thy Admiration, and not that thou shouldest therewith pamper “ thy Lust. To which I say, Tho a man is not to spend any Green Herb,

Herb, the Fruit of any Tree, or any Beast of the Earth, Fowl of the Air, or Fish of the Sea in excess, and to pamper his ungodly Lusts; yet I Query, Whether he may not receive or eat any of them in temperance, moderation and the fear of God, and with thanksgiving? And also, whether mans so eating and drinking, is not to the Glory of God, and according to the Apostles Exhortation, 1 Cor. 10. 31? Seeing also Christ saith, Mat. 15. 11. *Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth, but that which goeth out of the mouth, this defileth a man:* and Mark 7. 18. *Jesus saith unto them, (that is, his Disciples) Are ye yet without understanding also? Do ye not perceive, that whatsoever thing from without entreth into the man, it cannot defile him, because it entreth not into his heart, but into the belly; and goeth out into the Draught, purging all meats?* And he saith, *That which cometh out of a man defileth a man:* See also Mat. 15. 17, 18, 19. verses; also Mark 7. 21, 22, 23. *For out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, Murthers, Adulteries, Fornications, Theft, False-witness, Blasphemies; these are the things that defile a man; but to eat with unwashen hands defileth not a man:* Nor that Meat which entreth into him, being received as before.

Now having Collected some Sayings of God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, and Scriptures, concerning the Eating of Flesh and Fish; shewing how that both Christ Jesus, Angels of God, and the Holy Apostles, eat Flesh:

Now I desire my foregoing Queries may he answered (if at all) in the words of Scripture, or such the Holy Ghost teacheth; as I desire also these following Queries may: Which is,

First, Whether any that truly believe in God, and Christ Jesus, and the holy Spirit; can be thereby led to affirm, that the Eating Meat, Fish or Flesh, in moderation, in the fear of God, and with Thanksgiving, is sinful and unlawful in any Case whatsoever?

Secondly, Whether all them that Command, Teach or forbid to abstain from all Flesh or Meat, as being so principled, and judge the eating thereof in any wise evil, sinful, unlawful, and contrary to a pure Conscience; do not thereby bespeak their own Consciences to be seared therein, and departed from the Truth, and manifest their ignorance of God, Christ, the Holy Spirit and Scriptures of Truth, in a very large manner?

And now T. T. further saith, p. 350. *There is no Creature in the world,*

world, that has any desire to eat flesh, &c. except those in whom the fierce, wrathful, Savage Nature does predominate.

Now Observe :

He either saith true or false; if true, he hath brought a Judgment over all them living, that desire to eat Flesh, (though it be in temperance, moderation and the Fear of God, and with Thanksgiving) "As being such, in whom, as his Phrase is, the fierce, wrathful, Savage Nature predominates; and in the said page he saith, So now he is, and does exceed in uncleanness, and Cruelty the worst of Beasts, as much as a Sparrow-hawk exceeds a Titmouse; and what he saith are fruits of such in whom the Hellish Principle sway, see 403. To wit, Backbiting, Hatred, &c. and working all sorts of Impiety. So he hath at once Unchristianed (as much as he can) all *Christendom*, and every sort of People therein, how pious, virtuous and temperate soever they are, if they desire to eat Flesh, (though in moderation, the Fear of God, and with Thanksgiving, for he makes no exception) they cease to be Christians, and come under the Government of the wrathful Nature, or Hellish Principle. *O Monstrum Horrendum!* And in p. 368. he saith, "Flesh cannot be procured, without oppressing the way of God in Nature, and causing the Creatures to sigh and groan, and cry to be delivered into the Glorious Liberty of the Sons of God; and this keeps the fierce wrath in motion, and causeth it to break forth upon them in many and great Calamities. But pray where doth the Scripture so say? or that Lambs, Sheep, Calves, Oxen, cry to be delivered into the Glorious Liberty of the Sons of God? and what are the Calamities that are brought on man, only for killing for necessary Food, &c.? So much for eating of Flesh. Now hear what he saith about Killing, in page 402. of the said Book, Intituled, *The way to Health, &c.*

"Touching all fighting, oppressing and killing, let it be little or much, and the pretence what it will, [Mark, *what it will, though for food &c.*] "We affirm from a true light and ground, that the same do arise and proceed from the fierce wrath of God, and from the Devilish Hellish Nature in man; which is contrary to the Friendly Love and Light of God in Jesus Christ, as the Night is to the Day.

Now Observe:

So all Butchers, Poulterers, Fisher-men, and all that kill, &c. let the pretence be what it will, or the Creature what it will that's killed; for there's no exception made: *T. T.* saith, We affirm as aforesaid. But pray who must make up the *We?* can *T. T.* produce any

any other of that mind but himself; from a True light, &c? But what is that he calls so? Doth he not put Light for Darknes? And what *Scripture* proof, or sound Reason shall we have, that killing a Lamb, &c. is contrary to the Light of God in Christ, as the Night is to the Day; and that none that so do, can be true Christians, or Sons or Daughters of God, or led by his Spirit? though they live both soberly, honestly, and godly, (as I in Charity believe) many Butchers and Fisher-men do; yet if they kill, let the pretence be what it will, as for Food, &c. their so doing is contrary to the Love and Light of God in Christ, saith T. T. And then sure they do not walk in the Light, that act contrary to it: and *John* saith, *The Nations of them which are saved, shall walk in the Light of the Lamb*, which is Christ Jesus: So the consequence of his Doctrine is, No Butchers, Fisher-men, or Poulterers, such that any kind, and for any pretence kill, can be saved; unless they leave their killing Occupations and practice therein: And how many Maid Servants then, if this were true, when they go to dress Flounders, Grigs, which are often alive, or kill Chickens, &c. act contrary to the friendly Love and Light of God in Christ; but what Scripture-proof and sound Reason can he give for the same? or doth he think his Affirmation, or confident Say-so, ushered in with a *We*, as he often doth, must go for proof? And seeing he saith (as I shewed before) "That he is far from the vanity, or rather wickedness, of desiring
 "to start or promote any new Sect or Party, and hath no ambition to impose his own Dictates on any, further than holy Scripture and right Reason enjoyns: Let's have a proof to shew, right Reason and the holy Scriptures enjoyns people not to kill a Lamb, or a Chicken, nor to eat in moderation, and in the Fear of God, and receive them with Thanksgiving: and let T. T. prove, that his Affirmation is from a true light and ground; and demonstrate the light and ground *such* by holy Scripture and right Reason. Again observe, according to his Doctrine, all that die in this savage, brutish state, in which he concludes them that desire to eat Flesh, or that kill little or much, and the pretence what it will, (if for food, &c.) shall in the Resurrection, saith he p. 444. "Be invested with
 "a new body, attract such matter out of all things, as their Spirits are capable of, and have a *Simile* with, and so appear in
 "Forms *Hideous*, *Frightful* and *Loathsome*. But where doth the Scripture so say, or speak of being Cloathed with Hellish shapes in the next World? And in p. 445. see what comparisons he makes

makes about eating Flesh, and killing the Beast, tho' for Food; and he there saith, "In a word, there is nothing that is pleasant or friendly in the whole Business, nor any one Circumstance that is grateful to the innocent Principle in Man. So the Killing the Creatures for Food, and eating of them as the Scripture directs, he saith, is ungrateful to the innocent Principle, or Love and Light of God in Christ, (as his Phrase is) as the Night is to the Day.

Now seeing according to *T. T.*'s Doctrine, no Creature can be Killed, but by them in whom the wrathful Nature is predominate, &c. and that Killing is a Fruit of Hell; and such that live and dye in the savage brutish State, are like to be cloathed with hellish shapes in the Resurrection, or next World: And seeing he in the *Cow's* and *Oxen's Complaint*, makes them say to cruel and hard-hearted Man, (as he phrases it) who he makes the Beasts call, a Destroyer, a Killer, a daily Practicer of Cruelty, &c. in p. 496. And in p. 501. he maketh them say of Man, "How they are beat without Pity or Humanity; and at last; "when we are able to do their Drudgery no longer, they being not "yet satisfied with our Labours, will fatten us up for the Slaught- "ter, and feast themselves with our Carcasses, and accommodate them- "selves with our Skins for Leather, to make them Shoes, Boots, and "other Necessaries..

Now I Query, Whether *T. T.* doth not so accommodate himself; and wear Shoes and Boots made of their Skins? and whether he hath not several Necessaries made thereof, and of the Skins of other Creatures? And whether he doth not wear the Skins of the innocent Sheep and Lambs, or of Calves, over his Skin, to keep his hands warm in Winter, and from the scorching heat in Summer, and his feet from the wet Dirt, and hard Stones? And whether he doth not Trade, Merchandize, or deal in the Skins of Beasts, and get Gain and Money by the same, tho' slain by the wrathful Nature, (as he saith,) which is a Fruit of Hell? And whether his so doing, as aforesaid, is from the friendly Principle of Love? Or whether he is not guilty of that he makes the Beasts complain of? And whether the Beasts will not send up their Complaints against him in a silent Eloquence to Heaven? From whence can he expect any Return, but Showers of Judgments upon his Head, (as he makes the Beast say in p. 503.) for his wearing their Skins, &c. And what shape must he have in the other World for so accommodating himself, and trading in their Skins?

But

But to draw to a Conclusion, and to pass by many things that I have forbore speaking to, I shall now take Notice of one Passage more in his *Way to Health, &c.* (as he calls it,) p. 669, or last Page, it being, he saith, the scope of his whole Treatise: *Viz.*

“It is highly necessary for every one to study the Knowledge of
 “*himself*, that he may understand the differences of Spirits, and from
 “what Fountain or Property every Thought, Word and Work does
 “proceed; and to recommend and promote such self-study and Heart-
 “knowledge, is the scope of this whole Treatise.

Now how far *T. T.* hath answered that which he saith is the whole scope of his Treatise, I shall leave to those who by reason of use, have their Senses exercised to discern both good and evil: Only I desire all may truly and duly weigh, and seriously consider of his Doctrine, (which I have in some measure collected, and made some few Queries on;) that so none may any further receive his Doctrine, than it answers unto the Truth, that's one in all; and the holy Spirit of God, (a measure of which is given to every one to profit with) and is agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, which are able to *make the man of God wise unto Salvation, through Faith which is in Christ Jesus*, and were written by holy Men of God, as they were moved by the Holy Ghost; which Holy Ghost or Spirit, God in these Gospel-dayes hath *poured forth* according to his Promise, *Joel 2: upon all Flesh*; with which therefore every one that comes to have their minds truly exercised towards God, do and may discern from what Fountain *T. T.*'s words and works proceeds, and see the Difference of the true Spirit and the false; tho' the false may, as it mostly hath, many fair Pretences, and Fig-leave like Coverings, such that will soon fail, and prove too narrow; for they are like the Covering of those Rebellious Children that *took Counsel, and not of the Lord*; see *Isaiah 30. 1.* And tho' they who are guided by this false Spirit, may, and often do, (like the Doctors by their bitter Pills, gild them over, that they may be the easier taken;) so *T. T.* under a specious pretence of Temperance, and calling her the *Offspring of Heaven*, and twenty plausible Names; may thereby, and his fair Speeches, deceive the Hearts of the simple; and such that are lyable to be *tossed with every wind of Doctrine*. But those that have received the *true Anointing*, and keep thereto, need not go to *T. T.* to learn Piety, Temperance, Moderation, &c. for the same *Anointing* which they have received, is able to teach them both how to Eat and Drink; even

even to the Glory of God; and to be sober, temperate, tender, compassionate, and merciful even to the Beasts; and *hath so taught many* before his Book was extant: In a word, it *teacheth them* (that keep to it) *all things*, as the Apostle said to the Believers, 1 Joh. 2. 27. *The Anointing which ye have received of him, abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you, but as the same Anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no Lie; and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him: And blessed are they that so do, that is, abide in him, even as he hath taught them: and those will never follow the idle Conceits and vain Imaginations of T. T. who manifests himself not to be taught by the Anointing, in forbidding the Eating of Flesh, &c. and is therein out of the Practice and Doctrine of Christ and his Holy Apostles, and goes contrary to the Testimony of the Holy Scriptures: But let every one consider this, especially such that under a pretence of Conscience, and being led thereto by the Spirit; eat no Flesh, and command to abstain from Meats, Whether the Spirit of God doth lead into that which is wholly inconsistent with, and contrary to the holy Scriptures of Truth; and what the holy Ancients, Christ Jesus, and his Apostles and Followers practised. T. T. saith also, "It is highly necessary for every one to study the Knowledge of himself; and to recommend and promote such self-study and Heart-Knowledge, is the scope of his whole Treatise: But pray what Relation to the Knowledge of a man's self, and the true heart-saving Knowledge of God, which is Eternal Life, is the Discourses of Beasts, and their Diseases; and what Virtues and Vices they are subject to; and of Mangie Diseases, the Complexion of Oxen, and other Beasts; the Excellency of Butter, Cheese, and Milk-Pottage, and the proper and most natural way of boiling, roasting, baking, stewing, frying and broiling that, which (if T. T. saith true) he that rightly knows himself, and is under the friendly Principle of Love and Light, cannot desire to eat, to wit Flesh; and when they may eat it with least danger; (whenas they could not eat it at all, saith he, if the fierce wrathful Nature did not predominate)? Again, he tells of Cloathing Horses, and Beds; of Plumb-Cakes, Bread-Puddings, and Mince-Pyes; of Women, their Nature, Complexions, and Intemperances; the Astrological gathering of Herbs, the Deceitfulness of Doctors, their Bills: Of Bugs; and from what Matter or Aliment they do proceed; how to kill them: Of Pain in the Teeth, and how to cure Wounds: These, I believe, and forty such like stories, is the Scope of his Book; and yet he saith, the Scope of his whole Book, or Treatise, is to promote self and Heart-knowledge: But whether it be any more than his empty Say so, I shall leave*

leave the truly wise to judge, that have or may see or read his Book : Also, if it is not rather his Scope, or Tendency of his Book, to beget unstable People into Whimsies and Conceits, and to draw their Minds and Hearts by his windy empty Doctrine and Fopperies, from that Inspiration of the Almighty that will give them Understanding, and the Knowledge of themselves, and of God, and Christ ; the most excellentest Knowledge, the most pure, sound and solid Knowledge, that which doth not puff up, nor make any, like Fools, wise in their own Conceits : They that have this Knowledge, and are endued therewith, they will *For sake the foolish, and live, and go in the way of Understanding* ; as saith Solomon, *Prov. 9. 6.* which is the way Wisdom leads in, who saith, *I lead in the way of Righteousness, and in the midst of the Paths of Judgment* : And they that follow her here, and judge down all idle and vain Imaginations with the Spirit of Wisdom, and love her, them she will cause to *inherit Substance*, and will *fill their Treasures*. And this is the Wisdom which is profitable to direct, and is *justified of her Children* : And tho' Death, and they that are therein may speak of the Fame thereof, yet they are ignorant of her ; for it's the *Righteous the Lord layeth up sound Wisdom for, and he is a Buckler to them that walk uprightly* : *He keepeth the paths of Judgment, and preserveth the way of his Saints* : and tho' the *Simple inherit Folly*, yet the *Prudent are Crowned with Knowledge*, which the *Fear of the Lord is the Beginning of* : Therefore blessed are they that are come thereto, and that live therein : The Scriptures abound with the Promise of Blessings on such ; and, *that man that feareth the Lord, him will the Lord lead in the way that he shall choose* : And, *his Soul shall be at ease, and his Seed shall inherit the Earth* : And these will refrain their feet from every evil way, that they may keep Gods Word, and will not be led away into vain Conceits, and whimsical Imaginations, like them that know not God, Christ Jesus, the Holy Spirit, nor Scriptures of Truth ; but are like them Christ spoke to, saying, *Ye Err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God*, Mat. 22. 29. As it may be truly said of T. T's. Doctrine, which is against killing the Creatures, and Eating their flesh, &c. of which it may be said as followeth.

See Exod. 12. *What God to Man Commandment gave to doe,*
 1. 2, 3, 4. *Proceeds from Wrath, and from Eternal Woe,*
 5, 6. *If Trion we believe; for he doth tell,*
To kill a Lamb, it is a fruit of Hell:
Eat not the flesh of Fish, nor Beast, saith he,
For that an Act of Violence will be.
 Luk. 24. 42, 43. *But Christ eat both, in Holy Writ we read;*
 & 22. 14, 15. *Trion's forbidding then, let no man heed.*
 Matth. 26. 21.

'Tis God to man divine Dictates doth give,
 And teach him, how to Eat, and how to Live,
 1 Joh. 2. 20, 27. *By that which comes from Christ, the Unction true,*
Receiv'd within, which all things plain will shew:

2 Tim. 4. 3. *Bless'd is the man that doth its teachings keep,*
He ne'r such Teachers to himself will heap,
 1 Tim. 4. 1, 2, *That doth command from Meats for to abstain,*
 3, 4. *And from what God ordained to refrain;*
Which with Thanksgiving all ought to receive
That know the Truth, and in the Truth believe.

What's then the Cause? and what's the Reason why,
 Eating of Flesh he doth so much decry?
 The Reason's plain, the matter lieth here,
 Because he wants an understanding clear;
 1 Tim. 2. 1, *Which that he may obtain, to God I pray,*
 2, 3. *That he may know the Truth, and it obey.*

And he that seeks for Truth, and doth it find,
 Eph. 4. 14, 15. *Should in it daily exercise his mind,*
And not be tosd, and hurried to and fro
With every wind of Doctrine that doth blow;
 Matth. 3. 12. *But like the Wheat, that weighty is and found,*
 Luke 3. 17. *Should in Christ's Garner day by day be found;*
And live, and walk and keep in him that's true,
And to such idle Fictions bid adieu.

And now I query of T. T. about the Verses printed and prefixed before his Book, intituled, *The way to make all people Rich, &c.* made, as it's said,

said, on the Author of that Excellent and Learned Book, Entitled,
The Way to Health, long Life and Happiness.

1. It's said thus;—*E're that Ingratitude in Man was found,
His Mother Earth with Iron Plows to wound.*

Now I Query, Whether *T. T.* accounts it Ingratitude in Man, and a wounding of the Earth, to Plow, Dress or Till the Earth; seeing God both before and after the Fall, gave Man Direction so to do, and put him into the Garden for that end? See *Gen. 2. 15.* and 3. 23.

2. Is the *Way to make all People Rich*, to leave off Plowing, &c?
3. If the Earth is not plowed, or wounded, (as the Phrase is) how shall we have Corn to make Bread, or Water-Gruel?

Again it's said;—*When unconfin'd, the spacious Plains produc'd
What Nature crav'd, and more than Nature us'd.*

Query. Did the Plains, without Plowing or Tilling, produce what Nature craved, and more than Nature used; as Bread-Corn, Oats, &c?
Again;—*What are the Plagues that o're this Nation reign,
That has so many threescore thousands slain?*

Is it the eating Flesh and Fish in Moderation, and in the Fear of God, and with Thanksgiving, and the killing them for that end? are these the Plagues that reign over this Island, that have slain so many threescore thousands.

Again,—*Till * You, the saving Angel whose blest Hand
Has sheath'd the Sword that threaten'd half the Land.* * That's *Tb. Tryon.*

Query. Is *T. Trion* this saving Angel? And will he own that his Hand is blest, and hath sheathed the Sword that threatened half the Land? If not, why did he suffer these things to be printed of him?

Again the Verses go on, praising him thus:
*More than a Parent, Sir, we you must own;
They give long Life, but you prolong it on.*

Query 1. What! will *T. T.* own he is more than a Parent? And who are the *We* that must so own him?

2. Doth *T. T.* prolong Life on?

Again;—** You an Innocent Power with Heaven do shew,
Give us long Life, and lasting Vertue too.* * That is *Tho. Trion.*

Query 1. What is the innocent Power *T. T.* shews with Heaven? And who must say, Give us long Life, and lasting Vertue too? And to whom must they so say? to *T. T.*?

Again;—*Such were the Mighty Patriarchs of old,
Who God in all his Glory did behold.*

Query. Is *T. T.* such as the Mighty Patriarchs were, who beheld God in all his Glory? And hath *T. T.* so beheld him?

* *Trion.* Again;—*Inspir'd like * You, they Heaven's Instructions show'd,*
And were as Gods amidst the wondering Crowd.

Query. Is *T. T.* Inspired like the Mighty Patriarchs of old? And hath he shewed Heaven's Instructions like them? And is he as a God Among the wondering Crowd?

Again;—*Not he that bore th' Almighty Wand could give:*
Diviner Dictates how to Eat and Live.

Query *E.* Who was this that bore the *Almighty Wand*, and that could not give *Diviner Dictates* than *T. T.* how to Eat and Live?

2. Can *T. T.* admit of such matters to be printed in his praise? It seems he hath.

Postscript.

THere is another Book by the same Author, or *Thomas Trion*, Entitled, *The Country-man's Companion*, &c. Subscribed, *Philotheus Physiologus*; and said to be printed and sold by *Andrew Sowle*, &c. which, I conceive, hath been a great means to promote the Sale of his Books; as a good Name many times helps off with that which is not really good; and a smart or smooth Title sometimes makes a Book sell, when the Matter or Subject is scarce worth reading: And I have good ground in Charity to think, that had *A. S.* seen, and been truly sensible of *T. Trion's* Errours and Absurdities, and ill tendency of his Books, he would not have printed and expofed them as he did: As also of his Reflections upon the Christians

Itians in his feigned or fictitious Complaint of the Birds to their Creator; particularly against the People called Christians, lately settled in several Provinces in *America*; who he charges with bringing Engines of War, Cruelty and Blood-shed; as *Guns, Swords, Powder, &c.* And in p. 143. and 144. of the abovesaid Book, where he makes them say, or rather feigns their saying, — Thus :

[“ We are more especially astonish’d, to meet with these Usages from those that call themselves Christians; who of late years have found out, and settled themselves in the Regions and Countries of *America*, where before their Arrival we lived in a very great degree of Freedom and Security : But now by this new Neighbourhood of those from whose Profession we might promise our selves nothing but Love and good Will, our Condition is much alter’d for the worse; our Danger and Destruction is daily encreas’d, and to kill and murder us is become an Occupation and a Trade; for which purpose these *Peaceable Christians*, as they would be counted, have brought with them all kinds of Snares, and Engines of War and Violence, which never had before been seen, nor their frightful hellish noises heard in our Coasts. Now how absurd is it for those who fly from Violence in one place, to begin it themselves on the innocent in those places where they take shelter? How much below the Dignity of a Man are those Cruel and insidious Practices? How foreign from, and contrary to the Doctrine of that Christianity which you profess? where it’s expressly declared, that *Who-soever useth the Sword, shall perish by it* : That is to say, He that by any kind of Violence doth awaken the Center of Wrath in himself, shall be precipitated into it. And therefore your most holy Prophet, the *first-born of the Sons of God, &c.* saith, *My Kingdom is not of this World, for then would my Servants fight* : That is, My Kingdom, and that State whereunto I bring my Disciples, does not consist in Wrath, Violence or Oppression, &c. Thus far *T. T. or Philotheos Physiologus.*

Now pray let me Query, Whether he doth not reflect upon the peaceable Christians therein?

1. In saying, “ Those that call themselves Christians.
2. Whether he doth not thereby suggest they are not Christians in Truth and Reality?
3. In saying, “ Those from whose Profession we might promise our

“ selves nothing but Love and good Will; whether he doth not thereby render them void of both to their new Neighbour-hood (as his Phrase is) ?

4. Doth he not render them Destroyers and Murtherers; and such that make an Occupation thereof? “ For which purpose, saith he, “ these *peaceable Christians*; as they would be counted; [mark,] as they would be counted.

5. Doth he not hereby, as before, plainly demonstrate, that he doth not so account them; or that they are not such as accounted? For indeed, according to his Principle and Doctrin, they are *Murderers*; and the Scripture saith, *No Murderer hath Eternal Life abiding in him*: Neither can enter into God’s Kingdom as *such*; neither indeed can be a Christian while *so*.

6. According to his Account they commit Violence, which is a Fruit of Hell, saith he: They kill also; and that he affirms proceeds from the fierce Wrath of God, &c. and is contrary to the Love and Light of God in Jesus Christ, as the Night is to the Day, (tho’ but a Fish or Bird; &c.) and therefore it will follow, such that act so contrary to the Love and Light of God in Christ, can’t be Christians while they so do. And,

7. He goeth on in his Complaint, saying, “ They (that is, these “ *peaceable Christians*, as they would be counted) have brought with “ them *all* kind of Snares and Engines of War and Violence, &c. That is, to catch and kill Birds, &c. for necessary Food.

Note, and then he saith, “ How absurd is it for those that fly from “ Violence in one place? [mark,] he here renders them as such that fly from Violence.

8. He charges them with “ Beginning it on the Innocent in those “ places where they take shelter. How much below the Dignity of “ a Man are those cruel and insidious Practices! saith he; how for- “ reign from, and contrary to the Doctrin of that Christianity which “ you profess! where it is expressly declared, That *whoever useth the Sword shall perish with it*.

Now Reader, observe, how well, truly and excellently, or rather, illy, untruly and ignorantly *T. Trion* hath applyed, or grossly misapplyed the Text: For *Gen. 9. 6.* it’s said, *Whoso sheddeth Man’s Blood, by Man shall his blood be shed; for in the Image of God made he Man*: And, *Mat. 26. 52.* Then *Jesus said unto him,* (that is, *Peter*, who with his Sword had smote off the High-Priest’s Servant’s Ear,) *put up again thy Sword into his place; for all that take the Sword, shall perish with the Sword.*

Now

Now mind: It doth not say, he that kills a Fish, a Bird, or Beast, that by Man his Blood shall be shed; neither doth the Scripture say, Fishes, Birds and Beasts, were made in the Image of God; which seems to be the reason of that Precept: And again, *All that take the Sword shall perish with it*; that is, take it to destroy, kill, murder Man, that was made in the Image of God; these shall perish with it: But doth T. T. believe, that if a Man with a Sword or Gun shall kill a Bird or Deer for necessary Food, that he ought to perish by or with the Sword for so doing? And how absurd is it for T. T. that takes upon him to teach so many things, and to be so knowing, thus miserably to misapply the Text, and wrest the Holy Scriptures. But some such there were formerly that erred, (Mat. 22. 29.) *not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God, and wrested the holy Scriptures to their own destruction*; see 2 Pet. 3. 16, 17, 18. Of whom Peter warns the Believers, saying, *Ye therefore, beloved, seeing ye know these things before, beware, lest ye also being led away with the Error of the wicked, fall from your own steadfastness: And grow in Grace, and in the Knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; to him be Glory both now and for ever. Amen.* And had T. T. made it more his business to have answered this Exhortation, than it appears by his Books he hath, and kept from wresting the Scriptures to make them vindicate his Doctrine, Whimsies, Imaginations and Conceits; it would have been more like a Christian, and bespoke him to be one that had regard to the Testimony thereof, and good Exhortations therein: For tho' Christ forbid doing Violence to any Man, can T. T. prove he forbid to kill Fish, Fowl, or Beasts? or did account his Disciples and Apostles Murderers; and tell them that they should *perish with the Sword*, because they with their Nets caught the Fish, and also ate them? or did he blame them for it, or for their so using of the Fishes? or did the Fish say, as T. T. makes the Birds say; "They were astonisht to meet with such usages from those that called themselves Christians, (or were Disciples of him who said, Do no violence?) or did they complain, and say, "They liv'd in "a great deal of Freedom and Security, till these Disciples, from "whose Profession they might promise themselves nothing but Love "and good Will, came with their Nets to catch, kill and murder "them? or did they say, These peaceable Disciples Occupation, &c. "was to kill, murder, and do violence upon them? or did they say as T. T. makes the Birds say (or sayes for them) in p. 146. of *Country-man's Companion*, &c. "We have not taken away their Priviledges, nor laid Cities and Countries waste: We are not guilty of
"burn-

“ burning of Towns, nor deflowring of Virgins, nor ravishing Matrons,
 “ nor of slaying old Men, nor of carrying away Captive the young:
 “ We do not gather our selves into Troops to destroy those of our
 “ kind; nor have we at any time plundred them, or hald them in-
 “ to loathsom Prisons.

But pray by the way, let me Query, Whether many Fish and Fowl don't prey one upon another? as also Beasts? And, Whether the All-wise Creator hath not given them Paws, Bills, &c. with an Instinct in Nature so to do? But this by the way.

Now I Query, Whether the Fish the Disciples caught, had not as much Cause and reason to complain against the Disciples, as the Birds have against the Peaceable Christians in *Pensylvania* in *America*, of cruel and insidious Practices, if they had but such an Advocate as *T. T.* or such a Scribbler to scribble over a Remonstrance, or draw up a Complaint for them against cruel, hard-hearted Man, (as his Phrase is) whom he calls a *Setter*, a *Trepan*, a *Snare*, a *Plague* and *Torment* to all the *Inhabitants of the four Worlds*? But if he did not expect to get Money by his fictitious Stories, (*the love of which is the root of all evil*.) I am perswaded he would never have so mispent his time, and marred Paper, and troubled the Press: for tho' right words are forcible, yet what does his arguing prove less than the words of the Preacher true on himself, *Ecclesj. 10. Chap. 11. v. 12, 13. Surely the Serpent will bite without Enchantment; and a Babler is no better: For tho' the words of the wise man's mouth are gracious, yet the lips of a fool will swallow up himself. The beginning of the words of his mouth is foolishness, and the end of his talk is mischievous madness.* And true also it is, that the fool is full of words; and had not *T. T.* been so, (or his head full of senseless matter) we should never have had Book after Book, or, to speak in the Musicians Phrase, the first, second, third and fourth part to the same tune; and stories of the Sheeps language, and Sheep's, Cow's, Oxen, Horses and Birds Complaints; and such like idle Fictions, that seem rather to come from a giddy Head, than a Heart truly season'd with Grace: Yea, I may say, How much below the Dignity of a man is such fictitious **Tittle-tattle!** and more abundantly below a Christian, and remote from the sound and solid Doctrine of true Christianity, to make the Birds say, (because a Christian Man shoots them for food) “ Why dost thou with this Engine of War murder me, “ and fight with me? Dost not know that thy great Prophet Christ “ hath

“ hath said, *My Kingdom is not of this World*, for then would my Servants fight?—Oh idle, foolish, vain and ignorant Man!—as if the shooting of Birds was fighting, and contrary to the Practice of Christ’s Servants! Away with these idle Conceits: What Scripture is there for this? seeing thou say’st thou desir’st not to impose thy Dictates any further than Scripture and right Reason enjoyns: Let me have Scripture for it, or right Reason.

I also observe, that thou many times flatteringly say’st to them, Thou so heavily complains against *my dear Friends*, and *my Friends*, &c. and saith, “ I must, because it is my Duty, nominate some particulars for us to observe, p. 105.—Pray what *Us* is that thou art one of? Or what People dost thee joyn to? Or what Profession of Religion art thee of? Or what Denomination dost thou go under? And what are the Particulars the *Us* must observe? Is it, that neither Fish, Fowl, nor Beast, should be either kill’d or eaten; tho’ (as I have often said) in Moderation, the Fear of God, and received with Thanksgiving? Oh strange! that a Man pretending to be so knowing, should plead such a necessity and Duty for that which is neither required by the Lord, nor laid as an absolute Necessity on Man, neither wholly necessary for every Man to follow, much less their Christian Duty! What Doctrine would this be?

Well, to take notice of all his Errours, Absurdities, false Doctrine, idle Fictions, Contradictions, &c. would take up more time and Paper than I am willing to spend, and swell my Book to more Sheets than there is now Pages.

I therefore pass by this Book; and shall give a little Sample out of another Book of his, to shew what Stuff it’s made on, or to relish what Root or Spirit it comes from.

It’s called (or miscalled, like his other Books,) *The Good Housewife made Doctor*; or, *Health’s Choice and sure Friend*, &c.

Pag. 185. he saith, “ Mens Coveting Flesh and Blood is a true sign and testimony of their miserable Fall, and that they live under the power of the dark fierce Wrath.

Now whether this is not a true sign and Testimony of his false Doctrine,

Doctrine, and miserable fall from the Divine Knowledge, (if he was ever acquainted with it) let the Reader judge? And whether he doth not live under the Power of Darknes, that hath no clearer Understanding? and whether the Prince thereof is not the Author of this his most dreadful censorious Assertion; *i. e.* " That Mens desiring " or coveting Flesh (without exception, as only to eat in Moderation, and the Fear of God, and to receive it with thanksgiving, &c.) " is a sign and Testimony that they are no *Christians*, or live under the " power of the dark Wrath, (which implys as much,) and so not under the Power of God, and Government of the holy Spirit of Christ, which they that have not are none of his; neither are they God's Sons which are not led by his Spirit:—And will T. T. say, they are led by God's Spirit in whom the fierce Wrath predominates, or that desire or covet to eat Flesh as aforesaid?

Take this, as I said, for a Sample, with a few Instances more out of his said Book, which are to shew how T. T. (like the clamorous Woman) pulls down his House with his own hands, or stabs his own espoused Cause to the Heart, and gives the overthrow to his greatly applauded and beloved Doctrine of Eating no flesh, because of the many Evils and Miseries that attend it, &c. saith he: The Instance is this, p. 192 of his Book entituled, *The Good Housewife, &c.* He tells what brave food Reddock, Dandelion, Comfrey is, and the like, (which grows in the Fields as he saith) boyled as he prescribes, dressed as he directs, butter'd as he orders, and salted as he would have it, and eaten as he advises.

But how is that, some may say? He gives so many Prescriptions, Directions and Rules, it's needful to be well inform'd how it must be eaten; and especially because he puts this Emphasis upon it, saying, it's **A brave wholesome Food.**

Well, I now will give his Receipt, as I find it in p. 193. thus: " Then *Eaten* with Bread, or Bread and Flesh, makes a *Brave whole-* " *some food.* And in p. 186. tells of Sallet, of Spinnage, Parsley, Sor- " *rel, Lettice,* and a few Onions, and Vinegar, and Salt, &c. with such a Sallet, saith he, you may eat **Flesh.**

And now if he have not writ to the purpose, let the Reader judge; for that which in all his four Books he hath preached against
the

the Killing and Eating of, to wit, *Flesh*; and told how many Evils and Miseries attend the Eating of it, which he also saith, can't be eaten without Violence, and exciting the fierce Wrath, and rendring a Man ready and prompt for any Acts of Cruelty and Oppression, &c. And in the Book called, *The Good-Housewife*, &c. he saith, "From the common Eating of *Flesh*, without distinction, proceeds "Ptilicks, Stoppages of the Breast, makes the Spirits dull and impure; whence do arise heavy, lumpish Dispositions, with ravenous fierce Inclinations, and cruel Passions, which Causes many to use evil words; demonstrating that the dark Center of Wrath is awakened;—wicked and hellish Speeches, Cursing, and not only impiously prophaning the Name of God, but even challenging, and as it were, daring his tremendous Majesty (whose Wrath is a Consuming Fire) to Damn and Confound them, and calling their fellow Creatures, Dogs, Whelps, Sons of Whores, and an hundred of the like Names, p. 217, and 218. And tho' he saith, all this comes of, or proceeds from the Common Eating of *Flesh*; (how true or false it is, let the Reader judge) yet eaten with *Reddock*, *Dandelion*, *Comfrey*, it is *A brave wholesome Food*, saith he; (if boyled, buttered and salted as he directs;) But in contradiction again to this, and that the Reader may see how he goes round, in p. 75. of his Book termed *Wisdom's Call*, &c. he saith, *Do not eat Flesh nor Fish*: And in p. 45. of the same Book, he saith, *It can't be eaten without Violence*, &c. But in p. 186. of his *Good Housewife*, &c. he saith, *With Spinnage, Sorrel, Lettice, and a few Onions, Vinegar and Salt, you may eat Meat*: So he forbids the eating of it, and yet allows it; he greatly discommends it, and commends it for a *brave wholesome Food*: But how brave a Philosopher or Divine he is herein, let them that have received a Divine Understanding judge; and let T. T. prove, if he can, that the common eating of *Flesh* in Moderation, and the Fear of God, and receiving it with Thanksgiving, makes any Mans Spirit impure, &c. or makes them use evil Words, wicked and hellish Speeches, &c. and, as it were challenge God to Damn them, &c. And also let him prove, that *Reddock*, *Dandelion*, *Comfrey*, hath such properties in them to make that wholesome, which (if eaten without them) would be of such ill tendency, and breed Ptilicks, Stoppages of the Breast, &c.

So wishing he may have a more clear Understanding, especially in those things that are Divine ; I shall conclude, desiring none may be like Children that are tossed to and fro with every Wind of Doctrine, by the Sleight of Men, and cunning Craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive ; but through Obedience to the Truth and Spirit of it in their own Hearts, may Day by Day know a growing into him in all things, in whom the Father is well-pleased, that they may come to be accepted in the Beloved ; through whom, to God only wise be Glory, for ever. Amen.

J. F.

F I N I S.

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