363. JAMES I, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN. The Workes of the Most High and Mightie Prince, Iames. . . King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland. . . Pvblished by Iames, Bishop of Winton. . . *London: Robert Barker and Iohn Bill, 1616 [–1620].* Folio, original morocco calf.

$135.00

First Edition, Second Issue, with the Supplement. With the fine engraved portrait of King James, enthroned in robes of state, by Simon Pass; the engraved title-page by Elstrack; a full-page woodcut of the royal arms; a small engraved portrait of Prince Charles, by Pass, at the head of the dedication; and woodcut initials. Colophons appear on p. 570 and at the end of the Supplement (p. 622).

The volume includes the famous *Counterblast to Tobacco*, the *Daemonologie*, the *Basilicon Doron* and *Discourse of the Powder Treason*. STC 14345.

72 JAMES I. Workes. First collected edition. Superb engraved title and portrait. Woodcut initials. Folio. Original armorial binding. Upper joint cracked. A very good copy. 1616. £9/9/0

Includes the famous "Daemonologie" (45 pps) and "A Counterblast to Tobacco" which terminates with "A custome loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmfull to the braine, dangerous to the lungs, and in the blacke stinking fume thereof neerest resembling the horrible Stigian smoak of the pit that is hottomless." The verse beneath the portrait ("Crounes have their compasse, length of dayes their date . . . ") has often been ascribed to Shakespeare.

261 JAMES I. THE WORKES OF THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTIE PRINCE, JAMES . . . *Printed by Robert Barker and John Bill.* 1616.

First edition, contemporary calf, top of spine slightly rubbed, folio. [redacted]

The extreme outer margin of the engraved frontispiece is defective, very slightly affecting the engraved surface and the end-papers have been renewed.

"The fearefull aboundinge at this time in this countrie, of these detestable slaves of the Devill, the Witches or enchaunters, hath moved me (beloved reader)

(Continued over)

to despatch in post, this following treatise of mine, not in any wise (as I protest) to serve for a shew of my learning and ingine, but onely (moved of conscience) to preasse thereby, so farre, as I can, to resolve the doubting harts of many; both that such assaults of Sathan are practised, and that the instrumentes thereof, merits most severely to be punished : against the damnable opinions of two principally in our age, whereof the one called Scot an Englishman, is not ashamed, in publike print to deny, that ther can be such a thing as Witch-craft. . . Etc."—James I in his Preface.

The work is divided into three parts, the first "speaking of Magic in general, and Necromancie in special," the second "of Sorcerie and Witchcraft," and the third "conteines a discourse of all these kindes of spirits, and spectres that appeares and trobles persones."

Steevens in his edition of the "Tempest" says that "Shakespeare, closely followed James I's Daemonologie." It is frequently cited by Douce in his "Illustrations" of Macbeth, and by Dr. Grey in his notes on The Whole Contention.

This rare few pages this work called a Meditation "A paterne for a King's inauguration" (1st Ed. 1620) has an interesting Shakespeare parallel, as follows: (This is not found in the Earliest issue of the Works.)

OF SHAKESPEARIAN INTEREST.

1071 A MEDITATION upon the 27, 28, 29 verses of the XXVII. Chapter of St. Matthew, or a paterne for a Kings inauguration. Written by the Kings Maistie.

FIRST EDITION. 12mo. *Original vellum.*

London, Printed by John Bill, 1620. £12 12s

With dedicatory epistle by James I to his son, afterwards Charles I:—"Make it therefore your vade mecum, to prepare you and put you in a habit for that day, which I dare sweare, you will never wish for, (as you gave sufficient proofe by your careful attendance in my late great sicknesse, out of which it pleased God to deliver me) and I hope I shal never give you cause. But it will be great reliefe to you in the bearing of your burthen, that you bee not taken tardè; but that you foresee the weight of it before hand, and make your selfe able to support the same," etc.

James I goes on to speak about the succession of Kings, one instance quoted being of special interest as it forms an important scene in Shakespeare's play of Henry IV.

"And one of our owne predecessors, Henric the fourth (called Henry of Bullenbrooke), being in a trance upon his death bed; his sonne, Henrie the fift, thinking hee had beene dead, a little nimbly carried away the croune that stood by his Father: but the King recovering a little out of his fit missed his crowne, and called for it. And when his sonne brought it backe againe, he told him that if hee had knowne what a crowne was, hee would not have beene so hastie: for he protested that he was never a day without trouble since it was first put upon his head," etc.

The closing lines in the scene in Henry IV, Part II, run:—

"Thy wish was father, Harry, to that thought:
I stay too long by thee, I weary thee.
Dost thou so hunger for my empty chair,
That thou wilt needs invest thee with my honours,
Before thy hour be ripe? O foolish youth!
Thou seek'st the greatness that will overwhelm thee." Etc., etc.

Jo: Mortimer E Liber
1681

pl. 13

A COLLECTION OF HIS MAIESTIES WORKES.

Crownes haue their compasse, length of dayes their date,
Triumphes their tombes, felicitie bee fate:
Of more then earth, can earth make none partaker,
But knowledge makes the KING most like his maker.

Simon Passæus sculp: Lond. Ioh: Bill excudit.


SVPER:EST
RELIGIO
PAX
THE
WORKES
OF THE MOST HIGH
AND MIGHTY PRINCE,
IAMES,
By the grace of God King
of Great Brittaine
France & Ireland
Defendor of ye
Faith &c:
Published by IAMES, BISHOP of
WINTON & Deane of his
Ma. Chappell Royall.
1 Reg: 3 12 Lo, I haue giuen thee
a wise and an vnderstanding heart.
LONDON
Printed by ROBERT
BARKER & Iohn Bill,
Printers to ye Kings most
excellent Maiesty.
1616.
Cum priuilegio.
Renold Elstrack sculpsit

THE WORKES OF THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTIE PRINCE, IAMES

BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF GREAT BRITAINE, FRANCE AND IRELAND, DEFENDER of the FAITH, &c.

PVBLISHED BY IAMES, *BISHOP* of Winton, and Deane of his MAIESTIES CHAPPEL ROYALL.

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1. REG. 3. VERS. 12.

Loe, I haue giuen thee a wise and an vnderstanding heart.

LONDON
PRINTED BY ROBERT BARKER AND IOHN BILL, PRINTERS TO THE KINGS most Excellent MAIESTIE.
ANNO 1616.

¶ *Cum Priuilegio.*


HONI SOIT QVI MAL Y PENSE
DIEV ET MON DROIT

TO THE THRICE ILLVSTRIOVS AND MOST EXCELLENT PRINCE, CHARLES,

THE ONELY SONNE OF OVR SOVERAIGNE LORD THE KING.

SIR:

Haue humbly ſought leaue of his moſt Excellent MAIESTIE, to preſent your *Highneſſe* with this *Volume* of his MAIESTIES WORKES. I durſt not but make the Suite; and his MAIESTIE could not well deny it. I will not ſay, that it had beene a peece of *Iniuſtice* in the KING to haue denyed you this right: But I dare ſay, it had beene a point of Sacriledge in a *Churchman* to haue ſtolne from you ſuch a portion

tion of your Inheritance, which consists as much in the WORKES of his Royall *Vertues*, as in the wealth of his mighty *Kingdomes*. *Basilius* wrote *de Institutione Principis* to his Sonne *Leo*; *Constantinus* to his Sonne *Romanus*; *Manuell* to his Sonne *Iohannes*; and *Charles* the fift, to his Sonne *Philip*: The workes of the three former are extant both in *Greeke* and *Latine*. His *Maiestie*, after the Example of those *Emperours*, and sundry other *Kings*, wrote his ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ-ΔΩΡΟΝ to *Prince Henry*, your *Highnesse* most worthy *Brother*: His part, by GOD his Prouidence, is falne to your Lot; and who may iustly detaine from you the rest? The rule in Scripture is; that if the first fruits be holy, so is the whole lumpe; and to whom the first was giuen, to him all the rest was due: To your *Highnes* therefore are these offered, as to the trew Heire and Inheritor of them. And that I may make you the better accompt of them; May it please your *Highnesse* to vnderstand, that of these *Workes*, some were out before; some other of them neuer saw light before; and others were almost lost and gone, or at least abused by false copies, to their owne disgrace and his *Maiesties* great dishonour. Now it being the duetie of all *Deanes* in their Churches, *Dispersa colligere*; I thought it might sort well with the nature of my place in the *Chappel*, wherein I haue had the Honour so many yeeres to serue his *Maiestie*, to gather these things that were scattered, and to bring to light those that too long had lien in darkenes, and to preserue in one body, what might easily haue bin lost in parts. In this *Presentment*, I must humbly craue of your *Highnes*, not to be mistaken in the trew meaning and maner of it: For these *Workes* come not to you, as vsually Bookes doe to men of great *Dignitie*, for *Patronage* and *Protection*; for Protection is properly from iniurie; and that the Royall *Author* of them is best able to right: But to you they come partly for preseruation, and for that the Disposition

of

of Nature hath made you more apt, and more principally for a Patterne, and that not vnfitly; ſince the *Samplar* is euer more ancient then the *Exemplification*: And as in the preſeruation, the Sonne hath his aduantage by ſucceeding; ſo in the Patterne, the Father by preceding hath his *Prerogatiue*. Let theſe *Workes* therefore, moſt Gracious *Prince*, lie before you as a Patterne; you cannot haue a better: Neither doeth the Honour of a good Sonne conſiſt in any thing more, then in immitating the good *Preſidents* of a good *Father*; as we may very well perceiue by the Scripture phraſe, where the vſuall *Encomium* of good *Kings* is, that they walked in the wayes of their Fathers. Al men ſee, how like the Patterne GOD and *Nature* haue framed the outward *Lineaments*: and who knowes your *Highnes* wel, knowes alſo, that the inward *Abilliments* hold in the like proportion. The *Philoſophers* ſay, that Imitation proceeds from Inclination; And trewly, if your future Imitation be anſwerable to your forward Inclination, in *Religion*, *Learning* and *Vertue*; your *Highneſſe* cannot come farre ſhort of your *Patterne*, nor yet of any of your *Predeceſſors* that euer went before you: Which GOD grant together with the length of many good and happy *Dayes*.

Your HIGHNESSE

Moſt humbly

IA. WINTON.

THE

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

Mongst the infinite number of great Volumes wherewith the world seemes, as it were, to bee wayed downe, there bee few of them that were written at once, or were at first published together. Writings as they consist of sundry natures; so they will beare a diuers maner of Edition. To set foorth an Art by pieces, is to shew you a body dismembred; the one is no more vncomely, then the other is vnproper. To publish a History *before it be at an end, is to turne the Hower-glasse before it bee runne out; neither of both will giue you a trew taste of the time. But writings of other Natures, Common places and Controuersies, Meditations and Commentaries, as they are for the most part, accidentally taken vp, so they are as occasionally set out: They craue no other birth into the world, then they had conceptions in our braines, singly by vs conceiued, and singly by themselues set out.*

The different maner of God *his setting foorth of his owne Workes, may instruct vs in this point. His diuine Wisedome held one course in his Naturall Workes, an other in his Ceremonialls, Politicalls and Moralls. In his Naturalls he made a masse at once, which speedily he diuersified into diuers formes. Hee gaue a kinde of potentiall delineation of all things in that vniuersall matter, which presently hee distinguished into diuers* Species *in*

perfection:

perfection: But in his Ceremonialls, hee takes another course, he brings not them out of a Masse, but into a Masse: He doeth not out of a Totum *produce the parts, but out of the parts make vp the whole. For example; In the Ceremonialls, first he beginnes with Sacrifice, long after he followes with Circumcision, then hee filleth a Tabernacle with them; at last makes them full vp in a Temple. In his Politicalls, hee beginnes with a paternall Gouernment in a family, proceeds to an Election of a Captaine in an Armie, as in* Iosuah *and the Iudges, perfects it by way of Succeßion in a setled Kingdome, as in* Solomon *and his Successors. In his Moralls, hee beginnes with the word out of his owne mouth, proceeds with the* Tables *written by his owne fingers, followes on with the fiue Bookes penned by* Moses, *till hee make vp the* Canon *perfect by a number of succeeding* Prophets.

What we haue from God *in a president, it may wel beseeme vs to practise; and since his Bookes came out so farre asunder, it is no reproach to any man, though his Workes come not foorth together: for there is a reason for it in vs answerable in some proportion to that of the Workes of* God, *for workes of Nature haue their roote from within vs, and bring with them a radicall kinde of vertue, that neuer suffers them to rest, till they haue produced their fruite to perfect forme and perfection: Workes of deliberation and Art, haue their foundation from without vs, and giue vs occasion to worke vpon them, as our phantasies thinke fittest for the present time: Hence proceeds it, that the workes of Nature haue so few errors in them, those of Art so many; They of Nature so constant, they of Arte so variable; they of Nature so permanent, they of Art so soone perish; they of Nature so well accepted and approued of all, they of Art accepted or reiected, as it pleaseth the seuerall apprehensions of men to conceiue of them.*

Now, albeit the workes of men be of Errors so full, of nature so different, subiect to so many Interpretations, published at so diuers times; Yet hath it bene euer esteemed a matter commendable to collect them together, and incorporate them into one Body, that we may behold at once, what diuers Off-springs haue proceeded

from

from one braine, and how various Conceptions the wit of man is able to afford the world. To instance in a few of them beginning a little higher then the writings of ordinarie men. The seruants of Hezekiah *are commended in Scripture for collecting together the Sentences of* Solomon. Iesus *the sonne of* Sirach *is praised for searching out the Copies of his Grandfathers workes: But principally* Ezra *is had in great honour for setting in order the whole Bookes of the Old Testament, and deuiding them into Chapters and Verses, which before were caried along in a scroule, by a continuall* Series, *without any distinction at all.* S. Iohn *is reported to haue searched out the Copies of the three former Euangelists, and to haue added his owne for the fourth in that order, as now they are extant. And the Primitiue Church was curious to gather together the Epistles of the Holy Apostles; which, they being not able by reason of persecution perfectly to performe in euery place, gaue occasion to after-times, to call the authority of so many of them into question.*

But to descend; How are we bound to those, who haue laboured in setting out the Counsells, *and* Works *of the* Fathers *together? Insomuch, that we thinke our selues as much bound to* Eusebius *and* Hierom, *and of later times to* Peter Crab *and* Erasmus, *and diuers others, who haue laboured in that kinde, as wee doe almost to the Authors themselues.* Traian *commended* Plutark *for gathering the* Apothegmes *of wise men together.* Constantinus *the sonne of* Leo, *collected out of all Histories, both in the East and West, one* Corpus Historicum, *which they counted an inestimable Treasure.* Iustinian *by the helpe of* Tribonianus *did the like in the Lawes.* Gratian *compiled the Decrees out of the Epistles of* Popes, Councells *and* Fathers. Damascen *collected into one body of Diuinitie, the Sentences of the Greeke* Fathers; *And* Peter Lumbard 400. *yeeres after him by his example did the like in the Latine* Fathers. *And how doe wee labour to recouer Bookes that are lost? The Bookes of* Origen *that amounted to sixe thousand, as* Epiphanius *witnesseth, were much laboured for by* Eusebius *and others. The Bookes of* Ci-

cero de Repub. *were much sought for by Cardinall* Poole; *and great summes of money haue bene spent to recouer the lost* Decades *of* Liuie. *Wherefore since it hath beene heretofore the practise of all aages, to collect the workes of Men of worth, and preserue them from perishing; to labour much in recouering those that haue bene lost; to giue to euery childe the owne Father; to euery Booke the trew Author: (for there neuer had bene halfe so many birds to haue flowen about the world with false feathers, if euery Author had set out his owne workes together in his owne time,) I hope then it shall not be now a matter of reproofe in a Seruant, to trauaile in the setting foorth of the* Works *of his Master; and for giuing you that together, which before yee could hardly get asunder; and for preseruing that in a Masse from perishing, that might easily be lost in a Mite.*

But while I am collecting workes one way, I heare others scattering wordes as fast an other way, affirming, it had beene better his Maiestie had neuer written any Bookes at all; and being written, better they had perished with the present, like Proclamations, *then haue remayned to* Posterity: *For say these Men, Little it befitts the Maiesty of a* King *to turne Clerke, and to make a warre with the penne, that were fitter to be fought with the Pike; to spend the powers of his so exquisite an vnderstanding vpon paper, which had they beene spent on powder, could not but haue preuayled ere this, for the Conquest of a* Kingdome. *For a* King, *say they, to enter a Controuersie with a Scholler, is, as if he should fight a Combate with a Kerne; he doth no more descend from his Honour in the one, then he bringes vpon himselfe Disgrace by the other. And since that Booke-writing is growen into a Trade; It is as dishonorable for a* King *to write bookes; as it is for him to be a Practitioner in a* Profession. *If a* King *will needs write; Let him write like a* King, *euery Lyne a* Law, *euery Word a* Precept, *euery Letter a* Mandate. *In good trewth, I haue had my eares so oft dung through with these Obiections and the like, as I know not whether I conceiued amisse of my selfe or no, thinking I had more ability to answere these Calumnyes, then I had patience*

to

to heare them: And therefore hauing so fit opportunity, I shall not let to deliuer my opinion; Whether it may sorte with the Maiestie of a King, to be a writer of Bookes, or no. *First I could neuer reade, that there was any Law against it; and where we haue no Law, the best is to follow good Examples: And many Diuines are of opinion, that examples that are not contrary to any Precept, doe binde vs in practise, at least so farre; that though they doe not inforce vs to the doing, yet they warrant the deede when it is done; And if Examples will serue the turne, wee haue Examples enough.*

First to beginne with the King of Kings *God himselfe, who as he doth all things for our good; So doeth he many things for our Imitation. It pleased his Diuine wisedome to bee the first in this Rancke, that we read of, that did euer write. Hee wrote, and the writing was the writing, saith* Moses, *of God; the maner was after the maner of engrauing; the matter was in Stone cut into two Tables, and the Tables were the worke of God written on both sides.* Diuines *hold, that the Heart is the principall Seate of the Soule; which Soule of ours is the immediate worke of God, as these Tables were the immediate worke of his owne fingers. The Stone, the expresse represent of the hardneße of our heart; the engrauing the worke of God so deepely impreßed, that it can neuer be blotted out; the writing, the writing of the Law in our hearts; In two Tables, for our double duty to God and Man; on both sides to take vp our heart so wholly, that nothing contrary to those Precepts should euer haue any place in our Soules. And certainely from this little* Library, *that God hath erected within vs, is the foundation of all our Learning layd; So that people Ciuillized doe account themselues depriued of one of the best abilities of nature, if they be not somewhat inabled by writing, to expresse their mindes: And there is no Nation so brutish or Barbarous, that haue not inuented one kinde of Character or other, whereby to conuey to others their inward Conceptions. From these Tables of God, wee may come to the writing of our Blessed* Sauiour, *which we may put in the next place, though not for order yet for Honour. His Diuine*

uine Maiestie left behinde him no Monument of writing, written by his owne hand in any externall Booke; for he was to induce and bring in an other maner of the writing of the Law of Loue; not in Tables of stone; written not with incke and paper, but in the Tables of our fleshly hearts written by the Spirit of the Liuing God: Yet did he once with his owne finger, write on the Pauement of the Temple of Ierusalem. *What he writ, I will not now discusse.* S. Ambrose *saith he wrote this Sentence:* Festucam in oculo fratris cernis, trabem in tuo non vides. Beda *thinkes, he wrote that Sentence that he spake:* He that is without sinne, let him cast the first stone at her. Haymo *hath a pretty Conceit: He thinketh, he wrote certaine Characters in the Pauement, which the Accusers beholding might see, as in a glasse, their owne wickednesse; and so blushing at it went their wayes. What euer it was, sure we are, our* Sauiour *would haue false accusations written in dust, to bee troden vnder foote of them that passe by. But howsoeuer, I say, our Blessed* Sauiour *did leaue behind him no writing of his owne hand; Yet we may not deny, but that God in the old* Testament *and our* Sauiour *in the New, haue left vs many bookes of their owne inditements: For all the Bookes of holy Scripture were written by inspiration; and the Prophets and Apostles were but their* Amanuenses, *and writ onely as they were led and actuated by the Spirit of God: So that we may not make the Author of any of those Bookes any other then God Himselfe.*

The old world before the flood wil afford vs no writings, neither did that aage require them; for the liues of men of that aage were liuing Libraries, *and lasted longer then the labors of men doe in this aage: Yet* S. Iude *doeth insinuate somewhat of the writings of* Enoch, *who though he were not in Stile a* King, *Yet there is no reason to contend with him for that Title; for his Dominion would beare it, standing Heire-Apparent to the greater part of the world.* Origen, Tertullian *and* Augustine *report many things out of the supposititous writings that went vnder his name: And* Iosephus *and that* Berosus, *that wee haue, tell vs, that hee erected*

two

two pillars, the one of Stone, the other of Bricke, wherein he wrote of the two-fold destructions of the world, the one by Water, the other by Fire: But howsoeuer that be trew, it is very probable, he wrote something of that matter, which though it perished with that world; yet doubtlesse the memory thereof was preserued by Tradition vnto the dayes of the Apostles.

I will not here insist vpon the writings of Moses, *who was not onely a Priest, and a Prophet, but was, as himselfe records, amongst the people a* King, *and was the first that euer receiued authoritie from* God *to write in* Diuinitie: *Neither will I insist vpon the Example of* King Dauid, *in whose* Psalmes *and* Himnes, *are resounded out the praises of* God *in all the Churches; for that I finde nothing that these men writ, but what they writ as the* Scribes *of* God, *acted, as I said euen now, by* God *his* Spirit, *and not guided by their owne. Yet I suppose wee may safely collect thus much from them, that if* God *had thought it a matter derogatory to the Maiestie of a* King *to bee a Writer, he would not haue made choice of those, as his chiefe* Instruments *in this kinde, who were principalls in that other Order. I would easily beleeue, that such men as haue had the honour to be* God *his* Pen-men, *should neuer vouchsafe to write any thing of their owne: for as we hold in a pious opinion, that the blessed* Virgine, *hauing once conceiued by the* holy Ghost, *would neuer after conceiue by man; So surely men, that had deliuered nothing but the conceptions of that Spirit, should hardly be drawne euer to set out any of their owne labours. But we see the flat contrary both in* Samuel *and* Solomon, *the one the greatest Iudge, the other the most glorious* King, *that euer that Kingdome had.* Samuel, *who writ by* God's *appointment, the greatest part of those two Bookes, that beare his name, writ also by his owne accord, a Booke contayning the Law of a* King, *or Institution of a* Prince, *whereby hee laboured to keepe the* King *as well from declining to Tyrannie, as the people from running into Libertie.* Solomon, *besides the Bookes of Scripture, which remaine, writ many likewise of his owne accord, which are lost: For to say nothing of his* 3000. Parables,

bles, *his* 5000. *Songes, that* ingens opus, *as the* Hebrues *call it, of the nature of all things, Birds and Beasts, Fowles and fishes, Trees and plants, from the Hysop to the Cedar: All these were rather workes to manifest humane wisedome, then Diuine knowledge; written rather for the recreation of his owne spirit, then for the edification of the Church: For I cannot conceiue, but those Bookes would rather haue taught vs the learning of Nature; (for which* GOD *hath left vs to the writings of men) then edified vs in the gifts of Grace; for which hee hath giuen vs his owne Booke. Neither let any man suggest, that these writings, that are lost, and, as they say, were destroyed in the destruction of the Temple by the* Babylonians, *were of the same authoritie, as those that doe remaine: for I can hardly be induced to beleeue, that the writings, that were indited by the Spirit of* GOD, *layed vp in the* Arke, *receiued into the* Canon, *read publikely in the Church, are vtterly perished. It is a desperate thing to call, either the prouidence of* GOD, *or the fidelity of the Church in question in this point: For if those, that haue bene, are perished; then, why may not these that remaine as well be lost? which is contrary to our* Sauiours *assertion, that one* Iota *shall not perish till all bee fulfilled: Therefore I rather incline to thinke; that what euer was Scripture, still is, then that any is lost: Neither is this opinion so curious to hold, as the other is dangerous to beleeue; Better it is euer, to argue our selues of ignorance, then to accuse* GOD *of improuidence: But if so much Scripture be lost, as is alleadged, farewell* GOD *his prouidence, farewell the fidelitie of the Church, to whose care was concredited the* Oracles *of* GOD. *Let vs come to the writings of* Kings, *where we shall not incurre any danger of this controuersie; that were so farre from being acted by* GOD *his* Spirit; *that they were more like those Disciples of* Iohn, *that had not heard whether there were an* Holy-Ghost, *or no; that knew nothing of* GOD, *though they felt neuer so much of his Goodnesse; that neuer beleeued his Omnipotencie, though they had neuer so much experience of his Power.*

To beginne with the Assyrians, *whose first Monarch was* Nimrod,

Nimrod, *and his chiefe Citie* Babel: *from his time to* Sardanapalus *the last of that Monarchie, there was no* King *amongst them, that gaue himselfe to Letters: for as their Kingdome was founded in Tyrannie, so they laboured to keepe it in Barbaritie; neither must we euer looke to see Learning flourish, where Tyrannie beareth the Standerd; for Learning hath no more a facultie to bring the minde to vnderstanding, then it hath with it a power, that workes the will to libertie; neither of which, can euer consist with Tyrannie: And therefore it is no wonder, that this aage affoorded no learned* Kings: *for in that State, which continued thirteene or foureteene hundred yeeres, yee can scarce reade of a learned man: Therefore let either* Histories *or* Poets *paint that out for a Golden aage, as they please, there was neuer any aage, that hath left so little memory of the Golden tincture of their Witts.*

After the time of Sardanapalus, *in the dayes of* Phull, Tiglath-Philasar *and* Salmanasar, *of whom mention is made in Scripture, and to whom, as it is thought,* Ionas *preached, and with whom some of the* Prophets *were conuersant, when as these* Kings *came into the land of* Israel, *as they did in the dayes of* Menahem, *who gaue to* Phul-Belochus *a thousand Talents of Siluer for a Tribute; And in the dayes of* Hezechiah *came* Salmanasar *and besieged* Samaria *three yeeres, and caried away a great part of the people of the Kingdome of* Israel: *From that time forward, their* Kings *gaue themselues to Letters; insomuch as in the dayes of* Nabucodonosor, *who set vp the Monarchy of the* Babylonians, *within one hundred yeeres of* Salmanasar King *of the* Assyrians, *learning was in great estimation, and the* Kings *Court was a Schoole for the best witts of the Kingdome to be bred in, that they might bee able to stand before the* King *furnished with all learning and vnderstanding. And if* Stories *do not intollerably deceiue vs;* Daniel *and his companions instructed fiue great Monarches, as in the trew knowledge of* God, *so in the vnderstanding of all excellent Arts and Sciences; Namely* Nabuchodonosor, Euilmerodack, Baltazar, Darius *of the*

Medes, *and* Cyrus *of the* Persians: *And it were no hard matter to proue the trewth of this out of* Daniel *himselfe*.

Come to the Persians, *who conuersed more with the* Prophets, *as with* Ezra, Nehemiah, Zachary, Malachy *and the people that were in captiuitie; we shall finde them giuen much to Letters.* Cyrus *the first Monarch is recorded to haue written large* Commentaries *of all his diurnall Actions: amongst those Books are found, saith* Esdras, *the* Edicts *of reducing of the* Iewes *to their Countrey: He wrote diuers Letters for the same purpose to all the chiefe Cities of* Asia; *some whereof, we haue in the* 11. *of* Iosephus, *Chap. the first. Many things likewise are reported to haue bene written of* Artaxerxes, Darius, *and some others of those Monarches, as wee may partly conceiue by the* Canonicall *Bookes of* Ezra *and* Nehemiah, *and more by the Apocriphal-*Esdras, *who reports it to haue bene a custome of those* Kings, *so much to delight in learning, and in the sayings of wise men, that they vsed for an exercise in their greatest Solemnities, to haue solemne* Orations *made in the presence of the* King *and State, of sundry purposes, which, whoso performed to the liking of the* King, *was rewarded with the highest Preferments, that so mighty a Monarch could aduance them vnto.*

Come we to the Græcians; *and there we shall finde Learning in the Tropicke of* Cancer *at such a height, as it neuer was before, nor euer, that we read of, since. And surely it is worth the obseruing, that when that extarordinary Diuine Light went out, humane Learning came in; and the ende of the* Prophets *was the beginning of the* Poets: *The last of the diuinity of the one, the first of the Philosophy of the other: for from the end of the Captiuity till the Comming of our* Sauiour Christ, *the space of foure hundreth yeares and more, in which there was no Prophet, that euer I reade of, there were so many* Orators, Poets *and* Philosophers *of such singular giftes in all kindes; as wee are onely their Schollers since, and can neuer attaine to the Excellency of our Master. In this time* Alexander *the Great was as famous for his Learning and writings, as he was for his Victories: He wrote to* Antipater

of

of all his owne Actions in Asia *and in* India, *as* Plutark *reports in his Life.* S. Ciprian *in his Tractate of the vanitie of Idoles, saith, that* Alexander *the Great wrote* Insigne Volumen *to his Mother; wherein he signifies vnto her, how it was tolde him by a certaine* Egyptian-Priest, *that all the Gods of the Gentiles had bene but men. And* S. Augustine *also in his twelft Booke* De ciuitate Dei *makes mention of other of the writings of* Alexander *to* Olimpias *his Mother about the Succession of the Monarchies.*

Amongst the Kings *of* Syria, Antiochus *surnamed* Epiphanes, *writ many Bookes, and sent them into* Iudea, *about changing the Rites and Ceremonies of the* Iewes *into the Religion of the* Grecians; *The principall heades of his Bookes may be found in the Bookes of* Machabes *and in* Iosephus. *Amongst the* Romans, *which of their* Emperours *did not aduance his fame by Letters?* Iulius Cæsar, *besides many other things, writ his* Commentaries *after the example of* Cyrus. Octauius, *as* Suetonius *reportes, writ many* Volumes, The historie of his owne life, Exhortations to Philosophie, Heroick Verses, Epigrams, Tragedies *and diuers other things; of whom I will only relate two* Stories *not impertinent to my purpose. He is reported to haue bene a very diligent searcher out of all such Bookes, as appertayned to the* Roman-Ethnick-Religion. *All the Bookes* Fatidicorum, *of* Fortune-tellers, *that proceeded not from approued Authors both of* Greeke *and* Latin, *he cast in the fire, to the number of two thousand: Onely he reserued the writings of the* Sibills, *but with that choise, as hee burnt all such of them as he thought to bee counterfeit. I relate this* Story *the rather, for that I thinke it were a good President for our* Augustus *to follow, to make a diligent search of all good and profitable Authors; As for all Hereticall* Pamphlets, *slaunderous Libells and impertinent writings, to commit them to* Vulcane: *for one of the maine meanes of corrupting this people in point of* Religion, *proceeds from the free vse of reading of all kinde of writings without any restraint.*

The other Storie *of* Augustus *is that famous* Inscription *of his, which he made to be set vp in the* Altar *of the* Capitoll *to our* Sauiour Christ; *of which* Nicephorus *makes mention; as also* Suidas *in the word* Augustus. Cæsar Augustus *being proclaimed the first* Emperour *of* Rome, *hauing done many great things and achiued great Glory and felicity; came to the* Oracle *of* Apollo, *& offering vp a* Heccatomb, *which is of all other the greatest* Sacrifice; *demaunded of the* Oracle, *who should rule the* Empire *after his decease; receiuing no answere at all, offered vp an other Sacrifice, and asked with all, how it came to passe, that the* Oracle *that was wont to vse so many wordes, was now become so silent? The* Oracle *after a long pause, made this answere:*

Me puer Hebræus, Diuos, Deus ipse gubernans
Cedere sede iubet, tristemque redire sub Orcum:
Aris ergo dehinc tacitus abscedito nostris.

The Emperour *receiuing this answere, returned to* Rome, *erected in the* Capitoll *the greatest* Altar *that was there, with this* Inscription: Ara primogeniti Dei. *Surely, our* Augustus, *in whose dayes our Blessed* Sauiour Christ Iesus *is come to a full and perfect aage: As hee was borne in the dayes of the other, studying nothing at all to know, who shall rule the Scepter after him (for God be praised, he is much more happie then was* Augustus *in a Blessed* Posterity *of his owne) but indeauoring, that* CHRIST *his* Kingdome, *may euer Reigne in his* Kingdome, *hath consulted all the* Oracles *of* GOD, *and hath found in them, that there is but one onely* Altar *to be erected to the onely Sonne of* GOD, *who is Blessed for euer; and therefore hath set himselfe and bestowed much paines to bid that Man of Sinne,* cedere sede, *and* redire sub Orcum, *that hath erected so many* Altars *Athenian-like, to vnknowne Gods, making more prayers and* Supplications *to supposed* Saints, *then euer the other did to Gods they knew not. But to returne,* Claudius Cæsar, *that had so much wickednesse in him, had this*

good

good in him, that hee writte many good Bookes. Suetonius *reports, hee writ so many Bookes in* Greeke, *as that hee erected a Schoole of purpose in* Alexandria, *called after his owne name, and caused his Bookes to be readyeerely in it: He writ in* Latine *likewise* 43. *Bookes, contayning a Historie from the murther of* Cæsar *to his owne time. There would bee no ende of the reporting of the writings of the Heathen* Emperours. *That one example of* Constantine *amongst the Christian* Emperors *shall suffice:* Eusebius *hath written curiously his Life, and is not sparing to report of his Learning; How many* Orations *and discourses he made, exhorting his Subiects and seruants to a good and godly life; How many nights hee passed without sleepe in Meditations of* Diuinitie; *His Speeches in the beginning and ende of the* Councell *of* Nice; *That famous* Oration, Ad Sanctorum cœtum, *pronounced in* Latine *by him Selfe, after translated into Greeke by diuerse, doe shew, how much Glory hee gayned by Letters.*

From these great Monarches abroad, giue mee leaue a little, to descend to our owne Kings *at home.* Alphredus *King of the* West-Saxons, *translated* Paulus Orosius, S. Gregorie De pastorali cura, *and his* Dialogues *into the* English *tongue: He translated likewise* Beda *of the Actes of the* English, *and* Boetius de consolatione Philosophiæ, Dauids Psalmes, *and many other things: Hee writ besides a Booke of Lawes and* Institutions *against wicked Judges: Hee writ the sayings of* Wisemen, *and a singular Booke of the fortune of* Kings, *a collection of* Chronicles, *and a* Manuel *of* Meditations.

Ethelstanus (*or* Adelstan, *as our* Stories *call him*) Rex Anglorum, *as* Baleus *calls him, caused to be translated the Bible out of* Hebrew *into* Saxon, *and writ himselfe a Booke of* Astrologie, *the Constitutions of the* Cleargie, *corrected many olde Lawes, and made many new.*

King Edgar *writ to the Cleargie of* England *certaine* Constitutions *and* Lawes, *and other things.*

Henrie *the first, the yongest Sonne of the* Conquerour, *was brought*

brought vp in the Vniuersitie *of* Cambridge; *and excelled so in the knowledge of all Liberall Arts and Sciences, that to this day he doeth retaine the name of* Beau-Clerke.

Achaius *King of the* Scots, *writ of the Acts of all his Predecessors. And* Kenethus *King of the* Scots, *writ a huge* Volume *of all the Scottish* Lawes, *and like an other* Iustinian, *reduced them into a* Compendium.

Iames *the first writ diuers Bookes both in* English *and* Latine *Verse: He writ also, as* Baleus *saith,* De vxore futura.

Henrie *the eight writ of the* Institution *of a* Christian man, *and of the* Institution *of youth: Hee writ also a defence of the* 7. Sacraments *against* Martin Luther; *for which hee was much magnified of the* Pope, *and all that partie; Insomuch as hee was stiled with the Title of* Defensor fidei *for that worke: And trewly it fell out well for the* King, *that hee writ a Booke on the* Popes *side; for otherwise, he should haue them raile on him for his writings as freely, as they reuile him for his Actions. For he writ two Bookes after that; the one* De auctoritate Regia contra Papam; *the other* Sententia de Concilio Mantuano, *as well written for the Stile and Argument, as the other is: But because they seeme to breath an other breath, there is no Trumpet sounded in their praise.*

Edward *the sixt, though his dayes were so short, as he could not giue full proofe of those singular parts that were in him; yet hee wrote diuers* Epistles *and* Orations *both in* Greeke *and* Latine: *He wrote a Treatise* De fide *to the* Duke *of* Somerset: *He wrote a History of his owne time, which are all yet extant vnder his owne hand, in the* Kings Library; *as* Mr. Patrick Young, *his Maiesties learned and Industrious* Bibliothecarius, *hath shewed mee; And which is not to bee forgotten, so diligent a hearer of* Sermons *was that sweet* Prince, *that the notes of the most of the* Sermons *he heard, are yet to bee seene vnder his owne hand with the* Preachers *name, the time, and the place, and all other circumstances.*

Queene Elizabeth *our late* Soueraigne *of blessed memory,*

translated

translated the prayers of Queene Katherine *into* Latine, French, *and* Italian : *Shee wrote also a Century of* Sentences, *and dedicated them to her* Father. *I haue heard of her Translation of* Salustius; *but I neuer saw it : And there are yet fresh in our memories the* Orations *she made in both the* Vniuersities *in* Latine; *her entertayning of* Embassadors *in diuers Languages; her excellent Speaches in the* Parliament, *whereof diuers are extant at this day in Print. And to come a little neerer his* Maiestie; *The* Kings Father *translated* Valerius Maximus *into* English; *And the* Queene *his* Maiesties Mother, *wrote a Booke of Verses in* French *of the* Institution *of a* Prince, *all with her owne hand, wrought the Couer of it with her needle, and is now of his* Maiestie *esteemed as a most pretious* Iewell.

Therefore since wee are compaßed about with such a Clowd of Witnesses (*albeit these are but a little handfull in comparison of the infinite multitude, that might be produced;*) *Since we haue the examples of all the Mightie-men of the* World, *euen from the beginning thereof vnto this day; who haue striuen as much to get a Name for their writings, as fame for their doings; haue affected as much to be counted Learned as Victorious; and to be reputed of, as much for their wise Sayings, as for their worthy Deeds; Why should it bee thought a thing strange in this time, that his* Maiestie, *whom* God *hath adorned with as many rare perfections of Nature and Arte, as euer he did any that wee read of, (I except such as were Diuinely inspired) should lend the world a few leaues out of the large* Volumes *of his* Learning? *I commend the wisedome of our Aduersaries, who hauing aßayed all meanes, the wit of man is able to inuent, to incline his* Maiestie *to like of their partie; and finding by all their Tricks, they haue got no ground, would at last put his* Maiestie *to silence, and gaine thus much of him, at least; that since he will doe nothing for them; yet that he would say nothing against them. Therefore they cry out against his* Maiesties *writing, and vpbrayd him more for that hee doeth write, then they doe for any thing that hee hath written: It is ynough to wonder at, that* Rex scribit. *These people are wise in their*

their generation, and haue learned by long experience; that as the Kingdome *of* CHRIST *is the Gospel of peace, so it hath bene from the beginning spread more by the Pennes of the* Apostles, *then by the power of* Princes; *more propagated by the sweet writings of the ancient* Fathers, *then it could bee suppressed by the seuere Edicts of* Emperours; *and of late, their Kingdome hath bene more shaken by a poore Monke, then it hath bene able to recouer by the helpe of Mighty* Monarches. *Therefore since the writings of poore Schollers haue so raised the* Kingdome *of* CHRIST, *and so discouered the* Mysterie *of Iniquitie; they do well to feare what may follow vpon the Writings of so great a* King.

They liue securely from bleeding by his Maiesties *Sword; but they are not safe from being blasted by the breath of his* Maiesties *Bookes. If they could bring it about therefore, to calme and quiet his* Maiesties *Spirit from working vpon them that way; as they see his* Maiesties *sweetnesse to bee farre from drawing of their bloods the other way, they would deeme it a greater Conquest, then all the conuersions of the* Kings *of the* East *and* West-Indies *they tell vs so many tales of: For they looke vpon his* Maiesties *Bookes, as men looke vpon* Blasing-Starres, *with amazement, fearing they portend some strange thing, and bring with them a certaine Influence to worke great change and alteration in the world: Neither is their expectation herein deceiued; for we haue seene with our eyes, the Operation of his* Maiesties Workes *in the Consciences of their men so farre, as from their highest* Conclaue *to their lowest* Cells, *there haue bene, that haue bene conuerted by them; and that in such number, as wee want rather meanes to maintaine them, then they minds to come to vs. But to conclude this point, that* Kings *may write; Giue mee leaue to offer you this Meditation.*

How many are the wayes that men doe inuent to perpetuate their Memorie! Insomuch, that mortall-men haue made themselues Gods, when they were dead, that they might be adored, as if they were aliue. Wherein, is the Impetus *of Nature so strong,*

as

as in the affection that propogates to Posteritie? *Wherefore serue Pictures, but to continue our features? Why doe men bestow so much cost in sumptuous Buildings, but to leaue a* Monument *of their Magnificence? To what end doe we erect Holy-houses and Hospitalls, but to possesse mens mindes with the Deuotion of our Soules? And shall wee blesse a* King, *when wee behold him in his* Posteritie! *Shall wee admire his features, when wee contemplate them in his* Pictures! *Shall we wonder at his* Magnificence, *when we gaze vpon it in his stately* Edifices! *and may wee not as well bee rauished, when wee see his sharpe Wit, his profound Judgement, his infinite Memorie, his Excellent affections in his admirable* Writings? *Certainely it is a peuersnes to esteeme a man least, for that whereby hee liues the longest; to value him more for the outward worke of his hand, then for the inward operation of his minde; to esteeme him more for that which instructs but little, then for that which shall edifie for euer. What now remaines of* Cæsar *so famous as his* Commentaries? *What of* Cicero, *as his* Orations? *How comes* Aristotle *to be of more authoritie then* Alexander? Seneca, *then* Nero? *The Triumphes and Victories of the one are vanished; the Vertues of the other remaine in their perfect vigour: And though all other* Monuments *by time consume and come to nothing; yet these by time, gaine strength and get authoritie; and euer the more ancient, the more Excellent.*

Hauing now deliuered my opinion, that I thinke it neither vnlawfull nor inconuenient for a King *to write, but that he hath the Liberty that other men haue, if hee can get the leysure; to shew his abilities for the present, to perpetuate his Memory to* Posterity; *to aduance his praise before his owne People, and gaine Glory from others; but especially to giue* Glory *vnto* God.

I will craue leaue to descend to an other Consideration: for it may be, there will not be so much fault found with a King *for writing, as for the matter or Subiect whereof he treates: For* Personages *of their eminent Degree and* State, *must not spend their paines on poore purposes; nor write so much to try their witts*

on triuiall thinges, as to winne themselues Honor by the Excellency of their subiect. Indeed, if I were worthy to aduise a King, *hee should meddle very sparingly, and but vpon important Causes, with* Polemicalls: *Hee should not often fight but in the field; for put the case a* King *writ neuer so modestly, that there be not in a whole Booke one word* ad hominem, *nor any touch of his Aduersary in any personall infirmity; yet I know not how it comes to passe, that in all Controuersies, a solide answere to an argument, is a very sufficient occasion to make an Aduersary wonderfull angrie. And so long as there are diuersity of Opinions, there will neuer want matter for Confutations: And in these Replications the person of a* King *is more exposed and lyes more open, then the person of a poore Scholler can doe; for as he is a farre greater marke, so he may farre more easily be hit. And though they misse him and can hit vpon nothing iustly to bee reprehended in him; yet they doe thinke it* Operæpretium, *to make a Scarre in the face of a* King: *Whereas on the contrary, if a* King *doe write of* Piety *or* Deuotion, *compile a* History, *giue* Precepts *of* Policy, *handle Moralls, or treate of some rare Experiences of Nature; wee doe in these things commend his Iudgement, admire his parts without any euill cogitation against his Person. There can hardly be giuen a more viue Example in this case, then is to be found in the* Writings *of his* Maiestie. *When the* King *had published his* Basilicon-Doron, *a Booke so singularly penned; that a Pomegranat is not so full of kernells, as that is of Excellent* Counsells: *What applause had it in the world? How did it inflame mens minds to a loue and admiration of his* Maiestie *beyond measure; Insomuch that comming out iust at the time his* Maiestie *came in, it made the hearts of all his people as one Man, as much to Honour him for Religion and Learning, as to obey him for Title and Authoritie; and gaue vs then a taste, or rather the first fruits, of that we haue since reaped a plentifull Harueſt of, by his* Maiesties *most prudent and Gracious Gouernment ouer vs. The like I may say of his* Maiesties Demonologie; *a rare peece for many Precepts and Experiments, both in* Diuinitie *and Naturall Philosophie,*

ſophie. In theſe, there was nothing heard of, but Sunne-ſhine and faire-weather; euery countenance ſweet and ſmiling vpon them: But as ſoone as his Maieſtie *dealt againſt the* Pope, *tooke the* Cardinall *in hand, made the world ſee the vſurped power of the one, and Sophiſtry of the other; Good Lord, what a ſtirre we had; what roaring of the wilde Bulls of* Baſan, *what a commotion in euery Countrey; Inſomuch, that I thinke, there is ſcarce a People, Language or Nation in* Chriſtendome, *out of which his* Maieſtie *hath not receiued ſome anſwere or other; either by way of refuting, or at leaſt by rayling: So that, had not the* King *contemned and made himſelfe ſport and recreation by ſuch kinde of Reuelling, rather then bene mooued to paſſion; It could not haue bene but a marueilous perturbation to a* Prince *of ſo exquiſite ſenſe and vnderſtanding. But what of all this? Shall wee wiſh his* Maieſtie *had not fought with beaſts at* Epheſus, *ſtopped the roaring of the* Bull, *nor encountered the* Cardinall? *Trewly when I thinke vpon the wonderfull abuſes, and Hyperbolicall indignities his* Maieſtie *hath receiued from theſe men; I am ſomewhat of that minde: But when on the other ſide, I conſider his* Maieſties *zeale for to maintaine the cauſe of* God *and Right of* Kings; *his ſingular dexteritie to doe it; the bleſſing of* God *that hath followed vpon his ſo doing of it; I cannot but change my opinion, and bee of another minde. And the better to induce you to bee of my minde; I will make vnto you a trew Relation of his* Maieſties *entering into this buſineſſe, and then leaue it to your conſideration; whether there were not a* Diuine hand, *that led his into it, or no. It is the Speach of our Bleſſed* Sauiour, *that there is nothing hid, that ſhall not be knowne; and what is ſpoken in darkeneſſe, ſhall be heard in the Light: This his* Maieſtie *as himſelfe confeſſeth, found trew in the comming foorth of one of his Bookes; and I thinke it may bee found as trew in the comming foorth of ſome other of them. For after the* Pope *had put forth his* Breues, *and the* Cardinall *had ſent his Letters to the Archprieſt; the one to enioyne the People not to take the* Oath *of* Allegiance, *affirming they could not take it with ſafety of their Sal-*

uation; the other to reproue the Arch-priest for that hee had taken it, and to draw him to a penitencie for so foule a Lapse: His Maiestie *like as became a Prudent and a Religious* Prince, *thought it not meete, that these things should passe for current, but that it was expedient his People should know, that the taking of this* Oath *was so farre from endangering their Soules, as that it intended nothing but ciuill Obedience, and without touching any point of their conscience, made the* State *secure of their Allegiance. To performe this worke, his* Maiestie *thought the* Bishop *of* Winchester *that then was, a very fit man, both for his singular Learning, as for that he had long laboured in an Argument not much of a diuers nature from this: Whereupon his* Maiestie *calling for penne and incke, to giue my L. of* Winchester *directions, how and in what maner to proceed in this Argument, I know not how it came to passe; but it fell out trew, that the* Poet *saith,*

——— Amphora cœpit
Institui, currente rota, post vrceus exit.

For the Kings *Penne ranne so fast, that in the compasse of sixe dayes, his* Maiestie *had accomplished that, which hee now calleth his* Apologie; *which when my Lord of* Canterburie *that then was, and my Lord of* Elie *had perused, being indeed deliuered by his* Maiestie *but as briefe Notes, and in the nature of a Minute to bee explicated by the* Bishop *in a larger Volume; yet they thought it so sufficient an Answere both to the* Pope *and* Cardinall, *as there needed no other: Whereupon his* Maiestie *was perswaded, to giue way to the comming of it foorth, but was pleased to conceale his Name: And so haue wee the* Apologie *beyond his* Maiesties *owne purpose or determination.*

After that the Apologie *was out, his* Maiestie *diuerse times would bee pleased to vtter a Resolution of his; that if the* Pope *and* Cardinall *would not rest in his answere, and sit downe by it; take the* Oath *as it was intended for a point of* Allegiance *and Ciuill Obedience; Hee would publish the* Apologie *in his owne name with a* Preface *to all the* Princes *in* Christendome;

dome; *wherein hee would publish such a Confession of his Faith, perswade the* Princes *so to vindicate their owne Power, discouer so much of the* Mysterie *of Iniquitie vnto them; as the* Popes Bulles *should pull in their hornes, and himselfe wish he had neuer medled with this matter. The* Cardinall *contending against the* Apologie, *his* Maiestie *confirmed his Resolution, and with the like Celerity, in the compasse of one weeke, wrote his* Monitory-Preface: *for as* Hirtius *said of* Cæsars Comentaries, Qua fœlicitate *they were done, let others iudge; but* Qua celeritate, *I can tell: And being so written, published it and the* Apologie *in his owne Name; and made good his word, sent it to the* Emperour *and all the* Kings *and free* Princes *in* Christendome.

Now hauing made this Relation, wherein I haue deliuered nothing but trewth; Let me offer vnto you some few things worthy Consideration.

First, that vpon the comming foorth of that Booke, there were no States, *that disauowed the Doctrine of it in that point of the* Kings *power; And the* Venetians *mainetained it in their writings, and put it in Execution; The* Sorbons *maintained it likewise in* France.

Secondly, their owne writers, that opposed it, so cuerlashed, as they were corrected and castigated of men of their owne Religion; Becanus *his Booke corrected by the* Cardinalles *of* Rome; Bellarmines *Booke burnt in* Paris; Suarez *his Answere burnt also in* France. *As for the Raylers, I leaue them to God his Iudgment, whose hand hath bene vpon the most of them.*

Thirdly, his Maiesties *Confession of faith, hath bene so generally approued, as it hath conuerted many of their partie: And had it not bene (as I haue bene informed by diuerse) for the Treatise of* Antichrist, *many more would easily haue bene induced, to subscribe to all in that* Preface.

Fourthly, Kings *and* Princes *haue by his* Maiesties Premonition, *had a more cleare insight, and a more perfect discouery into the Iniury offered them by the* Pope *in the point of their temporall Power, then euer they had; Insomuch, as that point was*

neuer

neuer so throughly disputed in Christendome, *as it hath bene by the occasion of his* Maiesties *Booke.*

Fiftly and lastly, for the point of Antichrist; *I haue heard many confesse, that they neuer saw so much light giuen to that* Mysterie, *neuer descerned so much trewth by the vniforme consent of the Text, and strength of Interpretation of places, as they haue done by his* Maiesties *Booke. So that, though Controuersies be fitter subiects for Schollers ordinarily, then for* Kings; *Yet when there was such a necessitie in vndertaking, and such a successe being performed; I leaue it to the world to iudge, whether there were not a speciall hand of* God *in it, or no. Now since I haue begunne with this point of* Antichrist, *I will make bolde to proceed a little with his* Maiesties Paraphrase *vpon the* Reuelation, *wherein that Treatise of* Antichrist *is principally grounded.*

His Maiesties *singular vnderstanding in all points of good Learning is not vnknowne: But yet aboue all other things,* God *hath giuen him an vnderstanding Heart in the Interpretation of that* Booke, *beyond the measure of other men: For this* Paraphrase, *that leades the way to all the rest of his* Maiesties Workes, *was written by his* Maiestie *before hee was twenty yeeres of aage; and therefore iustly in this Volume hath the first place, the rest following in order according to the time of their first penning. Anciently* Kings *drempt dreames, and saw visions; and* Prophets *expounded them: So with* King Pharaoh *and* Ioseph *in* Egypt; *So with* Nabuchodonosor *and* Daniel *in* Babylon. *In this aage,* Prophets *haue written Visions, and* Kings *haue expounded them.* God *raised vp* Prophets *to deliuer his People from a temporall captiuitie in* Egypt *and* Babylon, *by the Interpretation of the one; And* God *hath in this aage stirred vp* Kings *to deliuer his People from a Spirituall* Egypt *and* Babylon, *by the Interpretation of the other. It is an obseruable thing, that* God *neuer made his People any great promise, but he added vnto his promise a famous* Prophecie. *Three great promises we reade of, that runne through all the Scriptures.*

The

The first of the Messiah; *the second of the land of* Canaan; *the third of the* Kingdome *of Heauen: To these three promises, are reduced all the* Prophecies. *Of the promise of the* Messiah, *prophecied all the* Prophets *from the fall of the first* Adam, *to the comming of the second: Of the promise of the Land of* Canaan, *prophecied* Iacob *and* Ioseph, *and the rest, from the promise made to* Abraham, *to the possessing of it by* Iosuah *and the children of* Israel: *Of the promise of the Kingdome of Heauen, made by our* Sauiour CHRIST, *prophecied the* Apostles; *principally* S. Paul, *and* S. Iohn *in the Reuelation. Now though all were to lay hold on the promises; yet few were able to vnderstand the* Prophecies. *And surely, though all the people of* GOD *are to lay hold on the promises of that Glorious* Kingdome *described in that Booke; yet few are able to vnderstand the* Prophecies *therein contained, comprehending in them a perfect* History *and* State *of the* Church, *euen from the destruction of* Ierusalem, *till the consummation of the whole world. Yet this I thinke, I may safely say; That* Kings *haue a kinde of interest in that Booke beyond any other: for as the execution of the most part of the* Prophecies *of that Booke is committed vnto them; So it may be, that the Interpretation of it, may more happily be made by them: And since they are the principall Instruments, that* GOD *hath described in that Booke to destroy the* Kingdome *of* Antichrist, *to consume his State and Citie; I see not, but it may stand with the Wisedome of* GOD, *to inspire their hearts to expound it; into whose handes hee hath put it to excute, vntill the* LORD *shall consume both him and it with the Spirit of his mouth, and shall abolish it with the brightnesse of his comming: For from the day that* S. Iohn *writ the Booke to this present houre; I doe not thinke that euer any* King *tooke such paines, or was so perfect in the* Reuelation, *as his* Maiestie *is; which will easily appeare by this* Paraphrase, *by his* Maiesties Meditation *on the* 20. *Chap. and his* Monitorie Preface. *It was my purpose to haue past through all his* Maiesties *Books; to haue expressed the Argument and the occasion of their writing; But I find by that I haue already said,*

said, I should be ouer tedious vnto you. This therefore in generall; They are all worthy of a King, *and to be kept to Posterity: For if* Ouid *could imagine, that no time should eate out the memory of his* Metamorphoseis, *which were but fictions; I hope no time shall see an end of these Books, that carry in them so much diuine trewth and light. And as in this first worke of the* Paraphrase, *his* Maiestie *hath shewed his* Piety; *So in this last* Pearle (*I meane* his Maiesties Speach in the Starr-Chamber) *his* Maiestie *hath shewed his* Policy: *The first sheweth, hee vnderstands the* Kingdome *of* God; *this last, that hee as well apprehends the State of his* Kingdomes *in this* World: *The first sheweth him to haue a large Portion in that of Heauen; and this last sheweth him to haue a great Power and experience in these* Kingdomes *hee hath on earth. Therefore, let these men, that delight so much in Detraction and to vilify him, whom* God *hath exalted; and to shed his blood, whose Soule* God *hath bound vp in the Bundle of life; Let them, I say, write what euer the Subtilty of the olde* Serpent *can put into their heads, or the Malice of* Sathan *infuse into their hearts; Let them speake, what the poyson of* Aspes *is able to put into their lippes; they are not all able to make his* Maiestie *to appeare lesse then he is, nor to shew, that euer they had of theirs a* King *so accomplished. It is trew, that wee haue not had many* Kings *in this* Kingdome *of our Profession: But for those we haue had, this* Iland *of ours neuer saw the like, either for partes of Nature, giftes of Learning or Graces of* Piety.

The little time of life, that God lent to King Edward, *must needs lessen his prayses; But neuer did there appeare beginnings of more rare perfection, then in him.*

The length of Queene Elizabeths *dayes, together with the felicity of her time, was not only a Glory to her owne People, but a wonderment to the World, euen our Aduersaries, as* Moses *said, being* Iudges. *And praysed be* God, *the present time passeth a long with the like felicity and much more Securitie: for let me recount a little, for the Glory of* God *and encouragement of his*

Maiestie,

Maiestie, *to goe on in his happie Course begunne, the Blessings of* GOD *we receiue by him; And then let our Aduersaries tell vs, whether we be a miserable People or no, as some of late haue gone about to perswade vs. Neither doe I stand in feare of any mans reprehension; for I will speake nothing but trewth, and I haue my* President *from* GOD *his owne Booke; wherein the good Actes of euery good* King *are to their eternall praises trewly recounted.*

First to beginne with Religion, *as the Generall to the Armie: Of all Gods Blessings wee haue it without any alteration or change contynued vnto vs. His* Maiesties *first Care was for the Confirmation of the Gospell: for at his* Maiesties *first comming in; who knowes not the endeauours of men, to haue made a change, either to the* Papists, *or to the* Puritanes? *His* Maiestie *therefore, to quiet the* State *and Peace of the Church, called a Conference at* Hampton-Court; *where passing ouer the one, as being neuer in his heart to giue the least way vnto; He so tempered the other, as the Harmony hath bene the better euer since.*

The Religion *thus ratified; His* Maiesties *next Care was for the Translation of the* Bible, *it being the ground of our Religion: His* Maiestie *was desirous his People should haue it in as much perfection, as the Industrie and Labors of the best Learned were able to afford it them.*

Hauing done what was necessary for the Spirituall part of the Church, his Maiestie *tooke into consideration the Temporal State thereof: No sooner came the* Parliament, *but finding what spoile had bene made of the Lands thereof in the tyme of his* Predecessors, *by a libertie they had to take the Landes of the Church for a longer Terme then others could doe; Cut himselfe off from that libertie, and equalled himselfe to a common person in the taking of any State in the Churches Landes.*

When his Maiestie *had done this in* England, *he looked backe into* Scotland, *and reforming the State of the Church there, as farre as in his* Princely-Wisedome *he thought conuenient for the time; restored the* Bishops *there, as to their Spirituall* Keies;

so to their temporall Estates, *though it were to the great losse and dammage of his owne Reuennue and* Crowne.

From Scotland *his* Maiestie *came to* Ireland, *that forlorne* Kingdome *both for Temporall and Spiritual estate, till he looked into it: There his* Maiestie *hath reduced the* Bishoppricks, *not only to their old Rents; but added vnto them many new* Reuennues; *so that many places there are answerable to the best Liuings here: Neither hath his Care bene onely on these high places of the Church, but hath descended to the lowest in the same, hauing both protected the* Benefices *from being raysed to any higher Taxe, and hindred all courses, that might giue his Cleargie molestation or trouble.*

His Maiesties Bountie *hath not bene wanting to Colledges and Hospitalls, hauing parted with his owne Tenures, to giue them power of larger Indowments; whereby there hath bene works of more sumptuousnes and cost done in his* Maiesties *time, then there hath bene in any one aage before.*

I may not forget one thing, that since his Maiesties *comming to this* Crowne, *he hath neuer put into his Coffers the meane proffitts of any Ecclesiasticall liuing, but hath bene a* Fidus-Depositarius, *and euer giuen them to the next Incumbent.*

Let me descend a little from these workes of Piety *to* Peace. *Neuer hath there bene so vniuersall a Peace in* Christendome *since the time of our* Sauiour Christ, *as in these his Dayes: And I dare say, as much, if not more, by the procurement of his* Maiestie, *then by any other earthly meanes in this world. A* Peace *(to let forraigne partes passe) so entertayned at home; that in his* Maiesties *three* Kingdomes, *apt enough by constitution, and not vnaccustomed by practise to be at variance, there hath bene no Ciuill dissension at all. With* Peace God *hath giuen vs Plentie: So that, if Peace and Plenty haue not made vs too too wanton, I know not what wee want. Neither is there any crying out for lacke of* Iustice *in our* Courtes; *for neuer was there Iustice administred with more liberty from the* King, *nor more vprightnes from the Judges; And yet in the free dispensation of* Iustice,

Mercie

Mercie *did neuer more triumph. If this bee to bee miserable, I know not what on earth they call Happinesse:* GOD *continue these still vnto vs; and then, let them call Happinesse, what they please.*

But I know wherefore all is miserable; because there is no more Mercy shewed to their Catholiks.

I will put it as a Crowne *vpon all his* Maiesties Mercies: *There was neuer* King, *that had so great a cause giuen him, that euer tooke so little bloode, extending his Mercy to all, that were not personall workers in that* Powder-Plot: *And before that you had hatched that Monster, neither was the person or purse of any your reputed Catholicks touched. And since that time, you may doe well to complaine of your Miseries; but the Church and Comonwealth both, doe trauaile and groane vnder the burthen of your disobedience: But the worst I wish you, is, that at length by his* Maiesties *long* Patience, *you may bee drawne to Repentance; for as we are come out from you, lest we should bee partakers of your plagues; so we pray for you, that you may come in to vs, that you may be participants of our felicities.*

To Conclude this Preface: GOD *hath giuen vs a* Solomon, *and* GOD *aboue all things gaue* Solomon *Wisedome; Wisedome brought him peace; Peace brought him Riches; Riches gaue him Glory. His wisedome appeared in his wordes and* Workes: *his Peace, he preserued by the power of his Army: His riches he rayſed, as by his Reuennue, so by the Trade of his Nauie: His Glory did accrue from them all. Now, as in these,* GOD *exalted him beyond all the* Kings *that euer were, or should be after him; So had he in other things Humiliations not farre behind the proportion of his Exaltations; the fearefullest fall, that the Scripture affords an Example of; the most vnchast life and immoderate excesse of* Women, *that we read of; the weakest Posterity for Wisedome and Gouernment, that we finde in all the Line of his Succeßion.* GOD *would haue it so, that he should no more be set out, as a Type of the* Glory *of his owne* Sonne *in the felicity of his State one way, then he would haue him proposed as a patterne of Humane*

frailty an other way. Therefore, though we may not approach him in his Typicall State; yet GODS *Name be blessed, that hath giuen vs to goe farre beyond him in his personall Condition: For we haue already, blessed be* GOD, *seene the Constancie and perseuerance of his* Maiesty *in his Holy Profession, without any* Eclipse *or Shaddow of change, longer then we are well able to deduce the whole life and reigne of* Solomon. *We haue not the Daughter of* Pharao *an Idolatrous* King; *nor feare we strange women to steale away his heart from the Seruice of* GOD: *But a* Queene, *as of a* Royall, *so of a Religious Stocke, professing the Gospell of* Christ *with him; A* Mirrour *of trew Modestie, a* Queene *of Bounty, both beloued and admired of all his People: A* Posterity *that we need not feare for folly in the one Sexe, nor for leuitie in the other; Both which made* Solomon *speake so much, (as the* Iewes *say) in his* Prouerbes, *of a foolish sonne, because his owne was not wise, and of wanton Women, because he feared the vanity of his owne Daughters. But* GOD *hath left his* Maiestie *a* Sonne; *a* Prince, *as in outward* Liniaments, *so in inward* Abiliments, *(I need say no more) an* Alter-Idem, *a second-Selfe; A* Daughter, *a* Princesse *of that Piety, singular vertue and Modestie; as makes her both beloued at home and admired abroad. I haue done: Only I desire the* Readers *of these* Workes, *to pray to* GOD, *that as he hath so farre aduanced vs, as to bestowe vpon vs, with the Heauenly Treasures of his trewth, the riches of his earthly* Iewels *in so* Sacred *a* King, *so admired a* Queene, *so hopefull a* Prince, *so vertuous a* Princes; *He would for his Mercies sake, for his Sonnes sake, continue this the Light of his Countenance vpon vs in them and their* Posterity, *till the comming of that* Kingdome, *which neuer shall haue end.* AMEN.

Thine in the Lord,

IA. WINTON.

THE

THE SEVERALL TREATISES ACCORDING TO THE TIME WHEREIN THEY WERE WRITTEN, AND THEIR PLACE IN THIS Collection, &c.

An

THE

THE EPISTLE TO THE WHOLE CHVRCH *MILITANT*, in whatsoeuer part of the Earth.

TO whom could I haue so fitly *directed (Christian Readers) this* Paraphrase *of mine vpon the* Reuelation, *as vnto you, who are the very and true posteritie of those Churches, to whom the Booke it selfe was dedicated, and for whose instruction and comfort the said Epistle was endited by the Holy Spirit, and written by that great Theologue* IOHN the Apostle, *whom our Master beloued deerely? I doubt not but it will seeme strange to many, that any of my aage, calling, and literature, should haue medled with so obscure, Theologicall, and high a subiect: But let my earnest desire (by manifesting the Trueth,) as well to teach my selfe as others, serue for excuse; considering also that where diuers others in our aage, haue medled with the interpretation of this Booke, pressing with preoccupied opinions, onely to wrest and conforme the meaning thereof to their particular and priuate passions; I by the contrary protest, that all my trauailes tend to square and conforme my opinions to the trew and sincere meaning thereof: Which causes mooued me to vndertake this worke; not thereby to despise infinite others, who to the glory*

of God, and great comfort of his Church, hath giuen it a great light already, but rather that by oft perusing and dew considering therof, whereto this worke hath led mee, I might be the better acquainted with the meaning of this Booke, which I esteeme a speciall cannon against the Hereticall wall of our common aduersaries the Papists: whom I would wish to know, that in this my Paraphrase *vpon it, I haue vsed nothing of my owne coniecture, or of the authoritie of others, but onely haue interpreted it, in that sense which may best agree with the methode of the Epistle, and not bee contradictorie to it selfe: The meaning whereof I expound, partly by it selfe, and partly by other parts of the Scriptures, as the worke it selfe will beare witnesse: And therefore this one thing I must craue of our Aduersaries, that they will not refute any part of my Interpretation, till they finde out a more probable themselues, agreeing with the whole context,&* cum serie temporum *; and where their consciences beare them witnesse that I speake the Trueth, that they will yeeld vnto it, and glorifie God therein, and this is all the reward I craue for my paines. But of one thing I must forewarne you (Christian Readers)* to wit, *that yee may vnderstand, that it is for the making of the Discourse more short and facile, that I haue made* IOHN *to be the Speaker in all this* Paraphrase; *and not that I am so presumptuously foolish, as to haue meant thereby, that my* Paraphrase *is the onely trew and certaine exposition of this Epistle, reiecting all others: For although through speaking in his person, I am onely bounded and limitted to vse one, and not diuers interpretations, of euery seuerall place; yet I condemne not others, but rather allow them to interpret it diuersly, so being, it agree with the analogie of faith, with the methode of the Text,&* cum serie temporum, *as I said before: for those three being obserued, it may fall out that diuers, diuersly expound one place, and yet all be according to the trueth, and very meaning of the Spirit of God, as may easily be proued by the Text it selfe: For in the* 17. *Chapter the Angel expounding to* Iohn, *the seuen heads of the beastes that came out of the Sea, hee saith the seuen heads which thou sawest vpon the beast*

are

are the seuen Hills, *and they are also* seuen Kings: *Here ye see one thing is expounded in two very farre different fashions, and yet both true; And therefore let wise men take their choice in these things, obseruing alwayes these rules I haue spoken of; as specially for example; This Hebrew word* Armageddon *in the* 16. *Chapter and sixt Phiale, although I expound it to signifie* destruction by deceipt, *as composed of* ערמגדון Gnarma & Geddon *which may very well agree with the History, because it is the name of the place, saith* Iohn, *where the wicked being assembled together by the alluring and deceipt of Satan, and his three spirits of Diuels to make warre with the faithfull, were all destroyed by God, and so their destruction came, and was procured by deceipt; Yet others interpret it to signifie* destruction by waters, *as composed of* הר-מי & גדון Harma & Geddon, *which also may very well agree with the Historie. For waters indeed in this Booke signifie oft many people and Nations, as appeareth by the very Text in the* 17. *Chapter; And others take it to be an allusion to the destruction that* Iosiua *made of Gods enemies vpon the hill of* Mageddon, *and therefore to bee composed of* הר Harr, *which is called a Hill and* Mageddon, *which may also very well agree with the Historie.*

And as I speake of this, so I speake the like of Gog *and* Magog *in the* 20. *Chapter, and of all other ambiguous places in this Booke.*

It rests then that what ye finde amisse in this Paraphrase, yee impute it to my lacke of yeeres and learning; and what ye find worthy to be allowed in it, that yee attribute the full praise thereof to GOD, to whom onely all praise appertaineth.

Fare-well.

THE ARGVMENT OF THIS WHOLE EPISTLE.

HIS Booke or Epiſtle of Reuelation, *was called in doubt, aſwell for the incertaintie of the Author, as alſo for the canonicalneſſe of the Booke it ſelfe, by ſundry of the ancients, and ſpecially by* Euſebe; *For ſoluing whereof I need not to inſiſt, ſince it is both receiued now of all Chriſtians, and alſo diuers of the Neoteriques, in ſpeciall* Beza *in his Preface vpon it, hath handled that matter ſufficiently already; So that this doubt onely reſts now in men, that this Booke is ſo obſcure and allegorique, that it is in a maner vnprofitable to be taught or interpreted; Whereunto I will ſhortly make anſwere, and then goe forward to ſet downe the methode of the ſame: And therefore to make a deduction from the beginning, let vs vnderſtand in what ſeuerall or principall parts the whole Scriptures may be diuided in; and then which of them this Booke is. How ſoone* Adam *being made perfect in his Creation, and hauing the choiſe of* Life *and* Death, Good *and* Euill, *did by his horrible defection make choiſe of* Death, *and caſt off* Life, *and by that meanes infected his whole poſteritie with double ſinne,* to wit, Originall *and* Actuall, *God notwithſtanding had ſuch a Loue to mankinde, as being his moſt Noble workemanſhip, and Creature, made to his owne Likeneſſe and Image, that he ſelected a Church amongſt them; whom firſt becauſe of their weakeneſſe and incredulitie, he with his owne mouth taught, and next inſtructed and raiſed vp notable men amongſt them to be their Rulers, whom he endued with ſuch excellent gifts, as not onely their example in life preached, but alſo by Miracles they ſtrengthened and confirmed their Faith: But leſt this miniſtrie of men ſhould make them to depend onely vpon their mouthes, forgetting Him, and making Gods of them, he at length out of his owne mouth gaue them his Law, which he cauſed them to put in Writ, and retaine ſtill amongſt them; And then leſt they ſhould forget and neglect the ſame, he raiſed vp godly Rulers, aſ well Temporall, as Spirituall, who by their holy liues and working of Miracles, reuiued and ſtrengthened the Law in their hearts.*

But

But seeing, that notwithstanding all this, they cast themselues headlong in the gulfe of vices (such is the vnthankefull and repining Nature of Man,) hee raised vp Prophets, as especially Ieremie *and* Daniel, *to accuse them of their sinnes, and by Visions to forewarne them of the times to come, whereby the godly might turne and arme themselues, and the wicked might be made inexcusable. And thus much for the Old Testament. But then God seeing that notwithstanding this, there crept in such a generall corruption amongst them, that scarce one might be found that bowed not his knee to Baal; Hee then by his vnsearchable Wisedome incarnated his Eternall Sonne and Word* THE LORD IESVS, *who by his death and Passion accomplished the faith of the Fathers; whose Saluation was by the beleeuing in him to come, as also made an open and patent way of Grace to all the world thereafter: And then as vpon a new world, and a new Church, Gods Fatherly care to Mankind was renued, but in a more fauourable forme, because hee looked vpon the Merits of his deare Sonne: Then, first* Christ *with his owne mouth did instruct men, and confirmed his Doctrine by Miracles, and secondly raised vp the Apostles to giue the Law of Faith, confirming it by their liues and Miracles: And last, that notwithstanding this Defection was beginning to creepe in againe, hee inspired one of them,* to wit, IOHN *to write this Booke; that hee might thereby, euen as* Ieremie *and* Daniel *did in the old Law, aswell rebuke them of their sinnes, as by forewarning them, to arme them against the great tentations that were to come after. Then of it selfe it prooues, how profitable this Booke is for this aage, seeing it is the last* Reuelation *of Gods will and Prophesie, that euer was, or shall bee in the World: For wee shall haue no more Prophesies nor Miracles hereafter, but must content our selues with the Law and Prophecies already giuen, as* Christ *in his Parable of* Lazarus *and the rich man teacheth. Now as to the Methode, this holy Epistle is directed to the seuen Churches of* Asia Minor, *whom hee names and writes to particularly in the first three Chapters of the same, and vnder their Names to all their trew Successors, the whole Church Militant in the World. The whole matter may bee diuided in sixe parts,* to wit, The praise or dispraise of euery one of these Churches, *according to their merits wherein they merit good or euill, what way they ought to reforme themselues, and this is contained in the three first Chapters: And to make them inexcusable, in case they slide againe, hee shewes the estate of the whole Church Militant in their time; he tells them what it shall be vntill the end of the World, and what it shalbe when it is Triumphant and immortall after the dissolution:* These three last parts are declared by Visions in the rest of the Epistle, *first the present estate of the Church then, and what it should be thereafter vnto the later day, is summarily declared by the first sixe of the seuen Seales: in the sixt and seuenth Chapters, and afterwards more at large by the seuen Trumpets that came out of the seuenth Seale in the* 8. 9. 10. 11. *Chapters: And because through Tirannie and abuse of the Popedome, Poperie is the greatest temptation since* Christes *first comming, or that shalbe vnto his last; therefore he specially insists more at large and cleerly, in the declaration and painting forth of the same, by Vision of the woman in the wilderness, and of the Beasts that rose out of the sea and the earth, in the* 12. 13. *and* 14. *Chapters: And then to comfort men that might otherwise despaire, because of the* Chap. 15. 16.

greatnesse of that temptation, he declares by the next following Vision of the Phials, what plagues shall light vpon the Pope and his followers: Next, he describes him againe, farre clearer then any time before, and likewise his ruine, together with the sorrow of the Earth, and ioy of Heauen therefore: And then to inculcate and ingraue the better the foresaid Visions in the hearts and memories of Men, hee in a Vision makes a short summe and recapitulation of them, to wit, *of the present estate of the Church then, and what it should bee thereafter, vnto the Day of* Iudgement, *together with a short description of the said Day: And last he describes by a Vision, the glorious reward of them, who constantly persist in the Trueth, resisting all the temptations which he hath forespoken,* To wit, *he describes the blessed estate of the holy and Eternall* Ierusalem, *and* Church Triumphant, *and so with a short and pithie Conclusion makes an end.*

Chap. 17. 18. 19. Chap. 20.

A PARA-

A PARAPHRASE VPON THE REVELATION OF THE APOSTLE S. IOHN.

CHAP. I.

ARGVMENT.

The Booke, the Writer, and the Inditer; the end and vse thereof: The dedication of this Epistle to the Churches and Pastors, vnder the vision of the seuen Candlesticks and seuen Starres.

OD THE FATHER hath directed his Sonne and Word, IESVS CHRIST, to send downe an Angel or Minister, to me *Iohn* his seruant, and by him to reueale vnto mee certaine things which are shortly to come to passe, to the effect in time the chosen may be forewarned by me; [2] Who haue borne witnes that the word of God is true, and that IESVS CHRIST is, and was a faithfull witnesse, and haue made true report of all I saw. [3] Happy are they that read and vnderstand this Prophesie, and conforme themselues thereunto in time, for in very short space it will be fulfilled: [4] I am directed to declare the same, specially to you the *seuen Churches of Asia*, with whom be grace and peace from the Eternall, the Father, and from the Holy Spirit: [5] And IESVS CHRIST, that faithfull witnesse, the first borne of the dead, the Mightie King of the world, and head of his Church; Who for the loue he bare vs, hath made vs innocent by his blood in the worke of Redemption: [6] To him then we, whom hee hath made Spiritual Kings and Priests, in Honour and Holinesse, and ordained to serue and praise his Father, giue all glory and power for euer: so be it. [7] Assure your selues of his comming againe *from Heauen* in all glory, and all eyes shall see him; Yea the wicked shalbe compelled to acknowledge that it is euen very he, whom so

Christ crucified.

so they did persecute: And the whole world shall haue a feeling before him of their vnthankefulnesse. So be it. [8] I am Eternall, saith the Lord, before whom, all things (which is or was) are present, and I am only the worker of all, I who euer Was, and still am, shall surely come againe according to my promise: And as I am Eternall and true, so I am Almighty, preordinating all things before all beginnings. [9] I *Iohn*, your brother in the flesh, and companion with you, aswell in the seruice of *Christ*, as in the patient suffering of the Crosse, being for that word of God and witnessing of *Christ*, whereof I spake, so persecuted, that for safety of my life I was constrained to flie all alone to the solitarie Ile of *Pathmos*. [10] Then was I bereft in spirit vpon the *Sunday*, which is hallowed to the Lord: Then heard I behind me, turne about and take heed, the mighty voyce of the Lord as a Trumpet, because he was to declare the estate of the battell of the Church Militant vnto me; [11] Saying these wordes, *I am* A *and* Ω, to wit, *the first and the last*, write thou in a Booke what thou seest, and send it to the *Seuen Churches in Asia*, the names of which are these, *Ephesus*, *Smyrna*, *Pergamos*, *Thyatyra*, *Sardis*, *Philadelphia*, and *Laodicea*: [12] And when I turned mee to see the voyce, I did see *seuen Candlesticks* representing these seuen Churches: [13] And in the middest of them the figure of the *Sonne of man* representing him, clothed with a side garment for grauitie, and girded about the paps with a girdle of Gold for glory: [14] His head and haire were white as white Wooll, or Snow for innocencie; and his eyes were bright like flames of fire, to signifie his all-seeing knowledge: [15] His feet were of brasse, brightly flaming as in a furnace, to declare his standing in Eternity: And his voice like the sounding of many waters, representing his Maiestie in commanding: [16] And hee had in his Right hand, the side that the Elect are on, *seuen Starres* for you the *seuen Angels*, that is, Pastors of the *seuen Churches*: And from his mouth came a two-edged sword, *to wit*, the Sword of the word, which comes onely from him; and his face was as the Sunne shining bright, for from his Face comes all light to illuminate blind Man. [17] And when I thus did see him, I fell dead at his feet for astonishment, but he lifted mee vp againe with his right and fauourable hand, and comfortably said vnto mee, Feare not, be not astonished, for *I am the first and the last*. [18] Who, as verily as now I liue, was once dead, as thou thy selfe beares witnesse, and yet now doe liue for euer and euer, and by my death onely I haue ouercome Hell and Death; and I onely and no other, keepe the Keyes that haue the power of them both. [19] And now I came to charge thee to write these things which thou hast now seene, because they are afterwards to come to passe.

1.Cor.2.

Iohn banished to *Pathmos* for the trueth, writeth the Reuelation.

Vers.10.

Psal.51. Esay.4. Matth.3. Ierem.1.15. Esay 17.

Hebr.1.10. Vers.10.

Ephes.6. Esay.60. Matth.7.

Psal.63. Psal. 139.

Christ is risen from death to life. Timoth.1. Hebr.2.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

ARGVMENT.

Admonition and exhortation to the Churches of Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamos and Thyatira.

WRite then this to the Angel, or Pastour of the Church of *Ephesus*: He that hath the *seuen Starres*, or seuen Pastours in his Right hand, or fauourable power, or protection, and who walkes among the *seuen Golden Candlesticks*, or watches ouer the seuen Churches, euen hee, I say, sayes thus vnto thee: 2 I know thy workes, thy trauaile and patience, & that thou suffrest not the wicked to walke with thee, but hast learned them out, that call themselues Apostles in the Church of *Ephesus*, and are not, and hast tried them to be lyers: 3 Thou art also loaded with a great burden, and yet willingly sustainest it, and for the loue of my Name hast thou trauailed much, and yet wearieſt not: 4 But in this I must finde fault with thee, that thy former charitie is waxed cold: 5 Remember then from whence thou hast fallen, and repent, turning thy selfe to thy first workes, otherwise I wil turne against thee soone, and will remoue thy Candlesticke out of the place it is in, *to wit*, the light of the Gospel, from thy Church, if thou repent not in time: 6 But this againe, thou doest well to hate the deeds of the *Nicolaitans* which also I hate. 7 Let all who haue eares, or are willing to be followers of me, heare and take example by this which the Spirit of God sayes to the seuen Churches, or their *seuen Pastours* in the name of them: And to him who is Victor in the battell against Satan and the flesh, I shall giue to eate of the *Tree of Life*, which is in the middest of the Paradise of God, *to wit*, I shall make him liue eternally in Heauen. 8 To the Angel or Pastour of the Church of *Smyrna* write thou, This sayes the first and the last, who was dead but now liues: 9 I know thy workes, thy trouble and pouertie, but thou art rich, *to wit*, in graces; I know also what blasphemies are vsed against thee, by them who call themselues *Iewes*, but are not, but by the contrary are of the Synagogue of Satan. 10 Feare not when yee shall be troubled by the deuil, for he will persecute and trouble some of you in the flesh, that your constancie may be tried, and ye shall haue great affliction for the space of tenne dayes, *to wit*, for a certaine space, but be yee faithfull vnto the death, and for your continuance I shall giue you the Crowne of life immortall. 11 *Hee that hath an eare, let him heare what the Spirit saith to the Churches*; and he that ouercommeth shall not be hurt by the second death, which is Hell. 12 And to the Angel or Pastour of the Church of *Pergame*, write thou, Thus saith he that hath the two edged sword: 13 I know thy workes and where thou dwellest, euen where the throne of Satan is, *to wit*, among a great number of wicked; Yet hast thou not denied thy Faith in me, no not in straightest times, when *Antipas* my faithfull Martyr and witnesse,

Chap. 1. v. 10.
Psal. 63.
Chap. 1.
False apostles in the Church of *Ephesus*.
Destruction to the Church of *Ephesus*, except they repent.
Chap. 1.
Ioh. 12. v. 35.
Nicolates.
Pouerbs 15.
Matth. 23.
1. Iohn 2.
1. Iohn 5.
Prou. 3. 5. 18. 22.
Ephes. 1. 3.
The Church of *Smyrna* afflicted and troubled, yet doeth continew.
Psal. 91.
Pergame the principall Citie in *Attalia*.
Antipas Martyr.

witnesse, was slaine among you, where Satan, *to wit*, many wicked remaine: [14] Yet haue I some few things to lay to your charge, *to wit*, That yee permit them to remaine amongst you, who retaine the doctrine of *Balaam*, who perswade men to eate of things immolate to Idoles, and to commit fornication, and filthinesse in the flesh: For the very same did *Balaam* to Balac, to cause the Israelites stumble. [15] Thou offendest also in suffering some to be amongst you, who retaine the doctrine of the *Nicolaitans* which I hate. [16] Repent therefore in time, otherwise I will come against thee soone, and I will fight and ouercome them who are amongst you, with the sword of my mouth, *to wit*, by the force of my word. [17] He that hath an eare, let him heare what the Spirit saith to the Churches: And to the Victour shall I giue to eate of that secret and hidden *Manna*, *to wit*, of Me the spirituall food of the faithfull, of whom that *Manna* which was hid in the Arke was a figure: And I will also giue him a *White stone*, or a Marke of his election and righteousnesse through imputation, and in it a New name written, *to wit*, his name shall be written vp in the *Booke of life*, which no man knoweth but he who receiues it; for no other may know the certaintie of ones Election, but onely he who is elected. [18] And to the Angel or Pastour of the Church of *Thyatire*, write, This saith the Sonne of God, whose eyes are like flames of fire, and whose feet are like to glistering brasse: [19] I know thy workes, thy charitie, thy almes, and carefull helping of the weake, thy faith, thy patience, and shortly all thy workes; but in speciall I praise thy great constancie and firme continuance, euen so, as thy last workes are better then the first: [20] Yet some few things haue I to lay to thy charge, *to wit*, that thou suffersst a woman, like to *Iezebel* in wickednesse and Idolatrie, who calls her selfe a Prophetesse, to teach and seduce my seruants, to commit fornication and filthinesse of the flesh, and to eate of things immolate vnto Idols: [21] Yet gaue I her a time to repent from her filthinesse, but she would not: [22] Therefore loe I shall cast her into a bed, *to wit*, I shall destroy her in the puddle of her sinnes, and I shall trouble with great affliction all them who commit adulterie, *to wit*, spirituall adulterie with her, if they repent not of their euill workes in time. [23] And I will kill and destroy her sonnes, *to wit*, all the followers of her doctrine, that all the Churches and faithfull may know me to be the searcher out of the secrets of all hearts, and the iust renderer and recompencer of euery man according to his workes. [24] But I say vnto the rest of you who are at *Thyatire*, who haue not receiued that false doctrine, nor know not the depth nor secrets of Satan or wickednesse, whereof the other falsely did purge themselues, I will not lay any other burthen vpon you, then that which already constantly yee beare: [25] But that which yee haue, holde it out valiantly vntill my comming againe. [26] For vnto him who is victour, and beares out to the end that burthen which I lay vpon him, I will giue power ouer Nations, *to wit*, hee shall triumph ouer the world: [27] And he shall rule them with an yron rod, and they shall be broken

1. Cor. 10.14.

ken like vessels of earth, according as I haue receiued the power from my Father: [28] And I shall giue vnto him the *Morning Starre*; for as the morning starre shines brighter then the rest, so shall he shine brighter in glory then his fellowes. [29] *He that hath an eare, let him heare what the Spirit sayth to the Churches.*

CHAP. III.

ARGVMENT.

Admonition and exhortation to the Churches of Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea.

And to the Angel or Pastour of the Church of *Sardis* write thou, Thus sayth he who hath the seuen Spirits of God, *to wit*, hee with whom the holy Spirit is vnseparably ioyned, and who hath the bestowing of all the graces of Gods Spirit on the Elect, and hath the *seuen Starres, to wit*, who is the head of you the seuen Pastours, *I know thy workes*, for ye say ye liue, and yet are dead, for your faith is fruitlesse. [2] Be watchfull then, and sleepe no longer in negligence and carelesse securitie, but strengthen againe that which is dying in you, *to wit*, reuiue your zeale and feruencie which is waxed cold, and almost quenched; for surely I haue not found your works so holy, and pure, as they are able to abide a triall before the face of God: [3] Remember then what thou hast once receiued & heard, that thou maist obserue the same and repent; but if thou watch not as I haue said, I will come as a thiefe, for the day of triall shall come when ye looke least for it, if ye be not alwayes, and at all times prepared: [4] Yet haue yee some few heads and notable persons in *Sardis*, who haue not defiled their garments, *to wit*, corrupted their workes as the rest haue done, and therefore they shall goe with me being made white, *to wit*, being made innocent by my merit, for they are worthy thereof: [5] And the Victour shall be clothed with a white garment of innocencie by imputation, neither shall I wipe his name out of the Booke of life, but shall auow him to be one of mine before my Father and his Angels. [6] *He that hath an eare, let him heare what the Spirit sayth to the Churches*: [7] But to the Angel or Pastour of the Church of *Philadelphia* write thou, This sayth hee who is onely holy and trew, and who hath the key of *Dauid*, who openeth and no man shutteth, who shuts and no man openeth, as sayes *Esay*; for as *Dauid* was both King and Prophet, and was the figure of me, so I, as the veritie and end of that figure, am onely he, who hath the keyes of absolute condemning, or absoluing specially and eternally. [8] I know thy workes, and loe, I haue set an open doore before thee, *to wit*, I haue made the way of grace patent vnto thee, which doore no man can shut, because I haue reserued the secret power of election and reprobation onely to my selfe; and this fauour will I shew you, because

Sardis.

Philadelphia.

Chap. 22.

cause yee retaine some good and vertuous things amongst you, and hast kept my Word, and hast not beene ashamed of my Name, nor denyed the same; [9] Loe therefore I will make subiect vnto thee, these who are the *Synagogue of Satan, to wit*, those who call themselues Iewes, and are not, but lye: I shall make them (I say) come and adore before your feete, and they shall be compelled to know that I haue loued thee: [10] And this shall I do vnto thee, because thou hast faithfully returned the tidings of my troubles and sufferings, and therefore shal I deliuer thee also to trie the indwellers of the Earth. [11] Loe, I come shortly, therefore retaine surely to the end, that good which is in thee, lest another doe receiue thy Crowne and reward: [12] For I will make the Victor a pillar in the Temple of my God, *to wit*, a speciall and stedfast instrument in the Church, out of the which he shall neuer againe be cast foorth: for hee who once is elected, is neuer cast off; and I shall write on him, the Name of God, *to wit*, he shal beare the Marke and Seale of an Elect, and the name of the Citie of my God, which is new *Ierusalem, to wit*, the holy and blessed number of Saints and Angels which commeth downe from heauen from my God, *to wit*, is shortly and certeinly to come downe, by the generall compeiring at the latter day: And I shall also write on him mine owne Name, for I shall apply my generall redemption of mankinde to him, in speciall, and so I shall write my new Name vpon him, *to wit*, of Redeemer and Sauiour, which name I haue lately acquired through my passion, death, and rising againe. [13] *He that hath an eare, let him heare what the Spirit sayth vnto the Churches.* [14] And to the Angel or Pastour of the Church of *Laodicea*, write thou, *Thus sayth the Amen, to wit*, he that is wholly and perfect holy, and true in all his promises, that faithfull Witnesse, who is the beginning of the workemanship of God, as well because hee is that Word which did create all, and so is their beginning, for that they all receiued their beginning and being from him, as because the vniting of the Manhood with the Godhead in his person is the most excellent, and so the beginning, that is, the chiefe, or first in preeminence of all the workes of God. [15] I know thy workes, sayth hee, *to wit*, that thou art neither hote nor colde, would to God thou wert either hote or cold, *to wit*, either feruent and pure in the trueth, or altogether cold and ignorant, that is, seeing and confessing thine ignorance and slacknesse, that thou mightest be instructed in the same: [16] But thou art lukewarme, and neither hote nor cold, and so inexcusable; and therefore as lukewarme liquor prouokes vomit, so will I spew thee out of my mouth: [17] For thou sayest and thinkest thy selfe to be wealthy, and greatly enriched, and lacke nothing; but thou knowest not thy selfe to be spiritually in miserie and wretchednesse, poore, blinde, and naked of the grace and fauour of God: [18] I would wish thee to buy of me gold purged by the fire, that thou mayst thereby be made truely rich; I meane, I would wish thee to conquer by true repentance and earnest prayer, the Word and trueth of God; (which because it can receiue no filth or spot, and is able to abide the triall, *Dauid* properly

Laodicea.

Iudgement against Laodicea.

properly in his Psalmes compares to golde purged by the fire) which will make thee rich in all spirituall graces: I would also wish thee to clothe thy selfe with a white garment, *to wit*, with innocencie and righteousnes, that the shame of thy nakednesse and vncleannesse appeare not, and to anoint thine eyes with an eye-salue, that thou mayst cleerly see from whence thou hast fallen: [19] But despaire thou not for these my sharpe words, for those whom I loue, I reprooue and fatherly chasten: Take vp therefore againe zealously the right way to saluation, and repent thee earnestly of thy former iniquities. [20] Loe I stand at the doore, and knocke; for I offer my selfe vnto you by my Ambassadours, and my word in their mouth, whosoeuer heareth my voice and openeth the doore, *to wit*, whosoeuer heareth my voice, and yeeldeth thereunto due obedience, to him will I come in, *to wit*, my holy Spirit shall enter into him, and I will sup and be familiar with him, as he shall doe with me, and reuerence me with loue: [21] And I will make the Victour to sit with me in my Throne, *to wit*, he shalbe partaker of my Glory, euen as I sit with my Father in his Throne, and am in my manhood, in which I ouercame, exalted to sit in glory at his right hand, equall in power, eternitie and glory with him. [22] *Hee that hath an eare, let him heare what the Spirit sayth to the Churches.*

CHAP. IIII.

ARGVMENT.

The rauishing of the Writer: The description of the Maiestie of God in Heauen, compassed about with Angels and Saints, vnder the figure of Saints and Elders.

AND when this speech of IESVS was ended, I looked vp, and loe, I did see a doore opened in Heauen, to the effect that I might see and heare therein, the figuratiue representing of those things that were to come after: And that first voice which spake vnto me before, lowd as a trumpet, and was the voice of IESVS CHRIST, spake vnto mee, and said, *Mount vp thither, for I am to shew thee those things that are to be done hereafter.* [2] Then was I immediatly bereft in spirit; for the eyes of my earthly and grosse body, could not haue seene and comprehended those heauenly and spirituall mysteries: And loe, I did see a Throne set in heauen, and did see one sit thereon, *to wit*, GOD the Father in all Glory and Maiestie: [3] And he that sate thereon, was like in colour to the Iasper and Sardine stones; greene as the Iasper, to represent his euerlasting flourishing without decay; and fiery redde as the Sardine, to signifie his great brightnesse and consuming power, who is the trier and separater of the Elect from the reprobate: and the Rainebow, coloured like the Emerauld, did compasse him round about, to testifie thereby, that as after the deluge hee

Ezech.1.

hee made the Rainebow a Sacrament of the promises made to Noah, so this Rainebow which now I did see compassing his Throne, should serue for a sure Sacrament, that hee will neuer suffer his Elect to perish, but will alwayes, and at all times be compassed, with a great care and watchfulnes ouer them: Greene it was as the Emerauld, to signifie the continuance without ceasing of his care; as the Emerauld comforteth the sight, so is this Sacrament an vnspeakeable comfort vnto the Elect in their troublesome dayes. 4 And about his Throne were foure and twentie other seats, and I saw foure and twentie Elders or Ecclesiasticall Rulers sitting thereupon, clothed with *white garments*, and hauing *Crownes of Golde* vpon their heads: These are the twelue Patriarkes, and then the twelue Apostles, [who for that they haue beene the speciall teachers both of the olde and new Law, to the saluation, aswell of Iewes as of Gentiles, are set in seates about his Throne for glory, and clothed with white garments for their innocencie and brightnesse] and crowned with crownes of golde in token of their victory ouer Satan and the flesh, and of their glorious reward therefore. 5 And from his Throne went foorth thunder, lightening, and terrible voices, to represent the great seueritie and terriblenes of his Iudgements, denounced by the olde Law, and executed on the wicked: And there were seuen lampes of burning fire before his Throne, which is the infinite, mightie, and flaming bright holy Spirit, resembling the loue and light of the new Law of the Gospel of Christ. 6 And there was a sea of glasse like vnto Christall before his Throne, for that as in a glasse he cleerely sees euen all the secretest actions and cogitations of all in the world, described here by the Sea, which is euer before his face; for nothing can be hid from his presence and prescience: And though in lustre and glaunce the world be like the liuely fountaines of waters, which are the faithfull, daily springing and flowing with good workes by fruitfull faith, yet is it indeede without motion or liquor, dead and like glasse, whensoeuer the Lord IEHOVAH doeth thunder his Iudgements vpon it: And in the middest of the Throne, and about the same, were foure beasts; their foure hinder parts were in the midst of it, their shoulders bearing it vp, and their head and wings without and about the same; and these beasts were full of eyes behind and before: These are the holy Cherubims, the highest degree of Angels, foure in number, as well because of their foure qualities to execute his will, (as yee shall heare hereafter) as for that the Lord directs them when it pleaseth him, to all the foure corners of the world, and are as it were his foure windes to blow, that is, to execute either fauour or Iustice, in whatsoeuer place he appointeth them; they are about his Throne, and as it were sustaine the same; testifying thereby, that they are most excellent of all others, *& per* ἀιθεροπαθείαν, the pillars or footstooles of his glory: Their number of eyes before and behind, signifie their certaine knowledge of things past, as to come, committed to their charge, together with their continuall vigilancie to execute GODS commandements:

Ezech. 10. 12.

7 And

7 And the first beast was like a Lion, the second like a Calfe, the third was faced like a man, and the fourth was like a flying Eagle; hereby representing their excellent qualities in the execution of the Lords decrees, *to wit*, great power, courage, patience, and strength to trauell, how oft and how much they should be commanded; great wisedome and a wonderfull swiftnesse in the execution thereof. 8 And euery one of these beasts had sixe wings in circuit, (These are the sixe wings *Esay* speaketh of:) two at their armes, to signifie their great celeritie in accomplishing Gods commandements; two to couer their faces with, to testifie that the glory of God is so bright, and his Maiestie so great, as the very Angels, his most excellent creatures, are not able to behold the same; and two at their feete, as well to wipe the filth of the earth off them, after they haue beene here below, (teaching vs thereby, that although they be oft in the world, by the direction of their Creatour, yet cannot the world infect them with her sinnefulnesse and corruptions) as also to let vs know, that they are so farre in glory aboue all men liuing in the earth, as it is impossible to vs with corporall eyes, to behold the least part of their glorious brightnesse without a vaile, euen as it is to them to behold the glory of the Almightie: And within they were all full of eyes, to represent their incessant looking on God, which commeth from that inward and inestimable loue they beare vnto him; which also they expressed in their continuall singing of these wordes, *Holy, Holy, Holy*, is that threefold *Lord God Almightie*, who euer was, now is, and shall come againe, replenished with all fulnesse of glory and power: 9 And when these Beasts were giuing all glory, honour, and thankes to him that sate on the Throne, to him (I say) who liues eternally; 10 The foure and twentie Elders, as next in ranke, fell downe vpon their faces before him that sate on the Throne, and adored Him who liues for euer, and cast downe their Crownes of golde at his feete, in token that they receiued them onely of him, saying, 11 *Thou art onely worthy, O Lord, to be accounted glorious, honourable, and powerfull, for that thou hast created all things, and for thy will and pleasure haue they had their being, and were created.* This glance did I see of the glory that is in heauen, at the receiuing of my Commission, contained in the following Visions which I did see of the things present and to come, in the generall Church militant.

Esay 6.8.

CHAP. V.

ARGVMENT.

The description of the Booke, wherein was conteined all the Misteries which were reuealed to this Writer: Christs opening of them vnder the figure of a Lion, and of a Lambe: The praises giuen him by the Saints and Angels therefore, who offer without any Intercessour, euery one his owne thankesgiuing, and praises to the Mediatour.

Dan. 12. 4.
Esay 24 11.
Ezek. 2. 10.

THen first I did see in the Right hand of him that sate on the Throne, a Booke, the Booke wherein these mysteries are contained; and all the Booke was written vpon, aswell on the backe as within; on the backe was written these Visions that I did see, and am presently to declare vnto you; within was written the plaine exposition, and the very proper names of all things which these Visions did represent, which are inclosed there, to signifie that the Lord hath not permitted me to manifest the same to the world, for the time thereof is not come yet; which Booke was sealed with seuen Seales, aswell to keepe euery part thereof vnreuealed to any, as also to giue the greater certaintie, that these things shall come to passe, which are prophesied therein. 2 And I saw a strong Angel proclayming with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open this Booke, and to loose the Seales thereof? 3 But there could none be found worthy to doe it, neither in heauen nor in earth, nor beneath the earth, no not to looke on it, much lesse to open it: for neither Angel nor deuil either knows or dare meddle with the high mysteries of God, and things future, except so farre as pleaseth him to commit and reueale vnto them: 4 Then wept I very sore that none could be found worthy to open and read that Booke, no not to looke vpon the same: for I was very sorrowfull that I could not haue it reuealed vnto me: 5 At last one of the Elders said vnto mee, Weepe not, Loe the Lion of the Tribe of *Iuda* hath preuailed, *to wit*, he who is come of *Iuda*, and hath admirable force in his flesh, deriued from the Tribe of *Iuda*, by which he ouercame Sinne, Death, and Hell, and is the roote of *Dauid*, (for *Dauid* was his figure and fore-beer in the flesh) is worthy and onely worthy to open the Booke, and loose the Seales thereof. 6 And then I tooke heed, and behold, I did see in the middest of the Throne, and the foure beasts, a second person of the Trinitie sitting with God, and in the middest of the Elders, as a man and our brother, a Lambe standing like as hee had bene slaine, to signifie that once indeed hee was slaine, but had risen againe, and had seuen Hornes and seuen Eyes, representing the innumerable times, mighty and holy Spirit of God, which after his Resurrection he sent out through the whole earth to direct, instruct, and rule the same by his prouidence and power: 7 This Lambe then came and tooke the Booke out of the Right hand of him that did sit on the Throne: 8 And so soone as he had taken the Booke in his hand, these foure beasts, and these foure and twentie

twentie Elders fell vpon their faces before the Lambe, and adored him, and euery one of them had in his hand Harpes, and golden Phials, full of sweet odours; these are the prayers of the Saints, which the foure beasts, comprehending all the degrees of Angels, and the foure and twentie Elders comprehending the whole Church, as well Militant as Triumphant, perceiuing that CHRIST is to reueale all the tentations which are to fall vpon the earth and Church, before the latter dayes; doe powre forth, aswel on the Church triumphants part, thankesgiuing, that by the reuealing or opening of the Booke, he armeth the Militant Church to resist all the tentations contained therein, as also on the Church Militants part, to pray him to hasten the end and dissolution; for the hastening whereof all creatures sigh and grone to their Creator. Euery one of these beasts and Elders, presents their owne praiers vnto him who sits on the Throne, to teach vs, as he is Mediatour, and therefore our prayers must be offered vnto him onely, that so there is no Intercessour betweene him and vs, but euery one of vs must present our owne prayers before him, after the example of the beasts and Elders: These prayers were inclosed in harpes, to signifie the sweet and pleasing sound, that faithfull prayers make in the eares of God; they were inclosed in golden Phials, to teach vs that acceptable prayers must come from an vndefiled heart, and pure as gold; and they themselues are called *incense*, because their smell is pleasant and sweet like *incense* in the nostrils of God. This did the incense at the sacrifice in the old Law signifie and figurate; and of this *incense* speakes *Dauid* in his Psalmes. 9 And they, *to wit*, the foure and twenty Elders did sing a new Canticle, for the matter of their Canticle, *to wit*, the accomplishment of the Mysterie of redemption is new, and euer ought to be new and fresh in the hearts of all them that would be accompted thankefull: Their song then was this; Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receiue the Booke, and open the Seales thereof, for thou hast bene slaine, though innocent; and by thy precious Blood hast redeemed vs to God thy Father, and hast chosen vs out of all Tribes, tongues, people and nations, aswell *Iewes* as *Gentiles*: 10 And thou hast made vs Kings and Priests spiritually to our God: And we shall reigne ouer the earth at the last and generall Iudgement, and as Kings, shall be participant of the glory of the holy and new Citie *Ierusalem*. 11 Then I beheld and heard round about the Throne, the beasts, and the Elders, the voyces of many Angels, to the number of many thousand thousands, *to wit*, innumerable Legions of them, 12 Who said all with a loud voice, The *Lambe* who was slaine, is worthy to haue all power, riches, wisedome strength, honour, glory and blessing for euer. 13 I also heard all creatures in Heauen, in earth, and beneath the earth, and in the seas, euen all that are in them, I heard saying in one voyce vnto him that sits vpon the Throne, and vnto the *Lambe* be *Blessing*, *Glory*, *Honour* and *Power* for euer, and euer. And the foure beastes said, Amen, and the foure and twenty Elders fell on their faces, and adored him that liues for euer, and euer.

Exod.30.7.
Psal.141.2.
Psal.144.
Dan.7.10.

CHAP. VI.

ARGVMENT.

The opening of the first sixe Seales: The spreading of the Euangel, signified by the white horse, in the first seale: The great Persecution by the red horse, in the second: The number of diuers heresies by the blacke, in the third: The Popedome and Tyrannie thereof by the pale, in the fourth: The complaint of the Saints, and their deliuerance promised: Their blessed estate in the meane time, in the fift: The day of Iudgement, and the terriblenesse thereof, in the sixt.

AFter this I looked to see when the *Lambe* opened the *first Seale*, and loe, I heard one of the foure beasts, for they were appointed to assist me in the time of these Visions, as the most excellent creatures of God; and his voice was like a thunder, making me awake, with terrour to take heede to these great and terrible Prophesies, which God was to declare vnto me, and hee said, *Come and see.* [2] Then I looked and did see a white horse, and he that sate on him had a bow in his hand, and a Crowne giuen vnto him, and hee came foorth a Victour to winne and ouercome: This man comming on the white horse, was the comming and incarnation of our Bright and Innocent Sauiour, armed with a bow; for euer since his comming till now, and a space hereafter, the dart and arrow of God, *to wit*, the holy Spirit by the preaching of the Gospel doeth subdue, and bring the world vnder his subiection, and taketh vengeance of his enemies: His crowne is giuen to him by his Father, in token of his victory ouer the second death, and as King of the Catholike Church to crowne the faithfull, and so he commeth foorth a Victour ouer Satan, and to ouercome by once, conuerting a great part of the world to the trew knowledge of God: This mysterie is already begunne, but is not yet accomplished. [3] And when he opened the second Seale, [4] Loe, there came forth a red horse, and there was power giuen to him that sate on him, to take away peace from the earth, that euery one might slay one another; and there was giuen him for that purpose a great sword; for with the spreading of the Euangel and rooting of the trueth in the hearts of the nations, shall a bloody persecution of Tyrants by the ciuil sword, be ioyned; which is meant by the rider on the red horse: but notwithstanding the Euangel shall spread and flourish, for such is the power of God, resisting the pride of man, that vnder the Crosse, the puritie of the trueth most flourisheth in the Church. [5] And when he opened the third Seale, the third Beast said vnto me, *Come and see:* and loe, I did see a blacke horse, and hee that sate vpon him had balances in his hand: [6] And I heard a voice from among the foure Beasts, saying, *A measure of Wheat for one peny, and three measures of Barley for one peny, but wine and oyle harme thou not*: for after that this first mysterie shall be accomplished, not onely dearth and famine shall ensue the contempt of the trueth,

Zach.1.8. Zach.6.2,3.

Conuersion of the Gentiles.

Persecution of the body by the Ciuill sword, in the second Seale. Continuation of trew pastors after the Martyres.

trueth, but God shall permit Satan to tempt and vexe his Church with a cloud of diuers and dangerous heresies, which may be meant by the rider on the blacke horse, for the blackenesse and darkenesse of them, shall obscure the light of the Gospel; but yet God, to assure vs that hee will neuer forget his owne, speakes from his Throne, comforting vs thereby, that although (as the balances and measure signifies) good men shall be scant, who are the fine wheat and barley of his harueſt, yet some shall there be that shall not bow their knee to *Baal*, no not in straighter times that shall come after; and alwayes giues vs assurance, that the word and trueth of God, which is an eternall Oyle, and comfortable Vine, shall neuer be destroyed, nor any wayes corrupted, in spight of all the malice of Satan in his instruments. 7 And when hee opened the fourth Seale, the fourth Beast said vnto me, *Come and see.* 8 Then I beheld, and loe, I did see a pale horse, and the name of him that sate vpon him was Death: This is the greatest and heauiest plague; for after that the persecutions and heresies shall take an ende, and that infirmitie and coldnesse haue cropen into the Church, then shall God redouble his former plagues, by permitting Satan to erect a tyrannie composed of both these former plagues; for it shall be full of heresie like the one, and full of ciuill and temporall tyrannie like the other: and therefore because it brings with it al maner of death, both of body and soule, the rider is iustly called Death, as the fountaine of all the sorts of the same: and the palenesse of the horse is correspondent in all points to the qualitie of the rider; for as the rider is called Death, so the colour of palenesse represents the same: and as the riders qualities are composed of heresies and tyrannie, so the colour of pale is composed chiefly of blacke and red: And hell followed after him to the vtter damnation of him and his followers: And power was giuen him ouer the fourth part of the earth, *to wit*, the rest who are not ouercome by the other three riders; for all they who were not marked by the white horse, nor killed in body by the red, nor killed in soule by the blacke, are killed both in body and soule by this last: And as he hath power of destroying thus, giuen him ouer the fourth part of the earth, so by foure plagues specially doeth he execute the same, *to wit*, by Sword, Hunger, Death, and the Beasts of the earth: These plagues allude to the plagues, mentioned in the Canticle of *Moses*; for this tyrannie shall begin with persecution, this persecution shall cause a hunger, and great scarcitie of the true worship of God, this hunger shall breed a second and eternall death, and this tyranny shall then end with a crueller and bloodier persecution of the bodies then euer was before; which shall be so barbarous, that it is compared in this Vision to the execution, vsed by wilde beasts vpon offenders, and shall spare no degree, sexe nor aage, no more then beasts doe. 9 But when he opened the fift Seale, I did see vnder the Altar, the soules of them that were slaine for the word of God, and for his Testimonie which they maintained: 10 And they cryed with a lowd voice, saying, *How long wilt thou delay* (O Lord) since thou art holy and

Heresies ment in the third Seale.

Luke 3.

The Popedom is meant by the pale horse in the fourth Seale, of heresie and ciuil tyranny.

Scarcitie of trew Pastors and worshipping.

The cruelty of the Popes tyranny.

and trew, to reuenge & iudge our blood vpon them that dwel on the earth; for this last persecution did enter so fiercely into the world, and did make so great a number of Martyrs, that their soules lying vnder the Altar, *to wit*, in the safegard of IESVS CHRIST (who is the only Altar, whereupon, and by whom it is onely lawfull to vs, to offer the sacrifice of our hearts and lips, *to wit*, our humble prayers to God the Father) did pray, and their blood did cry to heauen, and craue at the hands of their Father a iust reuenge of their torments vpon the wicked, and therewith a hastening of the generall dissolution, for the deliuerie of their brethren who did remaine yet aliue. [11] Then white robes were giuen to euery one of them, and it was said vnto them, and they were willed to rest and haue patience for a short space, vnto the time the number of their fellow seruants to God, and brethren companions in the Crosse, were fulfilled, who were also to be slaine as they were already: This surely ought to be a wonderfull and inestimable comfort to all the Church militant, since by this Seale wee are assured, that both the soules of the Martyrs, so soone as their bodies are killed, shall immediatly be rewarded with perpetuall and bright glory in heauen, not going into any other place by the way, which is signified by the *White robes*; as also that so soone as their number shall be complete, which shall be within a short space, God shall then craue a full account at their persecutors hands; and then as the one number shall receiue a full and eternall glory in body and soule, the other shall receiue a full torment in soule and body, to the cleere shining of his Iustice in the one, and his mercy in the other. [12] Then I tooke heed when he opened the sixt, and loe, there was a great earthquake, and the Sunne-beame blacke like sackecloth made of haire, and the Moone became all bloody: [13] And the Starres fell from the heauens vpon the earth, euen as the figgetree lets her vnripe figges fall, being beaten by a mightie winde: [14] And the heauen went away like a scrole that is rolled together, and all the hilles and Iles were remooued from their places: [15] And the Kings of the Earth, the Nobles, the rich men, the Tribunes or commanders of the people, the mighty men, and all the slaues, aswell as free-men, did hide themselues in cauerns and vnder rockes of hills: [16] And they said to the hilles and the rocks, Fall vpon vs, and hide vs from the sight of him that sits vpon the Throne, and from the wrath of the *Lambe*: [17] For that great day of his wrath is come, and who then may stand? This is the accomplishment of that dissolution, craued and promised in the fift Seale. These terrible things, mentioned in the sixt Seale, are the alterations and signes in the last time: the very same did our Master Christ prophesie, when he was walking on this Earth.

Hose. 14.3.
Hebr. 13.15.
Matth. 24.29.
Luke 23.30.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

ARGVMENT.

A proper and comfortable digression, interiected of Gods care ouer the Elect, in the times of greatest temptations, signified by the Visions of the foure Angels, the Election and happie estate of the elected.

BVt lest I, or any other, should doubt of the safegard and saluation of the Elect, thinking that these terrible plagues should haue lighted vpon both good and bad indifferently, he represented vnto my sight foure Angels, standing on the foure corners of the earth, and retayning the foure winds in their hands, and stopping them, either to blow vpon the earth, the sea, or any tree: [2] And I did see one Angel going vp from the rising of the Sunne, hauing the Seale of the liuing God, and hee cried with a loud voice to the foure Angels that had power giuen them to harme the earth, and the sea, [3] Saying; Harme not the earth nor the sea, nor the trees, vntill we haue marked the seruants of God on the forehead; These Angels, foure in number, because they sit vpon the foure corners of the earth, ready to execute Gods iudgements vpon euery part of the World, although they already had stayed the winds to blow, *to wit*, the progresse of the Euangel vpon the earth, which is the world, vpon the Sea, which is the numbers of people, vpon the Trees, which are the Magistrates, Ciuill or Ecclesiasticall; Yet one Angel came from the rising of the Sunne, *to wit*, directed by CHRIST, who is comfortable like the *Sunne-rising* to his Elect, and is that *Orient day-spring*, and Sunne of Righteousnes, rising ouer all the faithfull, which is mentioned in the Scriptures; Who cries and forbids these foure Angels to doe any further temporall harme, while first the chosen be sealed on the forehead, by that Seale which he beares with him for that effect, that these Angels might know them, being marked in so eminent a place, in the generall destruction, and so spare them, assuring vs thereby, that he hath such a care ouer his Elect, as he hath prouided for them before hand, euen as he did for *Noah* and *Loth*, and their families, in the time of the deluge and destruction of *Sodome*. [4] And I heard the number of them that were sealed in *Israel*, reckoned to be *one hundred fourtie and foure Thousand*; for twelue thousand were sealed of euery one of the Tribes, which makes iustly that number. Out of euery one of the Tribes was a certaine number chosen, to assure vs, that a number of euery one of them shalbe saued: [9] And that I might be assured that a number, aswell of the *Gentiles*, as of the *Iewes*, shalbe saued, Loe, he shewed me a number so great, as I could not reckon the same, and it was composed of certaine out of euery Nation, Tribe, people and tongue: And they stood before the Throne, and in presence of the *Lambe*, clothed with white robes, hauing palmes in their

2.Peter 1.
Luke 1.7.
Malach.4.

their hands, in token of the victorie they obteined of their longsome battaile. [10] And they cried all with one voice, saying, Our health and our saluation commeth from our God that sits on the Throne, and from his Lambe, *to wit*, their health came from God the Father, by the Mediation of his Sonne. [11] Then all the Angels stood round about the Throne, the Elders, and the foure beastes, and bowed themselues downe vpon their faces, and adored God with thankesgiuing, for his mercy to the chosen, both of Iew and Gentile, and his Iustice vpon all the rest, [12] Saying, *Amen*, in allowance of the things done, with full confession, that *Blessing, Glory, Wisedome, Thankesgiuing, Honour, Vertue, and Power*, belongs only and most iustly to GOD, for euer and euer. [13] Then one of the Elders spake vnto me, and said, What are these, and from whence are they come, who are clothed with white robes? [14] And I answered and said, Thou knowest, my Lord. Then he said vnto me, These are they who are preserued, and come from that great affliction, which was represented to thee in some of the Seales, and they haue washed their garments, and made them white in the blood of the *Lambe*: for they, by vertue of his death, are made righteous by imputation, whose blood is the onely and full purgation of vs, from our sinnes: [15] And therefore they are before the Throne of GOD, and serue him day and night in his Temple, *to wit*, they, without any intermission, contemplate his Glory, and euer serue him by continuall thankesgiuing, and praising his Name in Heauen, which is his eternall and celestiall Temple: and hee that sits on the Throne shall dwell with them; for they shall neuer be separated from his presence. [16] And they shall be no more an hungry, or thirstie, nor the Sunne, or any heate shall trouble them: [17] For the *Lambe* who is in the middest of the Throne, *to wit*, coequall in power with his Father, he shall feed them and guide them to the liuely fountaines of waters, *to wit*, they shall feed of that Spirituall and liuely bread, and drinke of that Spirituall and liuely water, euen himselfe; which Water he promised to the *Samaritane* woman, at the well: And GOD shall wipe all *teares* from their *eyes*; for he shall both by the greatnesse of their present ioyes, put quite out of their memories, all the sorrow of their former troubles; and shall also giue them eternall ioy, which shall neuer be mixed with any kind of trouble or feare: so shall they not be molested with the vehemencie of the Sunne, or any other heate, which signifies great troubles, and sorrow.

Iohn 4.14.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

ARGVMENT.

The opening of the seuenth Seale: The seuen Trumpets comming out of it: The effect of the prayers of the faithfull, signified by the vision of the fire of the Altar: Some persecution, and some heresies, signified by haile mixt with blood and fire, in the first trumpet: The great persecution by the hill of fire, in the second: The number of heresies, by the starres, falling into the fountaines of water, in the third: The vniuersall infirmitie in the Church, in some things by the Sunne, Moone, and starres darkened, in the fourth.

Nd when hee opened the seuenth Seale, there was silence in heauen almost halfe an houre, aswell to let mee know that hee had once already summarily declared the whole things which was to come after, as by silence a while to giue me occasion to meditate vpon that vision which I had seene, to the effect that afterward I might the better vnderstand the more particular rehearsall thereof, which now vnder another vision and forme, was to be declared vnto me by the opening of the seuenth Seale. [2] And I saw seuen Angels standing before God, to execute whatsoeuer thing it should please him to command them; and by his direction there were seuen Trumpets giuen vnto them, that by these Trumpets they might with one Maiestie denounce to the world such plagues, as they were by the command of God to powre foorth vpon it. [3] Then another Angel came and stood before the Altar, hauing a golden censer in his hand, and there was much incense giuen vnto him, that he might offer vp the prayers of the Saints vpon the golden Altar, that is before the Throne: [4] And the smoke of the incense, which is the prayers of the Saints, mounted vp from the hand of the Angel to the sight of God: [5] Then the Angel tooke this new emptied censer, and filled it againe with the fire of the Altar, and did cast it downe on the earth, and there were thundrings, voices, lightenings and earthquakes: By this Angel and his proceedings, we are assured and made certaine, that Christ shall euer be vigilant ouer his owne, and that specially in straightest times hee will heare their prayers, and euer renew them with some light of the Gospel, by the working of his holy Spirit: And to assure vs hereof, the vision of this Angel was showne vnto me immediatly before, that by the seuen Trumpets he is to dilate these visions, showen me in the former Seales: This Angel was Christ, he stood before the Altar: this Altar is likewise himselfe, as I declared before: his standing before it, meaneth, that by his office of Mediatour, hee was to doe as followes: He had a golden censer in his hand, for he keeps the censer wherein are contained the incense which the Saints giue him, *to wit*, their prayers, to be offered vp to God by his mediation, who is that golden and pure Altar, which is euer in the presence of God, and whose requests are no time

time refused, and therefore that incense and the smoke thereof, mounts vp to the sight of God, to assure vs that our prayers, being offered in that forme, are euer acceptable: The effect whereof doeth appeare, by the Angels filling againe the censer with the fire of the Altar, and casting it on the earth; wherewith is ioyned the noise ye heard of; for these prayers procure, that their Mediatour shall out of his golden boxe, *to wit*, out of his treasure of power, send downe the fire of the Altar, *to wit*, the holy Spirit which remaineth with him, to make thunders, voices, lightnings and earthquakes, *to wit*, to giue againe the Law, by renewing the efficacie of the Gospel, in the hearts of the faithfull, alluding to the giuing of the olde Law, whereof these fearefull noises were the fore-runners: This surely is the care and effect that our Master in all troublesome times renewes to strengthen our weakenesse with. 6 And then the seuen Angels which had the seuen trumpets prepared themselues to blow; for although they were before directed, yet were they not permitted to execute their office, no more then the foure Angels, who stayed the foure windes while Christ had strengthened and armed his owne, as is said, to assure vs, that euer before any great temptation, hee will make the backes of the elect ready, and able to
1.Cor.10.13. beare such burthens as hee is to lay vpon them. 7 Then the first Angel blew, and there was a great haile, and fire mixed with blood, and this storme was cast downe vpon the earth; whereupon followed, that the third part of the trees was withered and burnt vp, and all greene grasse was withered and burnt vp, for the first plague which hath already begun to worke, shall be mixed partly of haile, which is heresie, for as haile showers by the harme they doe to the corne, makes them to become deare, so heresie makes the true harueſt of the Lord to become scant: This haile or heresie, and spirituall persecution, is ioyned with the sword and persecution of the flesh, which is signified by the fire, and the blood: This fiery and two edged triall shall make the third part, *to wit*, a part, but not the greatest number of trees, *to wit*, of renowmed men; and all greene grasse, *to wit*, all them that are not wel founded and strong in the trewth, (this greene grasse
Marke 4.vers. 5,6,7. is that sort of professours, of whom Christ spake in the parable of the seed sowen in sandie, and thornie ground;) it shall make them (I say) to fall from the trewth, and so become withered and vnprofitable. 8 Then the second Angel blew, and there fell as it had beene a great hill, all burning in fire; and this hill was cast into the sea, and the third part of the sea became blood: 9 And the third part of the liuing creatures in the sea was slaine, and the third part of the ships therein did perish; for after that this former plague shall haue an end, and yet the world not turne themselues from their iniquities, then the second shall follow, which is the corporall plague of persecution, signified by the red horse in the second Seale, more amply dilated heere: This great heape of fiery persecution, like a mountaine of fire, shall make the third part, or a certaine number of people and nations, which is signified by the seas or many waters, to ouerflow in blood;

blood; for as it is said of the same in the second Seale, they shall slay one another, for euen among themselues, *to wit*, among the wicked shalbe great bloodshed and warres; for the third, or a certaine number of all sorts of liuing things shall die, *to wit*, no sort of men shall be exempted from this trouble: But especially a number, and not the greatest part of the faithfull shalbe persecuted, which is signified by the ships; for euen as ships on a stormie Sea seeke a hauen, so the faithfull among the wicked of the world, tossed here and there resisting euery waue, striue in despight of many contrarious windes, to attaine to that hauen, where at last casting their Anchor, they are freed from all worldly tempests, and dwell there eternally in a perpetuall calmenesse. 10 Then the third Angel blew, and there fell from heauen a great Starre burning like a torch, and it fell vpon the third part of riuers and fountaines of waters, and the name of the starre was *Wormewood*: and the third part of the riuers and fountaines were turned into *wormewood*, and many men died, for the bitternesse of the waters: This is that same plague which is signified by the *blacke horse* and his rider, *to wit*, a cloud of defections, and Apostatical heresies, here signified by a great starre burning like a torch: for it shall haue a great light, but like the light of a torch; for as the torch and candle-light is false to the eye and makes the colours to appeare otherwise then they are, and is made dimme by the brightnes of the Sunne, so shall this light of false doctrine maske iniquitie for a space, and make it seeme to be the trueth, vnto the time the trew light of God obfuscat and blinde it: These heresies shall be stronger in deceit, then those before: for they shall seduce the very pastours and spirituall Magistrates, which is signified by the Starres falling in a part of the fountaines of waters: for these men are the worldly fountaines, whereout the rest of the faithfull, by the buckets of their eares, draw that spring of heauenly liquor. 11 This starre is called *Wormewood*, for as wormewood is a bitter hearbe, what greater bitternesse can be to the soule of man, then to procure the wrath of the Almightie, through such an horrible fall? and as it turned a part of the pastours, and made them to become of bitter qualitie like it selfe, so their bitternesse did slay with the second death, a great number of men; *to wit*, their disciples and followers. 12 Then the fourth Angel blew, and the third part of the Sunne, the third part of the Moone, and third part of the Starres was stricken, so that the third part of them, *to wit*, of their light was obscured, and the third part of the day, and the third part of the night was obscured, *to wit*, the third part of their light was darkened: For after that one part of the pastours shall make horrible defection, it shall fall out that the whole Church visible, shalbe blinded with some errours, but not yet make a full defection, which is signified by the obscuring of a part of the light of the Sunne, Moone, and starres, *to wit*, of all degrees of spirituall Magistrates; so that by their generall weaknesse in some points, a part of the meaning of the Gospel shal be falsly interpreted, which is meant by the light of the *day*; and of the

night: for as the cloud by day, and the pillar of fire by night did guide the people of *Israel* through the desart, to the land of *Promise*, so will this light shining, both day and night in our soules, conduct vs out through the wilderness of this world, to that spirituall land of *promise*, where we with our God shall gloriously reigne in all Eternitie: This fourth blast is also a part of the third Seale. [13] And I saw and heard an other Angel flying through the middest of heauen, and saying with a lowd voice, *Woe, woe, woe* to the inhabitants of the earth, for the harme that shalbe done vnto them by the last three blasts of the Angels Trumpets: for the last three plagues shall be exceeding great, which, that I might the better note and take greater heed vnto, God wakens me vp and makes me see an Angel flying through the middest of heauen with celeritie, aswell to forewarne the holy Angels and Saints of these three plagues, so farre in greatnesse aboue the rest, as to signifie by his swift flying, that they are hastily and within short space to be put in execution: And the number of Woes, *to wit*, which he cries, are answerable to the number of plagues which are hereafter to be declared.

CHAP. IX.

ARGVMENT.

In the fift Trumpet, the heresies cause a great blindnesse and ignorance, whereof commeth the Ecclesiasticall Papisticall orders, signified by the grashoppers breeding out of the smoake, and their power and qualities: Their King and head the Pope, and his style: In the next Trumpet the beginning of his decay, signified by the loosing of the foure Angels at Euphrates: The remedy he vseth for the same by hounding out the Iesuits, *signified by the horse in the Vision: Their qualities signified by their breast-plates: The Popes and Turkes his gathering to destroy the Church, signified by a great armie of horse: The Pope is the plague for breaking of the first Table: and the Turke for breaking of the second.*

Amos 3.6.
Esay 45.7.

THen the fift Angel blew, and I saw the starre that fell out of heauen vpon earth (for it is to be noted, that all these plagues did fall out of heauen vpon the earth, to teach vs, *Quòd nullum malum est in ciuitate, quod non faciat Dominus*, by his Iustice permitting, directing, ordering, and restraining it) I did see it get the key of the bottomlesse pit which was giuen vnto it; for this cloud of heresies spoken of in the third Trumpet and third Seale, by processe of time did breed this bastard tyrannie, whereof I spoke in the fourth Seale, and so it brought from hell by the opening of the bottomlesse pit, whereof it gate the keyes, *to wit*, by the assistance, and deuice of Satan, it bred such plagues as follow. [2] First, by opening of the pit, came foorth a great smoke like the smoke of a furnace, *to wit*, it did breed such a darkenesse and ignorance in the minds of men, as the Sunne and the Aire were obscured, (*to wit*, the light of the truth represented

presented by the darkening of the Sunne) and so in place of liuing vnder, and by the true and cleare aire of the trueth, the world shall liue vnder, and by the bastard and darke aire of false doctrine. 3 And out of this smoake came Grashoppers vpon the earth: For this great blindnesse shall breed a multitude of diuers Orders of Ecclesiasticall persons, as well Monkes and Friers, as others, but all agreeing in one hereticall Religion: These are grashoppers, because they breed of that filthy smoke of heresies, euen as Grashoppers breed of corrupted aire; they are euer teaching false doctrine with their mouth, which carries with it as great destruction to the soules of men, as the mouthes of Grashoppers doe to the greene grasse and herbs, and the earth shalbe ouerloaden with multitudes of them, euen as Grashoppers sometimes come in great heapes, and ouercharge the face of a whole countrey: And like power was giuen to them, as hath the earthly Scorpions: for as the Scorpions sting is not felt sore at first, and is long in working, and impossible to be healed, but by the oyle of a dead scorpion, so the poysoning of the soule cannot be perceiued by the receiuer at the first, but is long in operation, for by peece and peece they infect the world with heresies, and open not all their packe at first; and the world shall neuer be freed from their heresies, vnto the vtter destruction of these false teachers themselues: 4 And it was said vnto them, or they were forbidden to harme the grasse, or any greene thing, or any tree, but onely these men that haue not the *marke of God* in their foreheads: for though earthly Grashoppers when they swarme in heapes, doe destroy all greene grasse or trees, yet God shall so bridle the rage of these spirituall Grashoppers, that they shall haue no power to peruert the Elect of whatsoeuer degree, or sort, compared to greene grasse and fruitful trees; but their power shall extend onely vpon them that beare not the marke or Seale of God vpon their forehead, and as withered and vnfruitfull sticks are ready for the fire: 5 But they shall haue no power to slay them, *to wit*, they shall not discouer to the world their greatest blasphemies at the first, as I said before, but they shall torment them for the space of fiue moneths, and their torment shalbe like the torment that a man suffers, being stinged by a scorpion, *to wit*, they shal by peece & peece infect them with spirituall poison; and as I haue said already, they shall not feele the smart thereof, while the second death make them to feele the same: This torment shall endure fiue moneths, that is the time limitted them by God, which alludes to the fiue moneths in Summer when Grashoppers are; This forme of speech doeth declare the continuing of the Metaphore. 6 And in these daies men shal seeke death, and shall not finde the same, and men shall desire to die, but death shall flie from them, for then beginnes the troublesome times of the later dayes, the miserie whereof I heard our Master, while he was yet on the earth, declare in these words that I haue now repeated. 7 And the figure of these locusts, was like vnto the horse prepared for the war, to signifie that their forme of practise & policie, shalbe so worldly wise, that they shal lacke no-

thing perteyning to the ſetting forth of their intents, more then a horſe of ſeruice which is curiouſly barded, feated and prepared, for going forth to the battell. And they had crownes like crownes of gold vpon their heads; for they ſhall pretend to be holy like the Elders, who for their reward gate Crownes of pure gold ſet vpon their heads, as you heard before, and ſo ſhall outwardly glance in an hypocriticall holineſſe; And their faces were like the faces of men, and the faces of men ſignifie reaſon, as man is a reaſonable creature: the likeneſſe then of their faces vnto men, ſignifies that they ſhall, by curious arguments, pretend reaſon to maintaine their falſe doctrine, but it ſhall be but a counterfait reſembling of reaſon indeed, euen as their crownes are like vnto gold, but are not gold indeed. 8 And they haue haire like the haire of women: for as the haire of women is a ſpeciall part of their alluring beautie, ſo they haue ſuch alluring hereſies, whereby they make the way of heauen ſo eaſie by their helpe, to whomſoeuer, how wicked ſoeuer they be, that will vſe the ſame, as they allure them to commit ſpirituall adulterie with them. And they haue teeth like Lions teeth: for as the Lion is ſtronger in the mouth, and ſo may doe greater harme with his teeth then any other beaſt, ſo all theſe that will not be perſwaded with their ſhewes prepared like horſes for the warre, with their crownes like crownes of gold, with their faces like the faces of men, nor with their haire like the haire of women, they ſhall be perſecuted by the power of their mouth, *to wit*, by their threatnings and thundering curſes. 9 And they had breaſt plates like breaſtplates of iron, for they ſhall haue to backe this their authoritie, the aſſiſtance of Princes, whoſe maintayning of them ſhall appeare vnto the world ſtrong as iron. And the ſound of their wings was like the ſound of chariots running with many horſes vnto the warre: for as the graſſehoppers make in the hot time of the yere & the day, a great ſound with their wings, ſo theſe ſhalbe made ſo ſtrong and fearefull by their breſtplates like iron, as what they, being in the height of their day ſhall decree, it ſhal haue ſuch a maieſtie and fearefulnes, as the terrible noiſe of many horſes and chariots hurling to battel: 10 But they had tailes like the tailes of *Scorpions*, and there were ſtings in their tailes: for at their firſt dealing with any, they appeare not harmeful to them that heare them, and beleeue them, but the effect and end of their practiſe is poiſon to the ſoule, and thereafter their tailes are like vnto the tailes of Scorpions, wherein is their ſting: And they had power to trouble and harme men the ſpace of fiue moneths: for as I ſhewed you before, that they ſhould torment men the ſpace of fiue moneths, *to wit*, a certaine ſpace appointed them; ſo now I aſſure you to your comfort, that as graſſehoppers laſt but fiue moneths that are hotteſt, ſo theſe ſhall be like vnto graſſehoppers in that as well as in the reſt; for they ſhall remaine but for a certaine ſpace preſcribed, and then ſhall be deſtroyed by the blaſt of Chriſts breath. 11 They haue alſo a King, but to rule ouer them, who is the Angel of the bottomleſſe pit, and his name in Hebrew is *Abaddon*, and in Greeke *Apollyon*, for theſe by the

the permission of Gods iustice, and working of Satan, shall haue at the last a Monarch to be their head, who shall be like vnto themselues, the angel or messenger comming, *to wit*, instructed and inspired by Satan to bee his embassadour, and to teach his false doctrine to the counterfeit church, as well as the true Pastours are the Embassadours of God to the true Church: He is called *Abaddon* or *Apollyon*, because as hee is both a spirituall and ciuill Monarch, so he destroyes and killes both body and soule, as I tolde you in the fourth seale, where hee is called *Death*, for the same cause that hee is called heere *Destroyer*. [12] One woe is past, and loe two come after, for this which by the fift Trumpet is declared, is the first of the three last and greatest plagues, whereunto I wished you to take speciall heed; and therefore take good heed to the other two blasts of the trumpets that follow. [13] Then the sixt Angel blewe, and I heard a voice comming from among the foure hornes of the golden Altar that stands euer before the eyes of God, saying these words to the next Angel that had a Trumpet, Loose these foure Angels bound at the great water *Euphrates*. [14] Now the summons and warning being giuen by the sixt blast of the trumpet of the sixt and fearefull plague that was to come; this command of Christ (which is the voice here mentioned) comes to the sixt Angel, commanding him to doe as ye now haue heard: For although the trumpet was alreadie blowen, yet the execution followes not, while Christ command and permit it; for these foure Angels mentioned here, are the same who were standing before vpon the foure airths of the earth, ready to destroy the same, who were then, as you heard, stayed by Christ, while first he had sealed his owne; who now being all sealed, because this is the last plague that is to come vpon the world, except that of the consummation; Christ therefore commands them to be loosed, for they were before stayed, as it were bound, to the effect they might now put in execution these things which they were ready to doe: When they were stayed, it is said they were bound at the great riuer *Euphrates*; alluding hereby to the history of *Balthasar* in *Daniel*, for as *Euphrates* diuided *Babylon* from the Persians and the Assyrians, which they crossed when they slew *Balthasar*, so this command of stay, giuen to these Angels by Christ, was that great riuer *Euphrates*, beyond the which they were bound, for they had no power to crosse it, and to plague the world, while first all his chosen were sealed, and that hee had loosed and permitted them, as by this command here is done: [15] And so these foure Angels were loosed, who were readie at the houre, the day, the moneth, and the yeere, to slay the third part of men, *to wit*, they were ready at the very moment prescribed to them by God, to destroy all men, except such as were sealed, ouer whom they had no power; and such as were reserued to the destruction of the last plague, *to wit*, the consummation; and so the third part was left to them to destroy. Now followes the plague of the sixt trumpet. [16] And first I saw an armie of horsemen, the number whereof were two hundred thousand thousand; for I

heard the number reckoned: this double great number ſignifies, that there ſhall be raiſed vp at one time, two great Monarchies and ſeats of Tyrants; one ruling in the Eaſt, and another in the Weſt, who ſhal cruelly perſecute the Church. [17] And in this viſion likewiſe I ſaw horſes, whoſe riders had breſtplates of fire, of Hyacinth and brimſtone, and the heads of the horſes were like the heads of Lions, and from their mouthes came fire, ſmoke, and brimſtone; noting, that with fiery rage, ſmokie pride, and pretences, and loathſome and wicked courſes, theſe two Monarches, the one ſecular, the other Eccleſiaſticall, ſhall conquer and poſſeſſe the greateſt part of the world: Theſe horſes are a part, yet not the leaſt part of the forces of one of theſe Monarches, in whoſe deſcription it is moſt inſiſted, becauſe he is the *Deſtroyer*, of whom it is ſpoken in the fift Trumpet, where hee is named *Abaddon*: Theſe horſes and their riders are the laſt order and ſect of his Eccleſiaſticall ſwarme: Their breſtplates, *to wit*, their worldly defence is compoſed of fire, that is, perſecution of the body, for they ſhall haue greater credit at the hands of Princes, then all theſe graſhoppers, ſpoken of in the fift Seale, and ſo ſhall vſe their forces to defend themſelues therewith: They are compoſed of the Hyacinth, for as this herbe is darke, and of a ſmoking colour and bitter to the taſte, ſo ſhall they be defended and maintained by the craft of their darke and bitter hereſies, (which in the third Trumpet are called Wormewood, as here they are called Hyacynth;) and they are compoſed of brimſtone, which ſignifieth the loathſomneſſe and ſtench of ſinne, and the flame and force of hell fire, *to wit*, Satan the authour of the one, and ruler of the other, ſhall by all maner of craft defend them as his ſpeciall inſtruments, and the laſt vermine bred and come vp from the ſmoke of the bottomleſſe pit: And they ſhall not onely haue power to defend themſelues by theſe three meanes, but they ſhall alſo purſue and perſecute the faithfull; which is meant by their horſes heads like to the heads of Lions, that is, able to deuoure: The meanes whereby they deuoure, are the ſame whereby they defend themſelues, *to wit*, by the power of Princes, to perſecute the bodies by falſe and hereticall bragges and ſleights, which are here called Smoake, and by the drifts and frauds of Satan in diuers faſhions to deceiue and inflame the ſoule, which craft of Satan is here reſembled to brimſtone. [18] By theſe three plagues, are ſlaine the third part of men, *to wit*, by fire, ſmoake, and brimſtone, which came out of their mouthes, *to wit*, their malice and ſtrength ſhall be ſo great, as they ſhall vſe all meanes wherewith the third part of men ſhalbe deſtroyed, although theſe meanes ſhall not be vſed by them onely to worke this great deſtruction with. [19] For their ſtrength is not in their mouthes onely, (as ye haue preſently heard) but it is alſo in their tailes; for their tailes are like the tailes of ſerpents, hauing ſtings whereby they doe harme: In this they ſhall be like vnto the graſhoppers. [20] But not the leſſe, the wicked ſhall be ſo hard hearted, as the reſt of them who were not deſtroyed by the plagues of this trumpet, ſhall not repent nor deſiſt from the workmanſhip of

of their hands, *to wit*, from Idolatry, and adoring of deuils, and of images, of golde, of siluer, of brasse, of stone, and of wood, who neither can see, heare, nor goe, (whereof this hereticall Monarch is the punishment:) [21] Nor yet will they repent them nor desist from breaking the second Table, by slaughters, sorceries, fornications & thefts, whereof that other Monarch, who onely persecutes the body, is the reuenge, scourge, and plague.

CHAP. X.

ARGVMENT.

Iohn heares the explication of these mysteries, which was written vpon the backe of the Booke: It is not lawfull to him to manifest it: By foreknowing things to come, which is signified by swallowing the booke, he is mooued to a great ioy in the instant time, but it turneth in great bitternesse to him thereafter.

THen I saw another strong Angel comming downe from heauen; hee was clothed with a cloud, and at his head was the raine-bow, and his face was like the Sunne, and his feet like the pillars of fire: This strong Angel was Christ, clothed with a cloude; for in a cloud hee ascended, and in the clouds shall he come againe at the latter day: Which cloud was a guide to the people of Israel by day, while they trauailed through the wildernesse; and out of that cloud hee powres the raine and dew of his graces in abundance vpon his chosen: His head was clothed with the rainebow, which signifies his couenant he made with his Elect, as ye heard before: His face was like the Sunne, and his feet like pillars of fire: yee heard these two described in the beginning of my Epistle. [2] And he had in his hand an open Booke; this was the Booke of the Euangel, or glad tidings: And he set his right foote or strongest on the Sea, to make stable that liquid Element so vnstable of nature; and his left vpon the earth, which is sooner made firme, by this to shew the power he hath ouer all things contained in them, who hath no power to passe the bounds and order which he hath prescribed vnto them; and therefore the earth is called his *footstoole*, by *Dauid* in his Psalmes. [3] And he cryed with a mighty voice like a roaring Lyon for they were terrible things and great which hee was to denounce: [4] And when he had cryed, the seuen thunders spake their voices; These were the seuen Spirits of God, who by his direction did speake, and I was to haue written what they did speake, of purpose to haue set it downe with the rest: But I heard a voice from heauen, saying, Seale what the seuen thunders haue spoken, but write them not: For the holy Spirit hauing declared vnto me by them, the exposition of the sixe trumpets, the voice of God commands me not to manifest that vnto the world with the rest, but by sealing of it, to keepe it close vnto the due time. [5] And the Angel, *to wit*, Christ, whom

whom I saw standing on the sea, and on the earth, lifted vp his hand towards heauen, [6] And swore by him that created heauen, the earth, the sea, and all that is in them, that the time should be no longer: [7] But in the dayes of the seuenth Angels voice, when he begins to blow, the mysterie of God should be consummate, according as he tolde to his seruants the Prophets: This oath he made to assure me, that the world should end immediatly after the accomplishing of these things, mentioned in the sixe Trumpets, and that the seuenth declares the things which are to be done at the consummation; the forme whereof will be as hee hath declared to his Prophets. [8] Then that voice which I heard, spake to me from heauen, *to wit*, the voice of God the Father, spake againe vnto me, and said, Goe and take that open booke which is in the hand of the Angel, who stands on the sea and the earth: [9] And so I went vnto the Angel, and desired him to giue me the booke: and hee answered, Take and swallow it, and it shall bring a bitternesse vnto thy belly, but in thy mouth it shall be as sweete as honie. [10] Then I tooke the booke, and found that which he said to me of it, to be true; for indeed I thought it delightfull vnto me, to know the mysteries of God, by swallowing the booke, and so it was sweet in my mouth; but so soon as by the digestion hereof I must preach it to the world, and for that cause become to be hated, contemned, and persecuted by the wicked, and see but a small increase of my great labours, then surely it will be bitter to my belly, as it was to *Ionas*, and shall be to all the true preachers thereof thereafter. [11] Then he said vnto me, Thou must prophesie againe before people, nations, tongues, and many kings for my children in Christ, *to wit*, my successours in doctrine, who shall be in the time of these plagues, shall haue the same commission to teach ouer againe the same Euangel, to the saluation of all the beleeuers: these shall haue such boldnesse giuen vnto them, as they shall constantly declare their commission, not only before the people, but euen before many kings, and shall not be afraid of their faces.

CHAP. XI.

ARGVMENT.

Babylon the Popes Empire, is the outward part of the Temple: The trew Church is in Sancto Sanctorum; *but vnder the persecution of these hypocrites for a certaine space: Faithfull Pastours are sent from time to time to witnesse the trewth: They are persecuted, condemned, and slaine by Antichrist: God raiseth vp at the last stronger preachers, who shall describe the Popedome, and foretell the destruction thereof: In the seuenth Trumpet is the day of Iudgement described.*

ND then was a long reede like a rod giuen vnto me, and the Angel who gaue me the booke stood before me, and said, Arise, and measure the Temple of God, and the Altar, and all them that adore in it, with that reede that is giuen thee: [2] But the court that is without the Temple, exclude thou, and

and measure it not, for it is giuen vnto the Gentiles, who shall tread down the holy Citie for the space of two and fourtie moneths. Now lest I should despaire of any profit which my successors could haue made in doctrine in their time, because as it appeareth by the sixt Trumpet, the whole world should be subdued to these two Monarchies; Christ, aswell to assure me some should still remaine pure and vnspotted, as also to shew mee, and by me to forewarne the Church, that this most dangerous Monarch, called *Apollyon*, should corporally succeede in the Church, and should sit in the Temple of God, giues me a reede for that cause, and commands me to measure the Temple, for he will saue all them that are of the true Church, for they are the inward parts of the Temple; and the rest by reason of their hypocrisie, shalbe accounted of as Gentiles; and this diuision shalbe made by my successours in doctrine, (of whom I spake already) for they by the measure and triall of the word, signified by the reede, shall separate that holy *Sanctum Sanctorum* from the rest of the outward Temple of God, *to wit*, the hypocriticall and Antichristian Church, which shall tread downe and persecute the true Church, for the space of two and fourtie moneths, or three yeeres and an halfe, for it is both one number. This space prescribed by Christ, alludeth to *Daniels* prophecie of two times, a time, and halfe a time; for as *Daniel* meant thereby the halfe of his propheticall weeke, so Christ meanes by this, that the persecution of this *Destroyer*, shall last the halfe, *to wit*, it shall reigne about the midst of the last aage of this whole weeke, which begins at his incarnation and first comming, and ends at his last comming againe; which because it is the last period, it is here compared to a weeke: 3 But I shall giue that holy towne to two witnesses of mine, who clothed with sackecloth, shall prophesie the space of one thousand two hundred and threescore dayes; for these my successours he shall raise vp as witnesses, *to wit*, a sufficient number of them, (*for out of the mouth of two or three witnesses, euery word is confirmed*) to witnesse that their doctrine is false, who persecute the Church which he shal giue vnto them, for he shall make them their patrons, to defend and feed them by the power of the true word, and they shall preach repentance to that counterfeit Church; and therefore they are said to be *clothed in sackecloth*. And to assure vs to our great comfort, that in all the time of blindnesse, God shall euer be raising vp some of these two witnesses against the hypocriticall *Destroyer*, and to comfort and confirme his true Church, it is said, They shall prophesie the number of dayes that yee haue heard, which is correspondent iustly to the moneths before mentioned, *to wit*, they shall not leaue off to witnesse, all the time of the Antichristian kingdome. 4 These witnesses, are two greene Oliues, who anoint the Elect with that holy oyle; and two Candlesticks (as Christ said, to enlighten the world with their brightnesse) who are set downe, and doe their office, in the presence of him, who is Lord and ruler of the earth: 5 And if any shal presse to harme them, fire shall come out of their mouthes, and deuoure their enemies; for

for whosoeuer will doe them any hurt, himselfe must be slaine so, *to wit*, the holy Spirit, who is the fire in their mouth, shall accuse and cause to be destroyed with the second death, all them that either persecute them, or will not heare, or obey their doctrine: [6] These witnesses haue power to shut heauen, that it raine not in the dayes of their prophesie; and they haue power ouer the waters, to turne them into blood, and to strike the earth with euery kinde of plague, so often as they please; for hee shall authorize them and their message, with as sure testimonies, as the shutting of the heauen, and stay of the raine was vnto *Elias*, so long as he foresspake it should be so; and as vnto *Moyses*, the turning of the waters into blood, and the striking of the earth of the land of Egypt, with diuers and sundry plagues: [7] But these shall be witnesses, by their death as well as by their life: For how soone any of them shall haue runne that course in the earth, which God hath appointed them, they shall be persecuted, ouercome, and slaine by that beast, the Angel of that bottomlesse pit, and king of the locusts, and that great towne & seat of the Monarchy shal publikely put them down, as malefactours: [8] So as their dead bodies or carkeises shall lie in the streets thereof: And this towne is spiritually called *Sodom*, because of the spirituall adultery, *to wit*, Idolatrie that it shall commit and maintaine; and spiritually Egypt, because it shall oppresse and intollerably burthen the soules of the chosen, euen as Egypt captiuated the bodies, and burthened the backes of the people of Israel, and in that towne also was our Lord crucified; for where Christs members are put to death for their Masters cause, (as this towne and Kings therof shal do) there is Christ himselfe crucified in effect, and his crucifying shalbe as wel imputed to them, as to *Iudas* who betrayed him: [9] And men of all tribes, peoples, tongues, and nations, shall see their carkeises the space of three dayes and a halfe, and they shall not be suffered to be buried in sepulchres: [10] And the inhabitants of the earth shall be glad and reioyce for their slaughters, and shall send gifts one to another, in token of ioy, because they are made quit of these two prophets, who tormented the indwellers of the earth; for the whole world, who are not in *Sancto Sanctorum*, shall not onely suffer, but allow that these witnesses be not onely slaine, but also be so cruelly vsed and contemned, as not to be suffered to be buried amongst others: And the whole earth shall reioyce at their death; because that euen as *Achab* blamed *Elias* for troubling of Israel, so shall the world thinke these witnesses troublesome vnto them, because they discouer vnto them their shamefulnesse, and call them to the repentance thereof. [11] And thus shall they be contemned for the space of three dayes and a halfe, *to wit*, of three yeeres and a halfe; which signifies, that during the space of the Antichrists reigne, they shall be thus vsed; but after the space of three dayes and an halfe, the Spirit of life comming from God, shall enter into them, and they shall be set vpon their feete, and a great feare shall fall vpon them that did see them before: [12] And they heard a great voice from the heauen, saying vnto them, *Come*

vp

vp hither, then they aſcended vp into heauen, and their enemies ſaw them doe ſo; for although that during the flouriſhing of this hereticall and hypocriticall Monarchie, the trew Paſtours no ſooner appeared, then they were put to death, yet at the laſt this Monarchie ſhall begin to decay, when the three yeeres, or the three dayes and an halfe thereof ſhall be expired: and then ſhall the Spirit of life from God, *to wit*, the holy Spirit ſent from God, worke mightier in the latter Paſtours of theſe dayes, ſo as in them ſhall the by-paſt Martyrs be reuiued, and their doctrine ſhall take roote in the hearts of many, and their reaſons ſhalbe ſo pithie, as the Antichriſtian ſect, and the reſt of the world ſhall know as perfectly that they ſhall preuaile, as if they heard God call them to heauen, to reward them there for their victory: Neither ſhall they haue power of their liues, for God ſhall mooue the hearts of many to defend them in ſuch glory and ſafetie, as if they were mounting vp to heauen in a cloud, and they not able to hinder them. [13] And then at that time ſhall be a great earthquake, *to wit*, great tumults among nations, and the tenth part of the citie ſhall fall: This citie is diuided in tenne parts, to ſhew it is the ſame Monarchie that ſhall afterwards be deſcribed by a beaſt with ten heads: And by the falling of the tenth part thereof, is meant, that diuers nations ſhall ſhake off the yoke of that Monarchie, and ſo a part of the ſtrength of that citie ſhall decay; and there was ſlaine in that earthquake, ſeuen thouſand men, *to wit*, a great number of men ſhal be ſlaine in theſe tumults, and the reſt were afraid, and gaue glory vnto the God of *Heauen*, for theſe tumults and iudgements of God, ſhall by their terrours reduce ſome to the knowledge of the trewth. [14] The ſecond woe is paſt, for theſe are the plagues of the ſixt Trumpet, and loe, the third woe comes ſoone; for next followes the declaration of theſe dayes, wherein the conſummation ſhall be, firſt of that Antichriſtian kingdome, and next of the whole earth; take therefore good heede vnto the third woe, for it is the laſt. [15] Then the ſeuenth Angel blew, and there were great voices in heauen, ſaying, The kingdomes of the world are made the kingdomes of our Lord, and of his Chriſt, who ſhall reigne for euer and euer. This ioyfull cry was in heauen, becauſe the dayes were come wherein the day of Iudgement ſhould be, and ſo the power was to be taken from the kings of the earth, who were enemies to the Saints, and Chriſt was hereafter to be the great, ſole, and immediate King ouer all. [16] Then the foure and twentie Elders, who ſate vpon ſeats in the ſight and preſence of God, for ioy that the ſaluation of their brethren was at hand, did fall vpon their faces, and adored God, ſaying, [17] We thanke thee Lord God Almightie, who is, and who was, and who art preſently to come againe, becauſe now thou art to make thy great power manifeſt, and art to begin thy glorious Kingdome. [18] And the Gentiles waxed wrathfull, for all the wicked now perceiue, that neither their force nor craft can auaile; for thy wrath is now come which none may reſiſt, and the time of the dead is come, for now all the dead are to be iudged, and thou art to reward thy

ſeruants

seruants the Prophets, and all the Saints, and all that feare thy Name, small or great, and thou art to destroy them that destroy the earth, by the persecuting of thy Saints, and defiling it with euery sort of vice. [19] Then the Temple of God was open in heauen, that the Arke of his couenant might be seene, which was within it: God now did shew the Arke of his couenant, to assure all the Saints that he would now haue mind of his promise, and according thereto would presently send downe Christ to Iudge the earth, as was done then in all terrour; which is signified by lightning, voices, thunder, and earthquakes, which then were made; and a great haile, which signifies the destruction of the earth, as showres of haile of all others, are the most harmefull and destroying.

CHAP. XII.

ARGVMENT.

A new vision: The deuils malice against Christ and his Church: The Church by Gods prouidence escapes his furie: Shee is secret, and lies hid for a space: The deuill raiseth vp heresies and persecutions to destroy her; but all that cannot preuaile; whereupon he goeth to raise vp her great enemie the Pope.

Ow as this seuenth Seale, wherein these seuen Trumpets were (which ye haue presently heard declared) was no other thing, but the more ample dilating of the sixe former Seales, (as I did shew before) so this vision which I am next to declare vnto you, is nothing else but a cleerer setting forth, and fore-warning of these times, which are most perillous for the Church of all them which are to come after, especially of the three last woes. [1] And there was a great signe, and a woonderfull vision seene in heauen, *to wit*, a woman clothed with the Sunne, and the Moone was vnder her feete, and she had a crowne of twelue starres vpon her head, [2] And she was great with childe, and shee was so neere her childbirth, as she was alreadie crying, and was sore pained with the trauell to be deliuered of her childe: [3] And there was also another signe, and woonder seene in heauen; A great red dragon hauing seuen heads, and ten hornes, and vpon his head seuen diamonds: [4] And his taile drew the third part of the starres of heauen with him, and did cast them downe to the earth: This dragon stood before the woman, awaiting to deuoure her birth so soone as shee was deliuered of it: [5] But she brought forth a manchilde, who was to rule all nations with a rod of yron, and her sonne was caught vp to God, and his Throne: [6] But the woman fled into the wildernesse, where she hath a place prepared by God, that she might be fedde there the space of one thousand two hundred threescore dayes. [7] And there was a great battell stroken in heauen, for *Michael* and his Angels fought against the dragon and his angels: [8] And the dragon and his angels

gels could not obtaine the victorie, but by the contrary their place was no more found in heauen: 9 And so that great dragon, *to wit*, that olde serpent who is called the deuill and Satan, who seduceth the whole face of the earth, was cast downe to the earth, and all his angels were cast downe with him. 10 And I heard a voice in heauen, saying, Now is wrought the health, the vertue, and the kingdome of our God, and the power of his Christ; for the accuser of our brethren is cast downe, who day and night accused them in the sight of our God: 11 For they that fought with him, haue ouercome him, for the loue they beare vnto the Lambe and his blood, and to the word of his Testimonie, and haue prodigally giuen their liues euen vnto death for that cause: 12 Therefore reioyce ye heauens, and yee that dwell therein; but woe to the inhabitants of the earth, and the sea, for the deuill is come downe to you, and he is full of great wrath, because he hath but a short space to reigne. 13 And when the dragon saw himselfe cast down vpō the earth, he pursued the woman who had borne the manchild: 14 But there was giuen to the woman two great Eagle wings, that shee might flee from the sight of the serpent into the wildernes, to the place that was there appointed for her to be nourished for a time & times, and halfe a time. 15 Then the serpent did cast out of his mouth after the woman to ouertake her, a water like a great flood, to carry her away perforce: 16 But the earth helped the woman, and opened her mouth, and swallowed vp by the way the great flood which the dragon had cast out of his mouth: This part of the Vision was to declare vnto me, that howsoeuer the Church, which is signified here by a woman, (for she is the spouse of CHRIST, who is her head, her husband, and her glory, obeying him with a reuerent loue, and yet weake and infirme like to a woman) how soone, I say, the Church shining in all brightnesse and innocencie, which is represented by her garment of the Sunne, and treading vnder feete, and contemning the world and the vanities thereof, here signified by the Moone, being vnder her feet; a Planet that hath no proper, but a borrowed light, and subiect to all mutabilitie, like the world, and being crowned with the shining glory of the twelue Patriarches and Prophets, and the twelue holy Apostles, succeeding them in the vnitie of doctrine, and therefore are called here a Crowne of twelue starres vpon her head; How soone, I say, that she thus arayed did bring forth CHRIST in the flesh, who is that man-child, who rules the Gentiles with an Iron rod, as *Dauid* saith in his Psalmes: That great red and ancient Dragon, for in our first forefather he vttered his malice, *to wit*, the diuell, who is ruler of infinite numbers of men, which is signified by his seuen heads, and seuen diadems, or Crownes vpon them, and who hath innumerable meanes and instruments to be executors of his malicious will, which is signified by the tenne hornes, alluding to *Daniel*; and who is so mighty in deceipt, that he doeth not onely allure the infidels to follow him, but euen a part of the Pastours, and the visible Church to their destruction, which is signified by his drawing after him with his taile as fol-

lowers of his intisements, the third part of the Starres of heauen, and casting them to the earth : This dragon hauing waited to destroy her birth, and for earnestnesse gaping for it before it was borne, and not able to preuaile, but by the contrary seeing CHRIST rising from the dead, and then his ascending into heauen, which is signified by the Childs pulling vp to GOD and his Throne, and seeing the Church to flourish, though vnder persecution, which is signified by her flying to a place in the wildernesse, which God had prepared for her, where thereafter she must lurke for the space of the dayes ye heard reckoned, *to wit*, the Church shalbe vnknowne, and as it were vnregarded, and no man shall know how it shalbe sustained; for GOD shall nourish it the space of the Antichrists kingdome, which is the number of dayes ye heard counted before : The Dragon, I say, hauing found this, that both CHRIST and his Church did escape his hands, and not onely that, but that himselfe also by the vertue of CHRIST S renewing of vs, was no more able to accuse the Saints of God, as he did in time of the old Law, since now we are made righteous, which is signified by the battell in heauen, where GOD, to declare that none is like vnto him, made CHRIST, here called *Michael*, (whose name imports, Who is like GOD) with his Angels, to fight and ouercome the diuel and his angels, and to cast them on the earth; Satan, I say, finding himselfe thus debarred from further accusing of the Saints, hauing found that he should neuer haue place to doe that in any time thereafter; as on the one part it reioyced all the Angels and Saints in heauen, for their bretherens cause on the earth, as is witnessed by the song that the voyce did sing in Heauen, praising God therefore, and extolling the deed of *Michael* and his Angels, who fought so earnestly for the Saints on earth, as if they had bene mortall, they would not haue spared their liues in that cause for their sakes, whom CHRIST had redeemed with his blood, and of whose election he had borne witnesse to his Father; so on the other part it enraged the Dragon, so that he became the crueller tempter of men vpon the earth, aswell for that his place of accusing in heauen was taken away, by the mysterie of the redemption which is signified by this fight, as for that he knew within short space he was by CHRIST S second comming, to be cast downe from the earth into hell, there to be chained in eternall captiuitie and misery, euen as by the first comming he was cast from the heauen; which is signified by the last part of the Song, so as he pursueth the Church with heresie and ciuil powers, which both are signified by the floods of waters which he spewed out of his mouth, after that the Eagle wings were giuen the woman to flie to that place appointed for her in the wildernes, where she must remaine the number of dayes ye haue heard, *to wit*, after that God had giuen his Church a sufficient swiftnesse to eschew the rage of Satan, and to lurke the space of Antichrists raigne, which lasteth three times or three yeeres and a halfe, that is, a time prefixed by GOD, and vnknowne to men, as ye haue sundry times heard already. But seeing that all this vanisheth, as if the earth had swallowed

swallowed and dried vp that flood suddenly. [17] The Dragon therefore or the diuel, became more wrathfull and enraged then before against the woman, or the Church, and went about by some other way, to make warre against the rest of the womans seed, who kept the Commandements of GOD, and had the testimonies of CHRIST to GOD the Father, that they were chosen and called, for these are onely the true posteritie of the Church, *to wit*, the successours in grace, faith, and trewth. [18] And I stood vpon the Sea shore, I meane, it seemed to me that I stood vpon the Sea shore, because I did wait to see come out of it, which represented all peoples and nations, such powers, as Satan would imploy to fight against the Church; for the declaring whereof this Vision was shewen vnto me, and whereof these two last great wonders were but the introduction, that by these things past, as the roote, I might the better vnderstand the branches, which are to bud forth thereof as followeth.

CHAP. XIII.

ARGVMENT.

The Popes arising: His description: His rising caused by the ruine of the fourth Monarchie the Romane Empire: The rising of the false and Papisticall Church; her description; her conformitie with her Monarch the Pope: The great reuerence borne to the Pope by many nations, and not onely to him, but to his Legates: A generall defection so great, as there shall not be an other visible Church, but the Popedome: Of the first Pope who did take to himselfe all their blasphemous and arrogant styles.

AND then I saw a beast rising out of the Sea, *to wit*, from among the number of Nations and peoples; I saw a Monarchie chosen and erected vp by this Dragon the deuil, and it had seuen heads and tenne hornes, and tenne diadems vpon the tenne hornes: the signification of these heads and hornes, was declared vnto me by an Angel, as ye shall heare in the place conuenient hereafter, and vpon these heads was the name of *blasphemie*: for they by the persecution of the Saints, and adoring false gods, shall both by word and deed blaspheme the name of the Eternall. Chap. 17.

[2] This beast or Monarchie, is the fourth King or Monarchie wherof *Daniel* prophesied, *to wit*, euen that Monarchie which presently reignes, and hath the power of the other three reuiued in it, for it is farre greater then they: And therefore as that Monarchie of the Leopard, gat that name because of the swiftnes of the conquest: and that of the Lion, because of the mightines and cruelty therof: and that of the Beare, because of the strength and long standing thereof; so this is called like the Leopard, *to wit*, in shape, whereof commeth her agilitie: headed like a Lion, because his strength is in the head, as ye heard already: and legged like a beare, because Daniel 7.

in the Beares legges consists his greatest strength, and durablenesse; this proportion signifies, that this Monarchie is farre greater then all the rest, and all their powers are reuiued in it, as I said before. 3 And I perceiued that one of the heads of the beast, had bene deadly wounded, but the wound thereof was healed, and the whole earth followed this beast with a great wondering; this was to signifie vnto me, that it was not of this beast that I was ordained to forewarne you, for the worst of this beast is almost past already, and this Monarchie shall be within short space destroyed, but this beast or Monarchie is shewen vnto me, because out of the ruines thereof shall rise in that same Seate where it was, that hereticall Monarchie whereof I am to forewarne you, which is signified by the deadly wound it gat on the head which was healed againe: for as the *Phænix* reuiues of her owne ashes (as prophane stories make mention) so out of the ashes of this Empire shall rise and be reuiued an other, which shall grow so mighty, that the whole earth that is without *Sanctum Sanctorum*, shall with amasement reuerence, obey and follow it, as ye heard presently declared. 4 And they adored the Dragon who gaue power to the Beast, for they shall giue themselues ouer to the workes of darkenes, which is to serue, and adore the diuel, who raised vp this beast to make warre against the
Chap. 12. seed of the woman, as ye heard before. And they also adored the diuel in his instrument, by reuerencing that Beast and Monarchie erected by him: and they said, Who is like vnto the Beast, or who may fight with him? for this Monarchie shall be so strong in worldly power, as the world shall thinke it so farre in strength aboue all other powers, that it is impossible to ouercome it, especially, that the little stone which was cut without hands
Daniel 2. out of the mountaine mentioned by *Daniel*, shall euer destroy it, which notwithstanding at the last shall bruise it in pieces. 5 And there was a mouth giuen vnto it to speake great things and blasphemies; It is said in
Daniel 7.11. *Daniel*, that his mouth shall speake in magnificencie, and vtter words against the Soueraigne, *to wit*, this Monarchie and King thereof, shall extoll himselfe farre aboue all liuing creatures, and shal vsurpe farre higher Styles then euer were heard of before, by the which, and by his false doctrine together, he shall so derogate from the honour of GOD, and vsurpe so all power onely proper vnto him, as it shall bee great wordes against him, and blasphemie of his Name. And there was power giuen him to doe, *to wit*, GOD shall permit his Tyrannie to encrease, and persecute the Saints the space of two and fourtie moneths: This space was mentioned vnto me, to let me know thereby, that this Monarchie risen out
Chap. 11. of the ruines of the other, is the same which is meant by that Citie, whereof ye heard alreadie in the sixt Trumpet, which persecuted the two Witnesses; for the same space is assigned to her there, and consequently it is that same seate and Monarchie which is meant by the angel of the bot-
Chap. 9. tomlesse pit, called *Apollyon* in the fift Trumpet: by the Rider on the
Chap. 6. pale horse, called *Death*, in the fourth Seale, and also obscurely meant in the

the sixt Trumpet by the halfe of that great hoste of horsemen, of the which halfe the armed horse which I saw in the vision, was a part of the power, whose head and Monarchie was the plague for idolatry, as ye heard; which Monarchie, together with the other (of whom yee also heard obscurely in that place, as the plague of the sinnes against the second Table) *to wit*, this great beast here mentioned, and the other reuealed, a vowed and open enemie of Christs Church, shall both gather their forces to fight against it in that battell of the great day of the Lord, whereof ye shal heare in the owne place: Then this beast, according to the power which was giuen him, opened his mouth in blasphemies against God, and spake iniurious words against his Name, his Tabernacle, *to wit*, his *Sanctum Sanctorum*, which is the Church militant, and them that dwell in heauen; for his reigne shall be so great, that hee shall not onely blaspheme the Name of God, in such sort as ye heard alreadie, and persecute the members of Christ that shall be on the earth in his dayes, but likewise vpbraid with calumnies the soules of the Saints departed: [7] And for that effect he was permitted by God to make warre against the Saints; and hee gaue him power to ouercome them corporally, and to rule ouer all tribes, tongues, and nations; so great shall his Monarchie and power be: [8] And so all the in-dwellers of the earth shal adore him, *to wit*, a great part of them shall reuerence him, whose names are not writen in the booke of life, which is the Lambes that was slaine, which booke was written before the foundation of the world was laide; for these are alwayes excepted from bowing their knees to *Baal*, who were predestinate by Christ to saluation before all beginnings. [9] He who hath an eare, let him heare and take heede vnto this sentence that followeth, *to wit*, [10] If any man leade in captiuitie, in captiuitie shall he be led againe: if any man slay with the sword, with the sword shall hee be slaine againe: then since ye are assured, that God in his good time shall iustly mete to their tyrannie, the same measure that they shall mete to his Church, let not your hearts in your affliction, through despaire of Gods reuenge, (because of his long suffering) swarue from the bold and plaine professing of his trueth; for in this shall the patience and constant faith of the Saints or the chosen, be tried. [11] And then I saw another beast rise vp vpon the earth, and it had two hornes like vnto the Lambe, but it spake like the dragon, for lest this Monarchie should be taken to be a ruler onely ouer the body, and that I might vnderstand the contrary, *to wit*, that he was specially a spirituall tyrant ouer the soules and consciences of men, this other beast was shewen vnto me, which representeth the hereticall kingdome of the grashoppers, whereof *Apollyon* was made King in the fift Trumpet; and it vseth the coloured authoritie of Christ, by pretending two swords, or two keyes, as receiued from Christ, which is signified by the two hornes like the Lambes, but the end whereof it vseth that authoritie, is to get obedience to that false doctrine which it teacheth, signified by speaking like the dragon or deuil. [12] It is this false and hypocriticall Church then, which doeth exercise all the

Chap. 9.

Chap. 16.

Chap. 9.

the power of the former beast, *to wit*, teacheth the Kings of this Monarchy and seat, by what meanes they shall allure and compell the people to obey their commands; and this Church shall also entise the earth and the inhabitants of the same, *to wit*, all nations which beleeue the false doctrine that it teacheth, to adore this other beast, whose deadly wound was healed; for it shall perswade them that this hereticall Monarchie ought for conscience sake to be obeyed by all persons, in whatsoeuer it commandeth, as if it could not erre: 13 And to perswade men thereof, it makes great signes or wonders, yea euen causeth fire to fall out of heauen vpon earth in the sight of men; vpon whom, because they shall swarue from the loue of the trewth to beleeue lies, God shall iustly by the meanes of this false Church, as his instrument of reuenge, send a strong illusion and deceit, with great efficacie of miracles and woonders, yea as mightie and strong as that of *Elias* was, calling for fire from heauen, which here is repeated. 14 And all these miracles it did in the presence of the beast, to make the beast to be adored therefore, by the inhabitants of the earth, and it perswades them to make an image of the beast, which was wounded by the sword, and reuiued againe; for not onely shall this hereticall Monarchy haue power in his owne person to command absolutely many nations, but euen the nations shall consent, by the perswasion of this false Church, to obey the absolute command of his Lieutenants, Legats and Embassadors in euery countrey, so as they shall not onely be exempted from the lawes of euery countrey, wherein they liue, but shall euen be fellowes and companions in all honours and priuiledges to the princes or kings thereof: And this willing consent of nations vnto this, by the perswasion of this false Church, is signified here, by the making of this image at the Churches perswasion. 15 And power was giuen vnto it, *to wit*, vnto this false Church, to quicken this image, and to make it speake, and to cause that all those who will not adore this image, should be slaine corporally; for as the consent vnto this authoritie of the image must be giuen by the nations, and so they to be the makers thereof, so the authoritie, which is meant by the quickening of it, and making it speake, must be giuen it by the working of this false Church, whose rage shall be so great, as it shall persecute any who will not thinke the commands whatsoeuer of this Monarches embassadours and images, to be an infallible Law, as well as his owne. 16 And so this false Church makes that all, small or great, rich or poore, bond or free, in short, all men of whatsoeuer degree, shall take the Character or seale of this Monarchie into their right hand, or into their forehead, *to wit*, publikely professe obedience thereto, and assist the maintenance thereof, and downe-throwing of all resisters: 17 And that none may buy and sell except they haue the Character or the name of the beast, or the number of his name; for this defection shall be so vniuersall, and so receiued by all degrees of men, as it shall not be possible to any, neither shal that hypocriticall church permit any to be partakers of their ciuill societie, which is meant here by buying

2. Thess. 2.
2. Kings 1.

buying and selling, except they be knowen to be of his fellowship in religion, which is meant by the character, and his name, and the number thereof. Then since you see that this defection shall be so generall, beware of euery one that shall say, *Lord, Lord*, thereby to deceiue you, for you see by this, that false prophets shall for a time so triumph, as they shall vaunt themselues to be the trew Church, because there shall be no other Church visible at that time, although there shall euer be some that shall not bow their knee to *Baal*; for the woman shall not be deuoured by the dragon, but hid and nourished in the wildernesse out of sight for a space, as ye heard before. Retaine well in memorie these words, for the time shall come in the latter dayes, that this doctrine shall be thornes in the eyes of many. 1.Kings.19. Chap.12.

18 Now, as to the number of the beast here is wisedome, let him that is endued with knowledge number it, for the number of the beast or Monarchie, is the number of the man, *to wit*, of the first Monarch of this seat, who shall first vsurpe all these styles of blasphemie, and who in the fourth Monarchie shall reuiue a spirituall supremacie and tyrannie; and his number, *to wit*, the date of yeeres that he shall begin to reigne, in reckoning from the time of this Reuelation, is sixe hundred sixtie and sixe. Benedictus the 2. Platine.

CHAP. XIIII.

ARGVMENT.

The happie estate of the faithfull in the meane time of the Popes Tyrannie: His destruction: The faithfull onely are all saued.

Now so soone as the tyrannicall gouernment of these two beasts, *to wit*, the false church and their king had bene declared by this last Vision vnto me, euen as before, after the denouncing of the fearefullest plagues, the happy estate of Christ and his Church was declared to comfort me, as ye heard before; so now the plagues that are to be wrought by this spirituall Tyrannie being declared, the estate of Christ and his followers in the meane time is next set forth as followeth. Then I did looke, and loe I saw the *Lambe* standing vpon *Mount Sion*, and with him a hundred fourtie and foure thousand, hauing the Name of his Father written vpon their foreheads: for in the meane time that this Tyrannie was raging on the earth, this *Lambe* Christ was standing vpon *Mount Sion*, to wit, vpon his holy place, out of which he promised saluation to the faithfull, as *Dauid* saith, and is accompanied with this great number of faithfull, which number was composed of twelue thousand of euery Tribe, as ye heard before; but this number comprehends in this place all the faithfull, aswell of *Gentiles* as of *Iewes*, although it seeme to be vnderstood of the *Iewes* onely, which is done for continuing of the Metaphore, because as *Sanctum Sanctorum*, which was a part of the materiall Temple of *Ierusalem*, did signifie before all

all the faithfull, as ye haue heard, so now this number of *Iewes* here, signifies the faithfull, both of *Gentiles* and *Iewes*, as I haue said, who now are described here making publike profession of Christ, by bearing his marke on their forehead, an eminent part, euen as the wicked beare on their forehead the Character of their king, the angel of the bottomlesse pit: These faithfull followers of Christ did beare now his Marke, to testifie thereby, that they were preserued by it, euen in the very time that this Tyrannie was raging all the fastest. 2 And I heard a voyce from heauen like the sound of many waters in greatnesse, and like the roaring of the thunder in terriblenesse; And I also heard the voyce of many harpers playing on their harpes, 3 And singing as it were a New-song, before the Throne, and before the foure Beasts, and the Elders, and none could learne that Song, except these hundred foure and fourtie thousand, *to wit*, these who are bought from the earth: for they who were bought and redeemed by the precious Blood of Christ, from among the rest of the world, and so were no more of their number, were onely able to learne and vnderstand these voyces, for vnto them onely it apperteineth: Where first God promised, that he should shortly destroy that Tyrannie, (which voyce of God is here described by resembling it to the sound of many waters, as *Dauid* doeth, and to the roaring of the thunder;) And where next the thankes thereof is giuen by the Saints and Angels in singing the praises of God, as earnestly, and cheerefully, as if it were but a New-song, and to represent the harmonie thereof, they sing to the concords of the harpes and instruments in the presence of God sitting in his Maiestie, and compassed about with the foure Beastes, and foure and twentie Elders, of whom ye heard mention made before. 4 These attendants on the Lambe, are these who are not defiled with women, *to wit*, not guiltie of spirituall adulterie, for they are Virgines, as Christ called them in the parable of the Lampes: these follow the Lambe whithersoeuer he goeth, for they goe not astray from his footsteps, neither to the right, nor the left hand, and those are they who are bought from among men, and are the acceptable first fruits vnto their Father, and his Lambe. 5 And in their mouthes was found no guile, for they are inculpable before the Throne of God, because the Lambe hath fully payd their debts for them. 6 Then I did see another Angel flying through the middest of heauen, hauing the Eternall Euangel in his hand, that he might preach the same to all the inhabitants of the earth, euen to all nations, tribes, tongues, and peoples: for euen as ye heard before in the sixt Trumpet, of the reuiuing againe of the two Witnesses, who were slaine by this tyrannicall and hereticall Monarchie, so now the same was declared vnto me by this Angel, who when this Tyrannie is in the greatest pride, as ye haue heard, flies through the middest of heauen to be publikely heard and seene by all, hauing with him these eternall glad tidings to preach them to all the earth, *to wit*, God shall in the end of this Tyrannie, while it is yet triumphing, raise vp and send his Angels or messengers, who

who ſhall publikely teach the trewth, and refute the errours of this tyrannie before the eyes of the Sunne and the Moone, to the ſaluation of a part of euery countrey, and to double condemnation of the reſt through making them inexcuſable, who wil not turne in time. 7 And their exhortation ſhalbe this, which then I heard the Angel ſay with a lowd voyce; Feare God, and render him all glory, for the day of his iudgement comes at hand, adore him therefore who made heauen and earth, and ſeas, and fountaines of water, *to wit*, all things, good and euill: and the particular applications that theſe Witneſſes ſhall make of this generall doctrine, to the times of corruption that they ſhall be in, ſhall be this that I heard two Angels folowing declare, of whom the firſt ſaid; 8 It is fallen, It is fallen, *Babylon* that great City, becauſe ſhe gaue to al nations to drinke of the Vine of wrath, of her fornication or ſpiritual adulterie, *to wit*, that great Monarchie called *Babylon*, becauſe it leades and keepes the ſoules of men in ſpirituall thraldome, euen as the Monarchie of *Babylon* led, and kept the people of Iſrael in a corporall captiuitie, that Monarchie, I ſay, ſhall be ſuddenly deſtroyed: for it is to be noted, that as there is no diſtinction of times in the preſence of God, but all things are preſent vnto him, ſo he and his Angels calleth oftentimes that thing done, that is ſhortly and certainly to be done thereafter, which forme of ſpeach ye wil ſundry times heare thus vſed hereafter; That Monarchie, I ſay then, ſhall ſhortly be deſtroyed, and that iuſtly, becauſe ſhe hath abuſed a great part of the earth, by intiſing them to be ſenſeleſſe (as if they were drunken,) and to embrace her errours and idolatries or ſpirituall whoredome: For as men are entiſed by whores to leaue their owne ſpouſe, and enter in to them, ſo ſhall they perſwade the nations to leaue their ſocietie with their ſpouſe IESVS CHRIST, and onely ſettle their ſaluation vpon her, and for the committing of this ſpirituall whoredome, this Monarchie is here called *Shee*, and afterward the great *Whore*, and the reaſon that they ſhall giue why they make this warning, ſhall be in theſe words, which I heard the third Angel proclaime, *to wit*, 9 For whoſoeuer ſhall adore this Beaſt any longer, or his image, or take his character on his forehead, or his hand, as ye heard before, 10 He ſhall for his iuſt reward and puniſhment, drinke of the Wine of the wrath of God, yea of the pure and immixed wine thereof, powred out in the cup of his wrath: And he ſhalbe tormented with fire and brimſtone, *to wit*, he ſhall be caſt into hell, the torments whereof they doe ſignifie, and that in the preſence of the holy Angels, for they ſhall beare witneſſe againſt him in the ſight of the *Lambe*: for the *Lambe* ſhall iudge and condemne him; 11 And the ſmoake of his torments ſhall mount vp in all worlds to come, *to wit*, he ſhalbe vnceſſantly tormented for euer: For all theſe that adore the Beaſt and his image, and hath the character of his name, ſhall not haue reſt day nor night, *to wit*, they ſhalbe perpetually tormented without any releaſe or reliefe. 12 And in theſe dayes when the Witneſſes ſhalbe making this exhortation, in theſe things ſhall the conſtancie of the Saints or faithfull

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faithfull be tried, and by this triall shall they be knowne and discerned, that obserue and retaine the Commandements of God, and the faith of Iesus the Sauiour. 13 Then I heard a voice from heauen, saying to me, Write, Blessed are the dead that die for the Lords cause hereafter, so sayes the Spirit, for they rest from their trauails, and their workes follow them: This voyce from heauen did by these wordes declare vnto me, that these Witnesses who should make this exhortation that ye haue heard, should be persecuted therefore by that spirituall *Babylon*; but that these should be happiest, who lost their liues for so good a cause, for the confirmation whereof the holy Spirit sayes, Yea, and subioynes the reason, *to wit*, because both they rest from these continuall labours and troubles, that they were alwayes subiect vnto in the earth, and in recompense thereof their workes follow them: for as faith is the onely leader of men to heauen, and so goes before them; so according to the greatnesse and honour of their calling in earth, if they discharge it well, they are rewarded in heauen with a measure of glory conformed thereunto; and so their workes follow them, to obtaine that measure in that place wherof they were already assured by the meanes of faith in Christ onely. For although the Sunne, and the Moone, and the starres be all bright lampes and lights of the heauen, yet are they not all alike bright, but the brightnesse of euery one of them is different from the other; Alwayes let vs assure our selues, that although our measures shall be vnequall, yet from the greatest to the least, all the vessels of mercie shall enioy in all fulnesse, as much glory as they shalbe able to containe, and the vnequalitie of the measure shalbe, because they are not able euery one of them to containe alike in quantitie; and the like shalbe done with the measures of paines to the reprobate in hell. 14 Then I beheld, and loe I saw a white cloud, and vpon the cloud sate one like a man, hauing on his head a crowne of gold, and in his hand a sharpe sickle: 15 And an other Angel came out of the temple, & cried with a lowd voice to him that sate vpon the cloud, Thrust in thy sickle to reape, for the houre of thy reaping is come, and the haruest of the earth is withered for ripenesse, and readinesse to be cut: He who was like the Sunne of man, and was sitting on a white cloud, was Christ in a bright cloud of glory, crowned with a Crowne of victory; all that was spoken of him here, was to declare to me, that the last dayes wherein his comming againe shalbe, shall be next following, to the reuealing of *Babylon*, by the reuiuing of the witnesses, as ye heard in the end of the sixt Trumpet; 16 At what time Christ shall gather his harueſt of the elect together, as I heard himselfe say while he was yet on earth among vs. 17 Then another Angel came forth of the Temple that is in heauen, and he had an other sharp sickle in his hand: 18 And an other Angel came from the Altar, who had power ouer the fire, and he cried with a lowd voice to him that had the other sharpe sickle, saying, Put downe thy sharpe sickle, and gather the clusters of the Vine-trees, for the grapes are ripe. 19 Then the Angel put downe his sickle on the earth, and gathered the Vines of the

earth,

earth, and cast them in the winepresse of the wrath of God: For so soone as Christ hath gathered his harvest together, then the reprobate are fully to be destroyed, as is declared here by the Angels command, who came from the Altar, *to wit*, as directed by Christ. This Angel had power ouer the fire, *to wit*, he had direction to destroy, as he commanded, the messenger of Gods plagues, who had the sickle to doe it, who at his command cut the Vines and cast them in the great Winepresse of Gods wrath, *to wit*, destroyed the reprobate in the abundance of the wrath of God: 20 And the Winepresse was troden without the Citie, and the blood came out of the Winepresse, euen to the horse bridles, and spred to the bounds of one thousand and sixe hundred furlongs. This is surely a great comfort to all the chosen, that notwithstanding all the rest of the world, except such as are Christes harvest, whom he hath gathered together in the holy Citie, the rest, I say, shalbe destroyed in such a great number, as their blood shall of deepenesse come to the horse bridles, and ouerflow the whole land of Canaan, whereof the number of furlongs, or eight parts of miles, ye heard, is the length; Yet though it ouerflow the whole earth, which is signified by Canaan, it shalbe without the holy Citie which is in the middest of the land, *to wit*, although the trew Church shalbe in the middest of the world, as *Ierusalem* was in Canaan, yet that destruction shall not make a haire of one of their heads to fall, but it shalbe without them, and they fully exempted from it, as the land of *Goshen* was from the plagues of *Egypt*.

CHAP. XV.

ARGVMENT.

The faithfull praiseth God for the Popes destruction, and their deliuerance: The plagues which are to light on him and his followers, is to be declared by the powring forth of the seuen Phials.

THen I saw another signe in heauen, great and wonderfull, *to wit*, seuen Angels hauing the seuen last plagues, for by them is fulfilled the wrath of God; for the Spirit of God, hauing already declared vnto me the generall destruction of the whole world, which is without the holy citie, hee next declared vnto me, vnto my greater comfort, the particular plagues that are to light vpon spirituall Babylon, as a iust recompense of her sinnes, and of the plagues that shee is to loade the earth withall; and these are the seuen hinmost which are in the hands of the seuen Angels, of whom there is here mention made. 2 And I saw as it had beene a glassie Sea mixed with fire, and they that had wonne the victory ouer the beast, and ouer his image, or embassadours, and his character and the number of his name, *to wit*, from that time that the last beast rose out of the ruines of the other, I saw these victours (I say) standing aboue, or vpon this sea of glasse, and

and they had the harpes of God: For now hauing declared on the one part how vnhappie the state of Babylon shall be by the seuen last plagues, which shall fall vpon it; so on the other part, by these who stand on the sea of glasse mixed with fire, he declared vnto me what should be the blessed estate of the chosen, at that time that these plagues shall fall vpon Babylon, *to wit*, of these victours; for they shall reueale the Antichrist and deface him, they shall then behold the rest of the world, which is here signified by the sea of glasse, and they shall haue the harpes of God, *to wit*, the praises of God in their mouthes, because he hath mixed this glassie sea with fire, *to wit*, hath destroyed and made his iudgements to fall vpon this wicked world, as their song which followes will declare: 3 And they sung the song of *Moses* the seruant of God, & the song of the Lambe: It was called the song of *Moses*, as well because they did sing the praises of Gods iustice vpon this glassie Sea, to the reuenge of the blood of his chosen, as *Moses* sayth in the very last wordes of his Canticle; as because *Moses* praised God for the deliuerance of his people, from the corporall thraldome of Egypt; and the song of the Lambe, because they praised him for doing the like, by relieuing the Church from the thraldome of the spirituall Egypt in the times of the Euangel: and their song was this; Great and wonderfull are thy workes, O Lord God Almightie, iust in punishment, and trew, for the performance of thy promises are thy wayes, O King, and defender of all thy Saints and trew followers: 4 Who will not feare, O Lord, and glorifie thy Name, since thou art onely perfectly holy, for all nations shall come at the latter day, and adore before thee, since thy iudgements are now made manifest, and lighted vpon the earth. 5 And next after this, I saw these particular plagues euery one, (for the which the Saints did thus praise God, as followeth) for I did looke, and I saw the Temple of the Tabernacle of the Testimonie in heauen opened; the like of this ye heard was done in the beginning of the seuenth Trumpet, and for the same cause it was also done here, *to wit*, to shew the Arke of the couenant which was therein, for thereby God did witnesse, that hee was now mindfull of his promise by the sending out of these seuen Angels, and seuen plagues, which were now to be executed. 6 And out of this Temple came seuen Angels, for from the remembrance of his Arke and Couenant proceeded their direction, and they were clothed with pure and white linnen, for innocencie and puritie, and girded about their breasts with gold, for honour and glory. 7 And one of the foure beasts gaue these Angels seuen Phials of golde, full of the wrath of God that liues eternally, and for all worlds to come: These Angels are thus arayed, and these golden and precious Phials of the wrath of God, are giuen them by one of the foure beasts, the most excellent creatures of God, all to teach vs, that as these plagues shall be most bitter to *Babylon* and her followers, so shall they be most sweet to all the chosen for their deliuerance; for they are to light vpon the wicked, and no wayes to harme any of the holy Citie. 8 And the Temple in heauen was filled with

with the smoake comming from the Maiestie of God, and from his vertue and power: And there could none go in into the Temple while the seuen plagues of the seuen Angels were fulfilled, to teach vs that no flesh, how guiltlesse soeuer it be, can compeare before God, when in his wrathfull face he is clothed with iustice, but onely when with a cheerefull countenance, clothed with mercy, he stretcheth foorth his hands vnto vs.

CHAP. XVI.

ARGVMENT.

By the first Phyale the Popes followers are plagued with sundry new and vnknowen diseases: By the second Phiale all kinde of plagues, such as sword, famine, and pestilence light vpon the nations that acknowledge him: By the third, are diuers Popes raised vp at one time, who striuing for the seats, fight among themselues, and so they are iustly recompensed for shedding the blood of the Saints: By the fourth, the reuerence of him begins to waxe colde in the hearts of men: By the fift, his abuses begin to be discouered: By the sixt, his forces decay, which he perceiuing, houndeth out the Iesuits, to gather all his forces to destroy the faithfull, with whom God fights to his destruction: By the seuenth, the latter day is described, and the Popedome rent asunder.

Hen I heard a voice out of the Temple, saying to these seuen Angels, Goe powre foorth in great abundance vpon the earth, the seuen Phials of the wrath of God; for now they were to be shewen, and to be described vnto me. 2 Then the first Angel went to worke, and powred foorth his Phiale on the earth, and there fell a great and grieuous sore vpon all them that had the character of the beast, or adored his image: These plagues which were shewed to me, were onely ordained to light on Babylon, (as I said before) and therefore they mete vnto her with the measure that shee shall measure others with, *to wit*, they shall plague her and her followers with the like plagues that she shall plague others with, corresponding aswell in number as in qualitie: they also haue allusion to the plagues of Egypt, because she is called spiritually Egypt, (as yee heard in the sixt Trumpet) and so by this first plague is signified, that as shee persecuted the faithfull, and killed them, (as is declared in the sixt Trumpet) and as *Moses* made a scabbe to come vpon all the Egyptians for *Pharaohs* sake, so shall there fall a pestilent and pernicious sore vpon all his followers, *to wit*, they shall be troubled with diuers new and horrible diseases. 3 Then the second Angel powred foorth his Phiale vpon the sea, and the sea was made by it like the blood of a dead body, and euery liuing thing in the sea died; for as that beast should first so trouble the sea, *to wit*, the peoples and nations, with persecuting all them who wil not adore her, and by her abuse cause the world to become dead to all good workes and

fruitfull faith, as is declared by the vision where I saw her rise out of the sea; and as *Moses* turned the redde sea into a corrupted blood, with drowning the Egyptians, (which is here called the blood of a carrion) by the which all the fishes therein were poisoned, so shal the nations and the peoples, which are the followers and partakers of Babylon, be troubled with warres within and without, and with all kinde of plagues, such as pestilence, and famine, and such others. 4 Then the third Angel powred foorth his phiale vpon the Riuers and fountaines of water, and they became blood; for as this false Church and grashoppers did corporally succeed to the fountaines of waters, *to wit*, the trew Pastours, (as ye heard in the third Trumpet) and did assist their King *Apollyon*, to persecute bloodily the liuely fountaines of waters, or trew Pastours, who yet remained vncorrupted, as ye heard in the sixt Trumpet; and as *Moyses* made all the riuers and fountaines of waters in Egypt to become blood, so shall the teachers and heads of this false Church, be diuided among themselues, yea there shall be in three or foure diuers places, three or foure diuers persons, and euery one of them shall claime to be king of the locusts; which question shall be decided by the cruell and bloodie edge of the sword: And therefore to shew me how iustly that great persecutor of the Saints, is now made to be the persecutor of himselfe, diuided in diuers persons, 5 I heard the Angel of the waters, *to wit*, the third Angel, who powred these plagues vpon the waters, vse these words; Iust art thou, O Lord, who is, who was, and holy for that thou hast iudged these things; 6 Because euen as they, *to wit*, these corrupt, filthie, and false fountaines of waters, haue shed the blood of thy Saints and Prophets; so hast thou now giuen them of blood to drinke, for they are worthy of such a reward. 7 Then I heard the voice of one from the Sanctuarie, for confirmation hereof, saying; Certainely, O Lord God, trew and iust are thy Iudgements, for thou hast perfourmed thy promise, and hast iustly recompensed them. 8 Then the fourth Angel powred foorth his phiale vpon the Sunne, and power was giuen vnto him to afflict men with fire; for euen as the Sunne was darkened in the fourth Trumpet, *to wit*, the speciall teachers did begin to fall from the sinceritie of the trewth, enticed thereunto, though not by *Apollyon* himselfe, (for hee was not yet risen) yet by the qualities whereof hee is composed, and therefore is he here punished for the same: And as *Moses* troubled by the hote Easterne winde the land of Egypt by the breeding of grashoppers, so shall the fierie spirit of God in the mouthes of his witnesses, so trouble *Babylon* with the burning sunne of Gods trewth, as men shall be troubled with a great heat, *to wit*, she and her followers shall be tormented and vexed therewith. 9 But they blasphemed the name of God who had power ouer these plagues, and repented not, that they might giue him glory; for such is the nature of the wicked, and so hardened are their hearts, that the same scourges and afflictions which make the godly turne themselues to God, and so are the sauour of life vnto them to their eternall saluation,

saluation, they by the contrary make the wicked to runne from euill vnto worse, and so are the sauour of death vnto them to their iust and eternall condemnation. 10 Then the fifth Angel powred forth his phiale euen vpon the very throne of the beast, and his kingdome was made darke, and they, *to wit*, he and his followers gnawed their tongues for dolour: for as this beast did breed and was nourished by the smoake and darkenesse that came foorth of the bottomlesse pit, whereof he is the Angel and messenger, as was declared in the fift Trumpet: And as *Moses* made a great darkenesse to come vpon the land of Egypt, so now after the witnesses reuealing him, which yee heard signified by the heat in the fourth phiale, shall follow, that this kingdome shall become obscure by the light of the trewth, and shall come to be despised by many, whereby he and his followers shall be mooued to a great rage, which I meant by gnawing their tongues for dolour. 11 And they blasphemed the God of heauen for their dolours and griefes, and repented them not of their workes: for as I said before, neither corporall punishments, signified by sores, nor spirituall, signified by dolours, can moue them to repent, but to a greater obstinacie and rage, as ye shall see by their actions, immediatly after the powring foorth of the sixt phiale vpon the great water *Euphrates*. 12 Then the sixt Angel powred foorth his phiale vpon the great riuer of *Euphrates*, and the waters thereof were dried vp, that the passage of the Kings, comming from the East might be prepared, so as that beast by the meanes of many people (signified by waters) did tyrannize ouer the Church of God; and as *Moses* by *Aarons* rod made a dry and safe passage through the Red-sea to the people of Israel, so God by this plague dries vp that great water *Euphrates*, which compasseth *Babylon*, during his will, *to wit*, he makes now the power of this Monarchie to decay, and layes it open to inuasion and destruction, as ye shall heare: This water was dried to make passage for the Kings comming from the Sun rising, alluding to *Daniel*, as I shewed in the sixt Trumpet: for euen as the *Persians* and *Medes* came from the East, crossed *Euphrates*, ouercame *Babylon* and slew *Balthasar* King thereof, so immediately after that the Witnesses haue begun to reueale spirituall *Babylon*, as is declared in the fourth phiale, and that thereupon hath followed, that the kingdome thereof is become darke, as is declared in the fift phiale; then shall follow, that God shall prepare the destruction thereof, by drying *Euphrates*, whereupon shall ensue, that such instruments as God shall appoint, directed by that Sunne rising, *to wit*, Christ (as ye heard in the sixt Seale) shall destroy that King, and sacke that great Citie, to the perpetuall confusion of all her followers, as ye wil heare more clearely declared hereafter. 13 And then I saw from the mouth of the dragon, and from the mouth of the beast, and from the mouth of the false prophet, three vncleane spirits come foorth like to froggs; for this is all the repentance that these three phials shall worke in the heart of *Babylon*, as I said before, *to wit*, for the last remedie, the diuel or dragon shall inuent him a fresh order of

Exod. 14.

Chap 9.

Ecclesiasticall factours and Agents, as the diuels last brood: These are the same that I called horse, in the vision in the sixt Trumpet, three in number to correspond to their threefold armour, as ye heard in the said Trumpet, because there came out of their mouthes three sorts of persecutions and destructions; And themselues came out of three mouthes, out of the dragons, because the diuel is the inuenter of them, out of the beasts, because the beast or King of Locusts commands ouer them, directs and employes them for the standing of his kingdome, as the last refuge when now he sees the decay thereof euidently comming on, out of his false prophets or false Churches, because it authorises them for the aforesaid effects: These vncleane spirits and teachers of false and hereticall doctrines and wicked policies, resembling frogges, as well for that they are bred of an old, filthy, and corrupted false doctrine, which for a long space haue blinded the world before their comming, as frogges breed of rotten and slimie corruption; as also for that they goe craftily about to vndermine and condemne all Ecclesiasticall orders preceding them, as vnperfect and vnprofitable, because their kingdome is darkenesse; But howsoeuer they thus craftily insinuate themselues in the fauours of the people, surely their doctrine is nothing else, but the very same filthy puddle of vncleane and wicked heresies and impieties, taught by the grashoppers before, euen as the yong frogges grow like the former. [14] For they are spirits of diuels, *to wit*, wicked and craftie like them, doing myracles of deceipt, for they shall wonderfully deceiue men; and they goe to all the Kings of the earth, and to the whole world, to gather them together to the battell of that day of God Almightie; for they shall haue such credit of a great part of the Princes of the earth, as I also shewed you in the sixt Trumpet, as they shall gather great forces together, as the last brood of the diuel, as I told you before, to fight against his Church, who notwithstanding shall ouercome them, as will after more clearely be declared. [15] Happy are they then that swarue not, nor despaire in the meane time, but awake and keepe their garments cleane and vndefiled from the generall corruption, lest otherwise they walke naked, not clothed with the garment of righteousnes, and so their shamefull parts, or naturall inclination to euill be discouered: For loe I come as a thiefe, for no man shall know the houre, nor time of my comming. [16] And the place whereunto these vncleane spirits gathered the Kings to this battell against Gods Church, in Hebrew is called *Armageddon*: for by deceipt they assembled the Kings and nations to their owne destruction. [17] Then the seuenth Angel powred out his phiale in the aire, and there came forth a great voyce from the Temple in heauen, euen from the Throne, saying, It is done. [18] Then was heard great sounds, and lightnings and thunders, and there was a great earthquake, and such in greatnesse was neuer seene since men were vpon the face of the earth; for euen as the aire was troubled and obscured by smoke of hell, out of the which the king of Locustes, bred in the first Seale, and as *Moses* made haile

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in great abundance to fall on *Egypt*, which Meteore doeth breed in the aire; so God hauing stricken the battell against *Babylon*, and her followers, and hauing ouercome them, as ye heard in the sixt Seale; now followeth immediatly the last plague of the consummation by the aire; for in the aire shall that great noise be heard, which is the fore-runner of that *Great day*, most comfortable to the trew Church, but most terrible to all the rest of the world, which day is proclaimed by the voice of God from his Temple, wherein was his Couenant, declaring the consummation in these words ye heard; and as the great noise signifies the same, so in speciall doeth the great earthquake, as Christ himselfe prophesying thereof, doeth declare. 19 And that Citie was rent in sunder in three parts, and that iustly, because she destroyed the third part of the earth, as ye heard in the sixt Trumpet: and the Cities of the nations fell, because they dranke the cup of her abominations: And great *Babylon* and her sinnes, came then in memorie before God; for then he was to make her drinke the cup full of his wrath, to her vtter destruction. 20 And all the Isles fled, and the mountaines were no more found, for no deepenes of Seas, nor inaccessiblenes of mountaines shall haue power to saue the wicked, from the fearefull and terrible iudgements of that great and last day: This doeth also signifie the *latter day*, as ye heard before. 21 And a great haile to the greatnesse of talents fell vpon men, but they blasphemed God for the plague of haile, for it was exceeding great; This great haile signifieth also a great destruction at the latter day, as ye heard in the seuenth Trumpet, but yet the wicked shall be so stiffenecked, as euen at their last breath, their malice and obstinacie shall rather encrease then diminish, as is declared here by mens blasphemingof God for the plague of the haile.

CHAP. XVII.

ARGVMENT.

The Angel expounded to Iohn this vision of the Pope, describes him at large, and clearely declares the authors, and maner of his destruction.

BVt because that these plagues, and *Babylon* whereupon they lighted, did seeme obscure vnto me, therefore one of the seuen Angels who powred forth their phials ful of plagues, did say vnto me, Here then, I will shew vnto thee more plainely the condemnation of this great *Whore*, and what shee is that sitteth vpon many waters; 2 With whom the Kings of the earth haue committed spirituall adulterie, and with the wine of whose whoredome the inhabitants of the earth, *to wit*, a great number of nations, who are not of the Elect, are made drunke, as you heard before, 3 Then he bereft me in Spirit, as I told you in the beginning of this Epistle, to the

wildernes, which signifies the Gentelisme, as saith *Esay*; for she and her followers are Gentiles in effect, as ye heard in the sixt Trumpet: And as our *Master* sayes, All these that gather not with vs, they scatter; for no more is there a middest betwixt God and the diuell, nor betwixt the rewards thereof, heauen and hell; and as one of these two Masters we must of necessitie follow, so of the same necessitie to one of these two places must we goe. And then I saw in the wildernes a woman, euen *Babylon* that *whore*, sitting on a scarlet coloured and bloody beast, euen as shee was sitting before in the likenesse of a man vpon a pale horse, in the fourth Seale: And this beast was full of blasphemie, and had seuen heads and tenne hornes, as ye heard before. 4 And the woman was clothed with purple and scarlet and pretious stones and pearles, and had in her hand a golden Cup; for this Monarchie and the Monarch thereof, shall aswell be corporally clothed with these colours, and decked with pretious stones; as also, these colours which are finest of all others, and these pretious stones signifie, that this Monarchie and the seat thereof, shalbe most glorious and glauncing to the eyes of the world, as I said before, which shall not onely be the trew Church by appearance of outward glory, but euen retaine many of the generall points of religion, which is signified by her golden Cup; but this Cup was full of abhominations, and of the vncleannesse of her spirituall whoredomes: For albeit in many points she shal retaine the trewth, which shall abuse men, and allure them to her, yet shall she mixe and poyson this trewth with her owne abominable and hereticall inuentions, and traditions, and with the vncleannesse of her spirituall adulterie, whereof ye haue heard before. 5 And on her forehead was written a mysterie, *Babylon* the great, *to wit*, *spirituall Babylon*, as ye heard before, the mother of the whoredomes and the abhominations of the earth; for from her shall proceed the greatest, and in a maner, the onely chiefe abuses and heresies, coloured and clothed with the shew and title of Christianitie, with the which these, who shall outwardly say, *Lord, Lord*, shall euer be infected with, vntill the consummation, and as a mother, she shall not onely breed, but shalbe the chiefe nourisher and maintainer of them; And this is called a mysterie, because although this abuse shall be publike, as is signified by being written on her forehead, yet none shall consider the abuse thereof, but onely such, whose eyes it shall please God to illuminate for that effect. 6 And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the Saints, and of the Martyrs, and witnesses of Iesus the Sauiour, *to wit*, she shall greedily and cruelly shed their blood without all measure, reason or pitie, as yee haue often heard before: And when I thus saw her, I wondered at her marueilously, and I could not coniecture the meaning of the seuen heads and ten hornes that the beast had, on whom she sate. 7 And the Angel who had now shewen her vnto me, as ye now haue heard, seeing me thus wonder, sayes vnto me, Marueile not, for I will reueale vnto thee the mysterie of this woman, and of the beast shee rideth vpon, which hath seuen heads

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and ten hornes: 8 This beast that thou hast seene (or Monarchie) was, (for it is the fourth Monarchie, which is very great and flourishing) and is not, for it is now so farre decayed, that in a maner it is not, and it is to rise againe out of the bottomlesse pit, as yee heard in the fift Trumpet, how soone the wound of the head shall be healed, whereof ye heard before, and it shall goe to perdition, as ye often haue heard already, and the in-dwellers of the earth shall wonder, whose names are not written in the booke of life, before the foundation of the world was laide; of this wondering yee heard before; they shall wonder (I say) at this beast, which was, *to wit*, in great power, and is not, *to wit*, in a maner, as ye presently heard, and yet is, I meane doeth stand, though farre decayed from the former greatnesse: 9 Take good heede vnto this that I declare vnto thee, for herein shall the trew wisedome of men be tried, *to wit*, in knowing by this my description, what particular Empire and Tyrannie I speake of: And the seuen heads of this beast signifie, aswell seuen materiall hilles, whereupon the seate of this Monarchie is situated, as also seuen kings, or diuers formes of Magistrates that this Empire hath had, and is to haue hereafter; 10 Fiue of them haue beene alreadie, one is presently, and makes the sixt, another shall follow it, and make the seuenth, but it is not yet come; and when it comes, it shall remaine but a very short space. 11 And this beast which was, *to wit*, so great, and is not, for now it is decaying, as thou presently hast heard it, is the eight, and yet one of the seuen; for this beast which rose out of the ruines of the fourth Monarchie, as ye heard before, in respect it vseth an hereticall Tyrannie ouer the consciences of men, by that new forme of Empire, is different from any of the rest, and so is the eight, and yet because this forme of gouernment shall haue the same seate which the rest had, and vse as great Tyrannie, and greater vpon the world, and shall vse the same forme in ciuill gouernment, which one of the seuen vsed, therefore because it is so like them, I call it one of the seuen. 12 And the tenne hornes which thou sawest, signifie tenne Kings, *to wit*, the great number of subalterne Magistrates in all the Prouinces vnder that Monarchy, who haue not yet receiued their kingdome; for vnder all the diuers sorts of gouernments that shall be in it, except the last and hereticall sort, these subalterne powers shall be but in the ranke of subiects, but they shall take their kingly power with the beast, *to wit*, at the very time that this *Apollyon* shall rise out of the ashes of the fourth beast or Monarchie, the kings of the earth shall become his slaues and subalterne Magistrates, whereas the subiects were onely the power of that Monarchie before: so as the hornes or powers of this beast, were but of subiects before it was wounded, but after the healing of it, the worldly kings and rulers shall become the powers and hornes of it. 13 These shall haue one counsell, and shall giue their strength and power to the beast, *to wit*, these kings shal all willingly yeeld obedience to *Babylon*, and shall employ their whole forces for the maintenance of that Monarchie, and the persecution of the Saints: 14 For they shall

ſhal fight with the Lambe in his members, albeit all in vaine, for in the end the Lambe ſhall ouercome them, becauſe he is Lord of lords, and King of all kings, and theſe that are with him and followeth him, are called Choſen and Faithfull. [15] He alſo ſaid vnto me, The waters that thou ſaw this *Whore* ſit vpon, are the peoples, multitudes, nations, and tongues that haue ſubiected themſelues to her Empire: [16] But as touching theſe ten hornes thou ſaw, thus farre I foretell vnto thee, although that for a time theſe kings ſhall be ſlaues and ſeruants to *Babylon*, and ſhall be her inſtruments to perſecute the Saints, the time ſhall come before the conſummation, that they ſhall hate the *Whore*, who abuſed them ſo ſtrongly and long, and ſhall make her to be alone, for they ſhall withdraw from her their Subiects, the nations that were her ſtrength, and ſhall make her naked, for they ſhall diſcouer the myſterie of her abominations, and ſhall eate her fleſh, and burne her with fire, *to wit*, they ſhall ſpoile her of her riches, power and glory, and ſo deſtroy her. [17] But doe not thou wonder at this, for God gaue them in their hearts, *to wit*, permitted them to be abuſed by her for a ſpace, that they might doe what pleaſed her, and conſent to all her vnlawfull policies and pretences, and giue their kingdomes vnto this beaſt, vntill the words of God might be accompliſhed, *to wit*, they ſhall ſubmit their very Crownes, and take the right thereof from her, vnto the fulneſſe of times here prophecied: At what time God ſhall raiſe them vp, as ye heard, to deſtroy *Babylon*; for the hearts of the greateſt kings, as well as of the ſmalleſt ſubiects, are in the hands of the Lord, to be his inſtruments, and to turne them as it ſhall pleaſe him to employ them. [18] And this woman, or *Whore* which thou ſaweſt, is that great citie and ſeate of this Beaſt or Monarchie, which beareth rule ouer the kings of the earth, as thou haſt heard alreadie: But although it be one ſeat, yet diuers and a great number of kings or heads thereof, ſhall ſucceed into it, one to another, all vpholding an hereticall religion, and falſe worſhip of God, and one forme of gouernment, as the fourth Monarchie did, out of the which this did ſpring, as ye haue heard.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

ARGVMENT.

The sorrow of the earth for the destruction of the Popedome : The profite that worldly men had by his standing : The great riches and wealth of that Church: The Pope by his Pardons makes merchandise of the soules of men : Heauen and the Saints reioyce at his destruction, albeit the earth and the worldlings lament for the same.

Nd then I saw another Angel comming downe from heauen, hauing great power, so that the earth shined with his glory, for so soone as God, by one of the seauen Angels who had the phials, had more plainely described vnto mee this woman sitting on the beast, then he did before, hee now appointeth this other Angel, who is Christ, to declare vnto me, and proclaime to the world (as is signified by his comming downe to the earth for that cause) the iust condemnation of *Babylon* according to her sinnes. 2 And hee cryed out with a loude voyce, saying, *It is fallen, It is fallen, Babylon* that great Citie, and it is made the dwelling place of vncleane spirits, and the habitation of all vncleane and hatefull fowles, *to wit*, it shall be destroyed, and that great Citie, the seate of that Monarchie, shall be desolate for euer, euen as it was prophesied of *Ierusalem*; 3 Because all nations haue drunke of the Vine of her whoredome, and the kings of the earth haue committed whoredome with her, and the Merchants of the earth are become rich by the great wealth of her delights, in so great a worldly glory and pompe did that Monarchie shine. 4 And I heard another voyce from heauen, *to wit*, the voyce of the holy Spirit, saying, Goe foorth from her my people, *to wit*, all the chosen, lest ye be participants of her sinnes, and of the plagues which are to fall vpon her for them : For if but outwardly ye haunt with her, and seeme to beare with her abominations, yee shall bee accounted guiltie of her sinnes; for if ye will haue Christ to professe you publikely at the latter day; before his Father and his Angels, and reward both your body and soule with eternall felicitie, yee must not bee ashamed to serue him both in body and soule before men : And this warning I giue you before-hand to make you inexcusable, who will otherwise doe: 5 For her sinnes are come to such a height, as they haue touched the heauen, and God is mindfull of them; then not onely haunt not with her, as I haue said, (for it is not enough not to doe euil) but, 6 Rayse your selues vp against her, and render the like that she hath done to you, yea pay her with the double of her owne workes, and in the cup which she propined vnto others, render her the double, *to wit*, trouble, and destroy her by all meanes, and in all things, euen as she troubled and destroyed others before; and according to her pride and wantonnesse, recompence her with torment, woe, and wailing : 7 For she sayes in her mind, *I sit a Queene*,

or

or am a ſtabled Monarch, neither am I a widow, or ſhall euer bee deſolate, nor ſhall euer ſee dolour, or taſte deſtruction. 8 And therefore becauſe ſhe thus builds her felicitie vpon her worldly ſtrength, by worldly inſtruments ſhall ſhee bee plagued, with death, with dolour, with hunger, and burnt with fire, *to wit*, after ſuffering all ſorts of torments, ſhee ſhall in the end be vtterly deſtroyed; for ſtrong is the Lord God, who ſhall condemne her. 9 And then ſhall the kings of the earth, who were her hornes, and had committed whoredome and riotouſneſſe with her before, weepe and lament for pittie, when they ſee the ſmoake of her burning; for although ſome of themſelues ſhall be the deſtroyers, as ye heard before, yet ſhall her deſtruction be ſo great, as their hearts ſhall pittie the worke of their hands, when they ſhall ſee the great ſmoake of her deſtruction. 10 And they ſhall ſtand farre off from her torment, *to wit*, her torment ſhall put them in memorie of their guiltineſſe of her ſinnes, which ſhall afray them wonderfully, and ſhall ſay in great admiration, *Alas*, *Alas*, for that great Citie Babylon, that ſtrong Citie, whoſe iudgement and deſtruction is all come in one howre, and at once. 11 And the Merchants of the earth ſhall weepe and mourne for her, becauſe their merchandiſe wil no more bee bought, for her pompe ſhall make the Merchants rich, by getting readie ſale of all fine wares, 12 Such as gold, ſiluer, precious ſtones, pearles, fine linnen, purple, ſilke, and ſcarlet for her garments, and all kind of veſſels to doe her idolatrous ſeruice, of Iuorie, coſtly wood, braſſe, iron, or marble ſtone; 13 Cynamome, and all kind of odours for her Church, with oyntments, and incenſe for the ſame purpoſe, and the fine flower of wheat, and all kind of victuals and cattell, and ſheepe for her ſumptuous banquets, and horſe, and Chariots, and ſlaues for her triumphes, and proceſſions, and ſoules of men; for ſhee ſhall haue many that ſhall be Merchants vnto her of the ſoules of men, by ſelling for mony, Pardons giuen by that Monarch, which ſhall bee thought to haue power to ſaue, redeeme and free mens ſoules: but ye ſhal heare more ſhortly of this hereafter. 14 And the fruits of the deſire of thy ſoule, O *Babylon*, ſhall goe from thee, *to wit*, thy ioyes and delights ſhall all turne to ſorrow, and all fat and faire things are gone from thee, *to wit*, thou ſhalt leaue all profit and pleaſure, neither ſhalt thou euer find them any more, for thou ſhalt be deſtroyed for euer. 15 And ſo the Merchants of theſe ſtuffes, being made rich by the buying and ſelling of them, they ſhall ſtand afarre off from thy torments, and weepe, and waile, 16 ſaying, *Alas*, *Alas*; for that great Citie that was clothed with fine linnen, purple, and ſcarlet, and was of ſo gliſtering a pompe, as was gilded with gold, and decked with pretious ſtones and pearles: 17 For loe now how in one houre all her riches and pompe is evaniſhed, and all the gouernours and owners of ſhips, and all the multitudes of men in the ſhips, and all the Marriners in them, and all theſe who gaine their liuing vpon the ſea, ſhal ſtand afarre off for feare, 18 And cry, ſeeing the ſmoke of her burning, ſaying with a great admiration, Who was like in power or

ſhining

shining glorie to this Citie? [19] And for pittie of her decay, and sorow for wanting by that meanes, the carrying to her from all other countries all sorts of merchandise, they shall cast dust and ashes vpon their heades, and say, *Alas, Alas* for that great Citie, wherein was made rich all these that had shippes vpon the sea, by the prices and trade shee made vs haue, and now she is made desolate in one houre: [20] But although the earthly men bee sorrowfull for her fall, as yee haue heard, because they want their earthly commodities and pleasures thereby, which she whose religion was earthly, *to wit*, founded vpon mens traditions and inuentions, and maintained by earthly pompe and power, did make them enioy; yet reioyce yee heauens for her fall, and ye holy Apostles and Prophets be glad thereof; for God, in punishing her hath reuenged your cause. [21] Then for confirmation of this Prophesie of her destruction, I sawe a strong Angel take a great stone like a millstone, and cast it in the sea, saying, Euen with such a force shall Babylon that great Citie be casten downe, and the very place thereof shall no more be found, as *Ieremy* prophesied of corporall Babylon. [22] And the sound of harpers, and musitians, and players on pipes and trumpets shall no more be heard in thee; for no ioy nor mirth shall any more bee in that Monarchie, or the seate thereof, nor no craftes-man of any craft shall bee found in thee, neither shall the grinding of the mill be heard any more in thee; for that Citie, or seate and Monarchie shall no more bee inhabited: [23] And the light of a candle shal be no more found in thee, and the voice of the husband and the wife shall no more be heard in thee; for as it shall not be inhabited any more by the wicked, so neither shall the godly dwell therein; so accursed shall it be, so as the lampes of the fiue virgins shall not burne there, neither shall Christ and his spouse, the true Church any more be there, although that during the standing of that Monarchie, some chosen, though few and secret, were, and at all times shall be, euen within that City, the seate thereof, whose merchants were the great men of the earth, and with whose witchcrafts all nations were seduced. [24] And the blood of the Prophets, and of the Saints was found in her, and of all them that were slaine vpon the earth, *to wit*, this plague of destruction shall iustly fall vpon her, aswell for that she made her messengers or embassadours, who are great in power, (as yee heard before) to bee the sellers of her Pardons, Prayers, Sacraments, Merits, and euen of the sinnes, and soules of men, as ye haue presently heard; and so by that meanes and the like, bewitched, as it were, and abused many nations; as also for that shee had cruelly persecuted and murthered the Saints, so as the blood of all the Saints since *Abel*, who willingly sacrificed their liues for the loue of Gods trewth, and for the testimonie of his Sonne, shall be layd vpon her head, and imputed vnto her, in following, fulfilling, and exceeding the rage of former Tyrants, oppressing and persecuting the Church of God.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

ARGVMENT.

The Saints praise God for ioy that the Pope is destroyed: The glorious forme of Christes second comming set downe at large: The Pope and his Church is condemned for euer.

THen according to the voyces speaking to the heauen, and Prophets and Apostles there, *to wit*, that they should reioyce as much for the fall of *Babylon*, as the vnregenerate men did lament therefore, as ye haue heard; according, I say, to this exhortation, I heard the voyce of a great multitude in heauen, saying, *Hallelu-iah*, which is if ye interpret it, *Praise God with a lowde voyce*, Saluation, honour, glorie, and power is onely with our Lord God: 2 For true and iust are his Iudgements, and he hath condemned that great *Whore*, who hath defiled the earth with her whoredome, and he with his hand hath reuenged vpon her the blood of his seruants: 3 Then for the second time they said, *Hallelu-iah*; for the smoake of her destruction goeth vp in all worlds to come, for she shall neuer rise againe, but shalbe burned with a perpetuall fire. 4 And likewise for thankesgiuing for the same, the foure and twentie Elders fell downe vpon their faces before God, and adored him, and the foure Beasts also adored God sitting vpon his Throne, and all the beasts and Elders said with one voyce, *Amen, Hallelu-iah.* 5 And I heard a voyce come from the Throne, *to wit*, from one of the foure beastes that supported it, saying, Praise our God all ye his *Seruants*, and all ye that feare him, small and great. 6 And then conformely to that direction I heard, as it had bene the sound or voyce of a great multitude, and as it had bene the sound of many waters, and as the sound of great thunders, *to wit*, the voyce of all the Creatures in heauen, whose sound in greatnes might be compared to the noise of many waters, or to the roaring of the thunder, and they said all in one Voyce, *Hallelu-iah*, because our Lord God Almightie hath now reigned by destroying *Babylon*, and her followers. 7 Let vs therefore reioyce and be glad, and render him all glory: for the Marriage of the Lambe is come, *to wit*, the *latter Day* is at hand, and his wife hath made herselfe ready for him, *to wit*, his Church is now purified from among the wicked. 8 And it was giuen vnto her to clothe herselfe with pure and bright linnen, which is the iustification of the Saints; for as fine linnen is a pure bright, white, and pretious stuffe, so are the Saints clothed with that pretious vndefiled, and glorious garment of righteousnes through imputation; And this our garment of Iustification, with the which we shalbe clothed at the *latter day*, must onely come of his righteousnesse, so (as ye presently heard,) it must be giuen vs by him; for as of our selues we cannot thinke a good thought, so can we merit nothing but eternall death, and when we haue done all the good workes we can,

can, we must thinke our selues but improfitable seruants, as Christ himselfe said. 9 Then the same voyce, *to wit*, the voyce of the Angel that shewed me these things, said to me, Write and leaue in record to all posterities: *Happie are they that are called to the Supper of the Lambes marriage*, whereof thou thy selfe heard him speake parabolically; for those who are called, shall neuer againe be cast off, but are chosen for euer. And he said vnto me, these words of God are trew which I bad thee write, to leaue to posteritie, that God himselfe hath giuen this comfortable promise, which I haue specially willed thee to witnesse to thy *Brethren*, because it will come to passe in the later dayes, that this whoring and hereticall *Babylon*, shall diswade all her followers from trusting this promise, and so driue men to an vncertaintie of their Election. 10 And I fell downe at this Angels feete to haue adored him (so all flesh is giuen of it selfe, to adore some visible thing which is idolatry, such is the corruption of our flesh, if it be not holden vp by grace from aboue,) but he did reproue me, and said, Beware thou doe it not: For although I be a more excellent creature of God then thou art, yet am I but thy fellow seruant, and so one of thy brethren, bearing the testimony of IESVS in heauen, to be his seruant and creature, as thou doest in earth: Adore therefore God onely, for no creature must either be prayed to, or adored, nor no mediation can come, but by Christ onely, and thinke mee not a God for prophesying thus vnto thee, (for the witnessing of Christ is the Spirit of prophesie) for that gift is common to others, aswell as to mee, and it is the same Spirit of prophesie, albeit not the same gift of it that foretells things to come, which giues grace to all the Elect, to beare trew and constant record of Christ. 11 Then I saw thereafter the forme of the day of Iudgement; for I saw the Heauens open, and loe, a white horse came downe from them, (of this white horse yee heard in the first Seale) and hee that sate vpon him, *to wit*, Christ, was called *faithfull* and *trew*, for by giuing Iudgement, hee was now to performe his promise; and hee was also called, *Hee that iustly iudgeth, and fighteth*, for hee was presently to iudge the world, and to condemne perpetually all the reprobate: 12 And his eyes were like the flames of fire, (as yee heard in the beginning of this Epistle) and on his head were many diademes, for now he was to reigne eternally ouer all the kingdomes of the earth, as the Elders did sing in the seuenth Trumpet; and he had a Name written vpon him, which no man did know but himselfe; for the mysterie of his Name of *Redemptor* is so profound, as no creature is able to comprehend it by wisedome; and therefore I heard himselfe say, that no Angel, no not himselfe in so farre as he is man, did foreknow the day of his last comming, which shall be the fulfilling of that mysterie. 13 And he was clothed with a garment dipt in blood, wherewith the garments of the soules of Martyrs are washed, as ye heard in the fift Seale, and he is named, *The word of God*, as I did shew you in the beginning of my Euangel. 14 And the hostes of Angels and Saints in heauen, followed

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him vpon white horses clothed in white, and pure linnen, whereof yee heard alreadie: [15] And from his mouth came foorth a sharpe sword, as ye heard in the beginning of this Epistle, that he might strike the Gentiles therewith; for hee shall rule them with *a rod of yron*, as Dauid sayth, and *he treadeth, to wit*, giueth command and power to tread the lake or sea of the vine of the fury and wrath of God Almightie, as ye heard in the seuenth Trumpet: [16] And he hath vpon his garment, and vpon his thigh, as the strongest part of his body, this name written, *The King of kings, and Lord of lords.* [17] And I saw an Angel standing in the Sunne, that there he might be seene publikely of all, and that the Whole world might take heed to that which he was to proclaime; and he cried with a loude voice to all the fowles flying through the middest of heauen, *Come* and gather your selues to the supper of the Lord; [18] To eate the flesh of Kings, of Tribunes, of mightie men, of horses and of their riders: in short, come eate the flesh of all free-men and slaues, great and small: This was to declare, that the day of Iudgement was come, wherein should that destruction ensue, signified by fowles eating their flesh, (because fowles vse to eate the flesh of dead men vnburied) which should ouerwhelme all sorts of men, excepting alwayes these that were marked, who were sundry times excepted before, as ye heard. [19] Then I saw that beast, *to wit*, Babylon, together with the kings of the earth who tooke her part, and their armies gathered together, to make warre with him that sate vpon the white horse, and with his armie: [20] But the Beast was taken, together with the false prophet, or false Church, which by her false miracles seduced the nations that did beare the Character of the Beast, and adored his image, as ye heard before, and they were both cast quicke in the lake of fire burning with brimstone: [21] And the rest were slaine by the sword which came out of his mouth, that sate vpon the horse, and the fowles were filled with their flesh; for how soone Christ shall come to Iudgement, then shall all the enemies of God be destroyed, and so full victory obtained of this battell, whereof yee heard in the sixt Trumpet, and sixt phiale, and shall heare farther hereafter: And chiefly *Babylon*, and the false Church shall be cast into hell, because they merit double punishment for the abusing of men, although they shall not also want their damnation that followeth them, as is signified by their slaughter with the sword of his mouth, whereof yee heard in the beginning of this Epistle, and by the fowles eating their flesh, as ye presently perceiue.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

ARGVMENT.

The summe and recapitulation of all the former visions, to wit, the first estate of the Church in all puritie after Christ: The heresies, and specially the Popedome that followed: The destruction thereof, in their greatest rage: The latter day: The saluation of the Elect, and condemnation of all others.

THe Spirit of God hauing now shewen vnto me the estate of the Church militant, with the speciall temptations and troubles of the same, from the death of Christ to the consummation of the world, and their ioyfull deliuerance and victory at that time, by the first sixe Seales; and next more amply by the seuenth Seale, wherin were the seuen trumpets; and thirdly, her greatest temptations and troubles, more cleerely and at large, by the vision of the woman, persecuted by the Dragon; and lastly, the cleere and ample description, and damnation of *Babylon*, that great persecuter, the sorrow of the earth, and ioy of heauen therefore: This vision now that ye shall presently heare, was next shewen vnto me, to serue for a summe as it were, and a short recapitulation of the whole Prophecie, so often reiterated before; which is here diuided in three parts: First, the happy estate of Christes Church, though not in the eyes of the world, from his first comming to a long time after, as was declared by the first Seale: Next, the grieuous troubles and temptations, vnto the which shee shall be subiect thereafter, as was declared by the third and fourth Seale; and by the third, fourth, fift, and sixt blastes of the Trumpets: And thirdly, the destruction of all her enemies, her ioyfull deliuerance, and the consummation, as was declared by the sixt Seale, the seuenth Trumpet, the seuenth phiale, and the comming downe of the white horse, which in my last words before these, yee heard described: But specially in this vision is declared, the punishment at the latter day of the deuill himselfe, before the destruction onely of his instruments, being mentioned, as ye formerly heard. The vision then was this; [1] I saw an Angel come downe from heauen, and he had the key of the bottomlesse pit, and a great chaine in his hand: [2] And hee tooke the dragon, *to wit*, the ancient serpent, who is the deuill and Satan, *to wit*, the Tempter, and bound him for the space of a thousand yeres: [3] And did cast him in the bottomlesse pit, and closed him in there, that it should not be opened, that he might come foorth and seduce the nations, till the space of a thousand yeeres were completed and past, for thereafter he must be loosed for a short space. [4] Then I saw seats, and persons sitting vpon them, and iudgment or power of iudging was giuen vnto them: And I also saw the soules of them who were beheaded, or otherwise put to death, for the testimonie of Christ, and the word of God, and adored not the Beast, nor tooke his image, neither his character on their foreheads,

nor on their hands: These shal liue and reigne with Christ, the space of the thousand yeres ye heard: [5] But the rest of the dead shal not reuiue, till the space of these yeres be complete: This is the first resurrectiō. [6] Blessed and holy is he that is partaker of the first resurrection; for ouer such the second death shal haue no power, but they shalbe Priests of God and Christ, & shal reigne with him for euer. This is the first part of the diuision, wherof I presently told you, *to wit*, Christ by his passion did bind the deuill, who before was raging in the world, and closed him in hell by the remouing of the vaile of blindnes from the whole earth, which remained so the space of a thousand yeres, *to wit*, a long space, & all that time the deuil remained bound and casten into hell by Christ, who only hath power of it; so as in all that space, the nations were not seduced: for the efficacie of heresies was not yet cropen in, and the Saints and Church visible shal so increase, albeit in the midst of persecution all this time, and so retaine the purity of the trewth, as by the glory of their constancie, and patience in the time of their persecution, they shall as it were reigne ouer the earth, and by their Martyrdome be Iudges therof; for it is called Christs reigning and the Saints vpon the earth, when his word, and trew professours thereof, shine visibly therein, as I haue said: and these were they who adored not the beast, *to wit*, they are the elect, who were predestinate before all beginnings, to be preserued from all infections and heresies, which is generally represented by this part of them, that the beast or *Babylon* shal raise and maintaine, as the greatest and most perillous that euer shall be raised by Satan: And the honourable sitting of the Saints and soules of Martyrs was shewed to me, to assure me, that how soone the soule of any faithfull man is parted from the body, it ascendeth immediatly vnto heauen, there abiding in all glory, the reioyning againe of his glorified body at the latter day, coniunctly to possesse all glory in heauen eternally; like as by the contrary, the reprobate soule, how soone it parteth from the body of the wicked, goes down immediatly to hell, there abiding in all torment, the knitting again with his cursed body at the latter day, there iointly to be subiect to eternall paine; neither is there any resting place by the way for any of them: and the rest of the dead, *to wit*, all the wicked, shal not be reuiued while this space be complete; for the wicked shall neither during this space, nor at any time thereafter, taste of the regeneration, which is the first resurrection, and second birth, as Christ said to *Nicodemus*: and therfore, as I said already, *Blessed and happy are they who are partakers of the first resurrection*, for the second death, *to wit*, hell, shall haue no power of them, but they shall be Priests of God and Christ, and reigne with him these thousand yeeres, *to wit*, they shal eternally in heauen offer vp that *Eucharisticall Sacrifice* of praise to God, and so be ioyned in fellowship with the chosen, which were vpon the earth in that aforesaid time. This first part of this vision is begun alreadie; now followeth the next part. [7] And when these happy dayes are expired, then shal the deuill be loosed out of his prison: [8] And he shal go forth with greater liberty to seduce the nations which are in the four airths of

of the earth, *to wit*, he shal not only, after the spreding of many heresies, cause a general blindnes & defection, but also make a great persecution vpon the faithful Church, by gathering *Gog* and *Magog* to battell against them, whose number is like the sand of the sea, *to wit*, after innumerable troubles, at last he shall gather to the great day of the battell of the Lord (of the which ye heard in the sixt Trumpet, and sixt phiale, and last immediately before this Vision) *Gog* and *Magog*, *to wit*, two great seates of Monarchies and Tyrannies ouer the Church, who both at one time shall rise in the latter dayes, and both at another time shalbe destroyed by the blast of Christes breath, as ye shall heare; whereof the one is the auowed, and professed enemie of GOD, and his CHRIST, but the other is *Babylon*, the hypocriticall and most dangerous aduersary: Of these two ye heard in the sixt Trumpet; and so these two, although pride, and enuie, shall still keepe a rooted malice betwixt them, yet they shall both with innumerable forces, make warre against the trew Church, as *Herod* and *Pilate* did band themselues against Christ, notwithstanding the particular dislikes which were betwixt them: It is these and their forces that must fight against the Saints at *Arma-geddon*, as ye heard in the sixt phiale, and the special drawers on of this battell shalbe the three frogs, who are the last vermin, bred of the smoake of the bottomlesse pit, as ye also heard in the said phiale. 9 These great forces then went vp vpon the earth; for the diuel raised them out of the bottomlesse pit, and they spread themselues vpon the breadth of the earth, so great was their number, and compassed the Tents or dwellings of the Saints, and the holy Citie; for they were prepared to inuade the trew Church on all sides, and by all meanes, but the fire came downe from heauen and deuoured them; for God by his Almighty power, euen when their power was greatest, and nothing so like, as an apparant rooting out of all the faithfull, *in rebus desperatis*, did miraculously confound all the aduersaries of his Church: And now comes in the third and last part of this Vision, *to wit*, the description of the Consummation: 10 For I did see the diuel, who seduced these wicked, cast into a lake of fire and brimstone, *to wit*, in hell, out of the which he shall neuer come againe, where also the *beast*, and the false prophet were, as ye heard before; Here now I saw the diuel punished eternally, to my greater comfort, for troubling the Church, where before I saw onely his instruments punished, as I said in the beginning of this Vision: and he and his instruments shall be tormented there day and night, *to wit*, incessantly for euer and euer. 11 Then I saw a great white Throne, and one sitting thereupon in all glory and brightnesse, *to wit*, IESVS CHRIST, now comming from heauen, to iudge the earth: and from his sight fled the earth and the heauen, and their place was not found; for the whole earth, and much of the heauen shall be destroyed and renewed at his last comming. 12 And I saw all the dead, great and small, standing in GOD his sight; for then is the resurrection of the dead, who at that time must be iudged: And the bookes were opened,

to wit, the counsels, and secrets of all mens hearts; and another booke, *to wit*, the booke of *Life* was opened, to the effect that all those whose names were written into it, *to wit*, predestinated and elected for saluation before all beginnings, might there be selected for eternall Glory: And the dead were iudged out of these things which were written in the bookes, according to their workes; for as God is a Spirit, so iudgeth he the thoughts of man, and so by faith onely iustifies him, which notwithstanding is done according to his workes, because they, as the fruits of faith, cannot be separated from it, and beare witnesse of the same to men in the earth. 13 And the Sea gaue vp all the dead she had; for all the dead must then rise, as I haue shewed already; And death and hell gaue vp all they had, for not onely the bodies, but euen the soules of the wicked shalbe iudged there, and euery one was iudged according to his workes, as I presently did shew you. 14 And hell and death were casten in the Lake of fire, which is the second death, *to wit*, hell and death shall then be closed vp for euer within themselues, and shall neuer againe come forth to trouble the Saints; for death, which is the last enemie, shallbe abolished from holy *Ierusalem* for euer. 15 And whosoeuers name is not found written in the booke of *Life*, is casten into the Lake of fire; for not onely the publike euill doers, but euen whosoeuer is not predestinate for saluation, shall at that time be casten into hell, for there is no midway; but whosoeuer gathereth not with Christ, he scattereth, as I shew before.

CHAP. XXI.

ARGVMENT.

A large and glorious description of the Church Triumphant in Heauen: and of all the members of that holy and Eternall Ierusalem.

NOw the Spirit of God hauing by this last vision made a summe and recapitulation of all the former, as yee haue heard, he, by this following and last vision, declareth, and gloriously describeth the reward of all them, who constantly perseuere vnto the end, in the trew seruice of God, notwithstanding all the assaults of Sathan, which ye haue heard dilated: the reward was then, to be eternall inheritours of holy Ierusalem, as yee shall presently heare. 1 For I saw a new heauen and a new earth: it is ouer this new heauen and new earth that the faithfull should reigne kings, and priests for euer, as yee heard before: And the first heauen, and the first earth went away, neither was the sea any more; for all shall be burnt with fire at the consummation, which fire shall renew them, and take away their corruption and mutablitie, releeuing them from the seruitude of death, to the liberty of the glory of the sonnes of God; who notwithstanding shall not dwel there but in heauen. 2 And euen I *Iohn* saw the holy new City *Ierusalem*,

Ierusalem comming downe from heauen, made ready of God like a bride, that is decked for her bridegroome: For this holy Church triumphant shal come downe in all shining glorie to meete Christ her husband, when hee shall haue iudged the world, (as ye haue heard before) to bee incorporated and ioyned with him for euer. 3 And I heard a mighty voyce from heauen, saying, for confirmation of this happy coniunction; Loe the Tabernacle of God, and his dwelling place is with men, and hee will now dwell with them for euer, and they shall be his people, and he shall be a God with them, and their God: 4 And God shall wipe all teares from their eyes; for they shall feele no more any sorow, as ye haue often heard before, and death shall be no more, neither shal any sorow, crying, or dolour euer be in that Church triumphant; for the first are gone away, and all these things then shall haue an end. 5 And then hee that sate vpon the Throne, *to wit*, God the Father, said, Loe, I make new or renew all things, and he said vnto me, Write, and leaue in record what thou hast seene: for surely these words are faithfull and trew, and shall come certainely to passe. 6 And he also said vnto me, It is done, for when these things shall come to passe, then is the full accomplishment of all things, I am A and Ω, *to wit*, the beginning, and the ending of all things: For as I made the Creation, so shall I cause the Consummation. And I shall giue to him that thirsteth, of the fountaine of water of life, freely, or for nothing, *to wit*, he will grant saluation to all them who cal vpon him for it, and that for nothing; for it cõmeth of his free mercie, and not of any merit in vs: How foolish then are they to be accompted, who contemning that saluation which they may obtaine for the crauing, buie with their siluer a counterfeit saluation from Babylon, as ye heard before? 7 And he that ouercommeth Satan and his owne flesh shall possesse all, *to wit*, he shall be a full inheritour of Gods kingdome, and I shall be a God to him, and he shall be a sonne to me: 8 But for all them who are fearefull and vnbeleeuing, not hauing a sure confidence and trust in my promises, and for execrable men, and murtherers, and fornicators, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all lyers, for all these sorts of men, I say, there is place appointed in that lake, which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death. 9 Then there came vnto me one of these seuen Angels, which had the seuen phials ful of the seuen last plagues, and he sayd vnto me, *Come* and I will shew vnto thee the Bride, which is the Wife of the Lambe: for this Angel was directed to shewe mee the glorie of this holy Hierusalem, the Church triumphant, not to satisfie my curiosity therewith, but that I might leaue in record to all posterities to come, not as a hearer onely, but as an *Oculatus testis*, what glorious, and eternall reward did abide all the faithfull. 10 And so he tooke me vp in the Spirit to a high and great Mountaine; for it became well, that so glorious a sight should be shewen vpon so eminent a place, and there hee did shew mee a great Citie, *to wit*, that holy *Ierusalem*, comming downe from heauen, and from God, as ye heard before. 11 And it had the glory of God in it, and the

the light or brightnesse of it, was like vnto the glittering of a most pretious stone, yea euen like the greene *Iasper* in flourishing eternitie, and like the cleare *Cristall* in shining brightnesse; [12] And this Citie had a great and high wall, to hold out all them who had not the marke of the *Lambe*, as ye shall heare after; and to protect the Citizens from all blastes of troubles, for all teares will then bee wipte from their eyes, as ye heard before; And this Citie had also twelue gates, and in them twelue Angels, and their names were written vpon them, which were the names of the twelue Tribes of the sonnes of *Israel*. [13] And there were three gates towards the East, three towards the West, three towards the South, and three towards the North, to signifie that out of all parts and places of the world, and whatsoeuer thy vocation be, if thou call to God with an vpright heart, thou shalt find that the entrance into the Citie, is equally distributed about the same. [14] And the wall of the Citie had twelue foundations, whereupon were written the twelue names of the Apostles of the *Lambe*: These twelue Angels of the twelue gates, and twelue foundations of the wall, are the foure and twentie Elders, of whom ye heard in the beginning of this my Epistle; the twelue Angels of the twelue gates, are the twelue Patriarkes, who were the first teachers of the way, and so the guides to this holy *Ierusalem*; for by the Law which they represent, we must first beginne to know the trewth, and to know our selues: and the twelue foundations are we, the twelue Apostles, for vpon our doctrine is that wall founded which hedgeth in the Saints in an eternall securitie, and debarreth all others. [15] And the Angel who spake with me, had a golden reed in his hand, to measure therewith the Citie, and the gates, and the walles of the same, thereby to signifie the iust proportion and symmetrie, that shall be among all the parts of this holy Citie. [16] And this Citie was foure-square, because of the gates towards the foure parts of the earth, to receiue indifferently the commers out of any of them, as yee heard before; And it was alike long and broad, to signifie the infinite bounds thereof: and hee measured the Citie with his reed, and it came to twelue thousand furlongs: this number also expresseth the great bounds of this Citie; for it is here vsed for a number of perfection, as sundry times before: And this Citie was alike in length, breadth and height, for all the parts of it were alike large. [17] And the Angel did measure the wall of it, and it was an hundred and foure and fourtie cubites of height: this number is correspondent to the number of Saints, who were standing with the *Lambe* on *Mount Sion*, as ye heard before; and the measure wherewith this was measured, was the measure of the man, which is the measure of the Angel; This Citie is measured with the measure of CHRIST, God and man, to teach vs that he is onely the Architectour of this Spirituall Citie, which he measureth by his cubites, and not by the cubites of any man. [18] And the fabricke of the wall of the Citie, was composed of *Iasper*, to signifie that the wall thereof shall stand eternally: and the Citie it selfe was of pure gold,

gold, and like to cleere glasse, whereon no filth will remaine. 19 And the twelue foundations of the Citie were decked with all kind of precious stones: the first foundation was of Iasper, the second of Saphire, the third of Chalcedonie, the fourth of Emerald, 20 The fift of a Sardonix, the sixt of a Sardius, the seuenth of a Chrysolite, the eight of a Berill, the ninth of a Topaze, the tenth of a Chrysophrasus, the eleuenth of an Hyacinth, the twelfth of an Amethist: These twelue sundry stones, one for euery one of the foundations, signifie, that we, the twelue Apostles, who are these twelue foundations (as ye heard) shall euery one receiue a diuers reward and crowne of glory, according to the greatnesse and excellencie of our labours in the earth: these twelue precious stones allude also to the twelue precious stones in *Aarons* breastplate. 21 And the twelue gates were of twelue pearles, and euery gate of a sundry pearle; (this signifies the like of the Patriarches) and the Market place of the Citie was of pure golde, and like the glistering glasse, signifying thereby, as by an euident token, that seeing the Market place (which is the commonest place of euery towne) of this spirituall City, is of so fine and bright stuffe, that no base, and vncleane thing shall be in any part thereof: 22 And I saw no Temple in it, for the Lord God Almightie, euen the Lambe, is the Temple of it, for no other shall be there wherein God must be praised, but the person of Christ, in whom all the faithfull shall be incorporated, as I said before. 23 And this Citie shall neede no Sunne nor Moone to shine in it, for the glory of God hath made it bright, and the Lambe is the lampe thereof; for as it is no corporall paradise nor dwelling place on earth, which is heere spoken of, so is no part of the glory thereof earthly, but celestiall and spirituall: 24 And the Gentiles which are saued, shall walke in that light, and the kings of the earth shall bring their glory vnto that citie; for all the faithfull kings shall resigne all their worldly glory in that citie, and receiue a new and incorruptible glory from the Lambe, who is the light thereof: 25 And the gates thereof shall not be shut in the day time; for there shall neuer be any suspicion of trouble there, for which cause worldly cities often shut their gates, and the night shall neuer be there, but an eternall brightnesse through all. 26 And the honour and the glory of the nations shall be brought into her, for all their worldly glory shalbe nothing in respect of the glory of this City. 27 And there shall nothing enter into this Citie that defileth or is defiled, nor no man that committeth any abominable deed, or that speakes lies, but onely these shall haue entrance into this holy City, whose names are written in the Lambe his booke of Life, as ye heard before.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

ARGVMENT.

The rest of the same description: Mans proneness of his owne nature to idolatrie: The Writer tells his name, that no man may doubt who was the writer of this Booke, and who endited the same: The faithfull ought to wish the comming of the latter day: The curse vpon them who adde or take from this Booke, and vse it not aright.

THen to the effect that I might know that the inhabitants of this holy Citie, were as well eternall, as the walles and glory of the same, this Angel did shew vnto me the cleere and pure flood of the water of life, whereof Christ promised to giue the *Samaritane* to drinke, as I said before: and it was cleere like crystall, and it flowed from the Throne of God, and the Lambe. This Riuer alludeth to that spring of *Ezechiel*, which came foorth from vnder the Temple floore; and it also alludeth to the Riuers of earthly Paradise: 2 And in the middest of the market place, and on either side of this Riuer, did grow the Tree of Life, hauing twelue maner of fruits, euery moneth bearing once, and bearing leaues for the health of the Gentiles: This Tree, and this water of Life, are the heauenly meat and drinke, meant by Christ, when the Capernaites were scandalized with his doctrine, as ye read in the Euangel written by me; and of this Tree and water were those of *Ezechiel*, and in earthly paradise the figures: the number of the fruits thereof answereth to the number of the tribes of Israel, who through eating the fruits thereof by faith, obtained saluation; as likewise the varietie and plentie of ioyes to all the faithfull there; and as it bare fruit to the Iewes for food, that is, to satisfie them, so it did beare leaues to the Gentiles, who being healed by these leaues of all spiritual diseases, were not onely preserued, but also prepared and got appetite thereby, to eat and turne into nutriment, or spirituall strength and contentation, the fruites thereof: This tree grew on euery side of the water of Life, to signifie that they are both but one thing and inseparable, both proceeding from the mightie and mercifull Throne of God, and his Lambe, and they were both in the middest of the Market place, to signifie by their being in so common a place, that as they are the support, strength and comfort of the Church triumphant, or holy Citie, so all the in-dwellers therein haue the like free accesse thereunto, and are all alike participant thereof: 3 And no accursed thing shall be any more, for then shall hell and death be confined, and restrained within themselues for euer, as ye heard in the former vision: for the seat and throne of God and his Lambe, shall remaine in this holy Citie for euer; and all his seruants shall be there, seruing him eternally by thankesgiuing and praises: 4 And they shall see his face, and be euer reioycing at his presence, hauing his name written vpon their foreheads,

heads, as yee haue often heard. 5 And no night nor darkenesse shall be there at all, neither haue they need of lampes, nor of light of the Sunne, nor any materiall light, for the Lord God makes them bright, as yee haue heard alreadie: and they shall reigne there in all glory for euer and euer. 6 Then the Angel, after all these things had beene reuealed vnto me, sayde vnto me for the confirmation of them, All the wordes of *this Prophecie are trew and faithfull*, and the same Lord GOD who inspired from time to time his holy Prophets to forewarne his Church of things to come, hee also sent his Angel vnto mee, that by me hee might reueale vnto his seruants these things that are shortly to come to passe. 7 Loe; I come shortly, sayth the *Lord*, happy is hee therefore that obserueth and obeyeth the wordes of the Prophecie in this Booke. 8 And I *Iohn* am he who haue heard and seene these things: I declare you my name the oftener, lest the authority of the Booke should be called in doubt, through the vncertaintie of the Writer: And when I had heard and seene these things, I fell at the Angels feet that shewed me them, with mind to haue adored him: 9 But he said vnto me, *See thou doe it not*, I am thy fellow-seruant, and one of thy *Brethren* the Prophets, although I be an Angel, and one of them which keepeth and obeyeth the words of this *Booke*: adore thou therefore God, to whom all worship onely appertaineth: By this my reiterated fall and offence, notwithstanding that lately before I had committed the same, and was reproued for it, and warned to forbeare it, as ye heard before, I am taught, and by my example the whole *Church*, of the great infirmitie of all mankind, and specially in that so great an offence of the adoring of creatures, whereof God is so iealous, as he saith in his Lawe: and vpon consideration of man his infirmitie in this point, not I, but the Spirit of God by me; in the very last words of one of my Epistles, saith, *Deare children, beware of Idoles*: and in this I insist so much not without a cause; For I know that *Babylon* in the latter dayes, shall specially poison her followers with this spirituall adulterie or idolatrie, as ye haue heard mention made in this Booke. 10 And the Angel said vnto me, Seale not the words of the Prophecie of this Booke, for the time is at hand. Yee heard before, how I was commanded to seale that which the seuen Thunders spake, because it was not lawfull for me to reueale the same: but now on the contrarie I am commanded to write, and forbidden to seale these Prophecies, because I am appointed to reueale the same, in respect that the time of their accomplishment is at hand. 11 And hee also said vnto mee, Despaire thou not of the effect of this Prophecie, although it profite nothing the wicked, but to make them the more inexcusable: For God hath fore-signified, that he who doeth harme, notwithstanding this Prophecie shall yet continue his wrongs; and hee who is filthie, shall yet notwithstanding this remaine filthie; euen as on the other part, it shall confirme and encrease the iust man in his iustnesse, and the holy man in his holines: for it is not the words of Prophecie spoken, but the Spirit which is coope-

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rant with it, which makes the ſeed of faith to take root in any mans heart. 12 *Loe I come* ſpeedily, ſaith the Lord IESVS, and bring my reward with me, to render to euery man according to his workes, as ye haue heard before. 13 I am A and Ω, the beginning and the end; the firſt and the laſt, as ye haue heard already. 14 Happie are they who obey and keepe Chriſtes commandements, that they may haue right and part in the tree of life; (for by obeying they ſhall be made Citizens of that holy Citie, of the which that is the food) and that they may enter at the gates to that Citie: for the gates ſhall be readie and open to receiue them: 15 But without this Citie, as debarred thence, ſhall bee *Dogges, to wit*, all prophane liuers, fornicators, ſorcerers, murtherers, and idolaters, and all who loue, and make lies; and ſhortly all, who continue in any kind of knowen ſinne without repentance. 16 I IESVS, ſaith the Lord, ſent my *Angel* to reueale theſe things to *Iohn*, that they might be teſtified to you the ſeuen Churches: I am the root and off-ſpring of *Dauid*, and I am the bright morning Starre, *to wit*, the fountaine of all your glorie. 17 And the *Spirit*, and the Bride ſaith, *Come*, to wit, *the Church*; for they for their deliuerance wiſh his ſecond comming to be haſtened, and Chriſt, for the loue he beareth them, hath graunted them their requeſt: and he that heares it, let him ſay, *Come*, for it becommeth all the faithfull to wiſh it: And he that thirſteth let him *come, to wit*, he that would drinke of the water of life, let him craue earneſtly the diſſolution and latter day: And let any who will, receiue the water of life freely and for nothing, as ye heard before. 18 And I proteſt vnto all that ſhall heare the words of the Prophesie of this Booke, that if any man adde vnto it any thing, God ſhall make all the plagues in this Booke to fall on him. 19 And if any man take away any thing from the words of the Booke of this Prophesie, God ſhal take his part away out of the book of life, and out of the holy Citie, and out of theſe bleſſings that are written in this Booke: For whoſoeuer in coping or tranſlating this Booke, adulterateth any waies the Originall, or in interpreting of it, wittingly ſtrayes from the trew meaning of it, and from the analogie of Faith, to follow the fantaſticall inuention of man, or his owne preoccupied opinions; he I ſay, that doeth any of theſe, ſhalbe accurſed as a peruerter of the trewth of God and his Scriptures. 20 And now I will conclude with this comfort vnto you, *to wit*, He, euen *Chriſt*, that teſtifies theſe things that ye haue heard: he I ſay, doeth ſay, *Surely I come* ſhortly. Euen ſo *come* Lord IESVS to haſten our deliuerance. 21 The *Grace* of our Lord IESVS CHRIST be with you all, and all your ſucceſſours in trew doctrine, by the which both yee and they may be ſo ſtrengthened in the trewth, that by your reſiſting all the temptations contained in this Booke, and conſtantly perſeuering to the end, yee may at laſt receiue that immortall Crowne of glorie mentioned in the laſt Viſion. *AMEN.*

A FRVITFVLL MEDITATION,

CONTAINING A PLAINE AND EASIE EXPOSITION, OR laying open of the VII. VIII. IX. and X. Verses of the 20. Chapter of the REVELATION, in forme and maner of a Sermon.

THE TEXT.

7 *And when the thousand yeeres are expired, or ended, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison.*

8 *And shall goe out to deceiue the people, which are in the foure quarters of the earth, euen* Gog *and* Magog, *to gather them together to battaile, whose number are as the sand of the Sea.*

9 *And they went vp to the plaine of the earth, which compassed the tents of the Saints about, and the beloued Citie: but fire came downe from God out of the heauen, and deuoured them.*

10 *And the diuel that deceiued them, was cast into a lake of fire and brimstone, where that beast and that false prophet are, and shalbe tormented euen day and night for euermore.*

THE MEDITATION.

AS of all Bookes the holy Scripture is most necessary for the instruction of a Christian, and of all the Scriptures, the Booke of the REVELATION is most meete for this our last aage, as a Prophesie of the latter times: so haue I selected or chosen out this place thereof, as most proper for the action we haue in hand presently. For after the Apostle IOHN had prophesied of the latter times, in the nineteenth Chapter afore-going, he now in this twentieth Chapter gathered vp a summe of the whole, wherein are expressed three heads or principall points.

The necessitie of the knowledge of the Reuelation.

A summe of the 20. Chap. of the Reuelation.

1. First, the happie estate of the Church, from Christs dayes, to the dayes of the defection or falling away of the Antichrist, in the first sixe verses of this 20. Chapter.

2 Next, the defection or falling away it selfe, in this place that I haue in hand, *to wit*, the seuenth, eight, ninth, and tenth verses.

3 Thirdly, the generall punishment of the wicked in the great day of Iudgement, from the tenth verse vnto the end of the Chapter.

The meaning of this present text.

The Apostle his meaning in this place then is this, That after that Satan then had bene bound a thousand yeeres, which did appeare by his discourse afore-going, of the Saints triumphing in the earth, hee shall at last breake forth againe loose, and for a space rage in the earth more then euer before: but yet shall in the end be ouercome and confounded for euer.

The order obserued in handling this text.

It resteth now, knowing the summe, that we come to the exposition or meaning of the Verses; and first expound or lay open by way of a Paraphrase the hardnesse of the words, next declare the meaning of them, and thirdly note what we should learne of all.

THE FIRST PART.

AS touching the wordes in them for order sake, wee may note: [1] First Satan his loosing: [2] next his doing, after he is loosed: [3] and last his vnhappie successe.

Satan in his instruments is loosed to trouble the Church.

Then for the first, by Satan is meant not onely the Dragon, enemie to Christ and his Church, but also with him all the instruments in whom he ruleth, and by whom he ruleth, and by whom he vttereth his cruell and crafty intentions, specially the Antichrist and his Clergie, ioyned with the Dragon before in the 16. Chap. verse 17. and called the beast, and the false prophet. For as Christ and his Church are called after one Name, Christ, by reason of their most strait and neere vnion, and heauenly effects flowing there from, 1. *Cor.* 12. 12. So Satan and his sinagogue are here rightly called Satan, by reason of their vnion, and cursed effects flowing therefrom. These thousand yeeres, are but a number certaine for an vncertaine, which phrase or maner of speaking, is often vsed by the Spirit of God in the Scriptures, meaning a great number of yeeres.

The thousand yeeres.

Moreouer, the prison whereout he is loosed, is the hels, which by the Spirit of God are called his prison, for two causes: [1] One, because during the time of this world, at times appointed by God, he is debarred from walking on the earth, and sent thither, greatly to his torment, as was testified or witnessed by the miracle at *Genezareth* among the *Gadarens*, *Matth.* 8. 28. [2] Next, because that after the consummation or end of the world, he shall be perpetually or for euer imprisoned therein, as is written in the same Chapter, ver. 10. Finally, he is loosed by interruption or hindering, and for the most part, to the iudgement of men, abolition or ouerthrow of the sincere preaching of the Gospel, the true vse of the Sacraments, which are seales and pledges of the promises contained therein, and lawfull exercise of Christian discipline, whereby both Word and Sacraments are maintained in purity, called in the first verse the great chaine, whereby the diuell

The prison whereout Satan is loosed.

2. Pet. 2. 4. Iud. ver. 6.

The loosing of Satan.

uell is bound and ſignified by the white horſe, gouerned by the Lambe. *Chap. 6. verſe 2.* So the meaning of all this 7. verſe is this: The diuel, hauing bene bound, and his power in his inſtruments hauing bene reſtrained for a long ſpace, by the preaching of the Goſpel, at the laſt he is looſed out of hell by the raiſing vp of ſo many new errors and notable euill inſtruments, eſpecially the Antichriſt and his Clergie, who not onely infect the earth a new, but rule alſo ouer the whole, through the decreaſe of trew doctrine, and the number of the faithfull following it, and the dayly increaſe of errours, and nations following them, and beleeuing lies hating the trewth, and taking pleaſure in vnrighteouſnes, 2. *Theſſ.* 2. 11, 12. And thus farre for Satan his looſing.

Satan firſt deceaueth, then allures to follow him, and in the end maketh all his to take armour againſt the Church.

Now to the next, his doing after he is looſed. Firſt he goeth out to ſeduce or beguile the nations that are into the foure corners of the earth, and they become his, though in certaine degrees his tyrannie and trauaile appeareth, and burſteth out in ſome more then in others: For as all that doe good, are inſpired of God thereto, and doe vtter the ſame in certaine degrees, according vnto the meaſure of grace granted vnto them: ſo all that doe euill, are inſpired by Satan, and doe vtter the ſame in diuers degrees, according as that vncleane ſpirit taketh poſſeſſion in them, and by diuers obiects and meanes, allureth them to doe his will, ſome by ambition, ſome by enuie, ſome by malice, and ſome by feare, and ſo forth: and this is the firſt worke.

Gog and Magog.

Secondly, he gathereth *Gog* and *Magog* to battell, in number like the ſand of the Sea, and ſo he and his inclined to battell and bloodſhed, haue mightie armies, and in number many, inflamed with crueltie. The ſpecial heads and rulers of their armies, or rather rankes of their confederats, to goe to battel and to fight, are twaine, here named *Gog* and *Magog*; *Gog* in Hebrew is called Hid, and *Magog* Reuealed, to ſignifie that in two ſorts of men chiefly Satan ſhall vtter himſelfe, *to wit*, hypocrites, and auowed or open enemies to God: It is ſaid then that Satan ſhall in the latter times rule a new ouer the world, who ſhall ſtirre vp the nations vnder the banners of theſe two enemies to God, the hypocriticall and open, to ſpread themſelues in great multitudes vpon the earth.

Thirdly, they ſhall aſcend vpon the plaine of the earth, preſumptuouſly and proudly, bragging of their number and force, and thinking none ſhall be able to reſiſt their rage: They ſhall compaſſe and beſiege the campes of the Saints, and beloued Citie, that is, the handfull of the faithfull beloued of the Lord, againſt whome, truſting in their vntellable number, like the ſand of the ſea, they ſhall make a cruell and vnceſſable warre.

The Elect are the Saints and beloued Citie of God.

The elect are called Saints and beloued, becauſe they are in the loue of God ſelected and ſeuered out, and by grace engraffed in Chriſt, in whom they are counted and found iuſtified, ſanctified, worthy of loue and endleſſe glorie: Their faithfull fellowſhip is compared to Tents, and to a Citie beloued, to ſignifie their continuall warfare in the earth againſt Satan

and ſinne, with all his inſtruments: their mutual amitie, and friendly coniunction in loue among themſelues, and ioyning together to maintaine the good cauſe that their God hath clad them with: but chiefly to ſignifie the mightie and al-ſufficient protection or defence in proſperity, and aduerſity, flowing from God for their iuſt aide againſt all powers that can purſue, whereby they alſo become faire as the Moone, pure as the Sunne, terrible as an armie with banners, *Cant.* 1.6,9. Yea as a defenced Citie, and yron pillar: and wals of Braſſe againſt the whole earth, *Ierem.* 1.18.

The ſumme of Satan his doing after he is looſed.

The ſumme then of Satan his doing after he is looſed, is this: hee ſhall deceiue the nations: he ſhall gather an infinite number of hypocrites and open enemies together, inflamed with crueltie, and theſe ſhall in pridefull preſumption fiercely bend themſelues againſt the choſen of God, and his trewth profeſſed by them. But what at laſt ſhall the ſucceſſe be? ſurely moſt vnhappy: for fire ſhall come downe from heauen and deuoure them, and the diuell that deceiued them, and all his inſtruments, chiefly the Beaſt and falſe Prophet ſhall be caſt in a lake of fire and brimſtone, and ſhall bee tormented day and night inceſſantly for euer and euer: that is, how greatly ſoeuer their brags be, how neere ſoeuer they ſhall appeare to be to obtaine their purpoſe, God from heauen, as the pallace and throne, wherefrom hee giueth proofe of his mercie towards his owne, and of his iuſtice toward his enemies, ſhall ſend plagues and deſtruction, as well ordinary, as extraordinarie vpon them: Ordinarie, by reuealing their wickedneſſe by the thundring mouthes of trew paſtors, which is oft called fire in the Scriptures: Extraordinarie, by all corporall plagues to their vtter deſtruction, and vntellable torment for euer in the hels. Thus farre for the expoſition or paraphraſe of the words.

The vnhappy ſucceſſe of Satan.

THE SECOND PART.

The puritie of the Goſpel induring, ſtayeth the Antechriſt his riſing.

Now followeth the interpretation of the ſentence according to the order vſed in the firſt part. And firſt we muſt know what time theſe thouſand or many yeres was in, and when, and how Satan was looſed. This time is to be found in the ſixt Chapter, in the opening of the firſt three ſeales of the ſecret booke of God his prouidence by the Lambe, *to wit*, the time when the white, red, and blacke horſes had their courſe in the world: And to ſpeake more plainely, the Diuell his power did lurke, which is called his binding, and the Goſpel did flouriſh in a reaſonable puritie many hundreth yeeres after Chriſt, as the Eccleſiaſticall hiſtories beare witneſſe: For in great puritie the Goſpel did continue long, which is ſignified by the courſe of the white horſe, albeit the profeſſors were vnder the croſſe ſignified by the red horſe, and troubled wonderfully by hereticks, ſignified by the blacke horſe, by wormewood that fell in the Fountaines of waters in the third trumpet, and by waters that the dragon ſpewed out of his mouth, in the viſion of the Dragon and the woman, *chap.* 12. This time did endure from

from Christ a space after *Augustine* his dayes, when the bloodie Sword of persecution ceasing, the whole Church began to be defiled with diuers heresies, which comming vnto a mature and ripe heape, did produce or bring foorth the Antechrist, signified by the pale horse in the fourth seale, by the king of the Locusts in the fift trumpet, by *Babylon* in the 11. and 18. Chapter, by the second Beast rising out of the sea in the 13. Chapter, and by the woman clad with scarlet in the 17. chapter. The arisings of the heresies, and the Antichrist breeding of their smoake, is in this place called the loosing of Satan.

Now followeth after this his loosing, what he doeth: He deceiueth the nations vniuersally: he gathereth *Gog* and *Magog* with vntellable armies to fight, he climeth vpon the plaine of the earth, he compasseth the tents of the Saints, and the beloued Citie about: These are his doings.

The Gospel being hid, the Antichrist beginneth to breed & tend to his height.

Now because these actions are most liuely declared in other places of the same booke, I will shortly alleadge them to make the matter cleere by conference of places, expounding euery one another. It is said in the ninth chapter, that the Antichrist shall send out his locusts or Ecclesiasticall orders, by faire allurements to entice the world, to yeeld to his and their abominable heresies, and shall preuaile ouer the most part. It is said in the 11. chapter, that he shall persecute the Saints, kill the two witnesses, and shall reioyce with the kings of the earth, for their killing, as hauing beene the onely lets to his full glory. It is said in the 13. chapter, that he shall blaspheme God in vsurping his power, that by the aduice and assistance of the false Prophet, or false Church, hee shall send out his Images or Embassadours through the world, persecuting and destroying them that will not obey him and them, and acknowledge his supremacie; yea, none shall be suffered to buy or sell, or vse ciuill societie, that acknowledgeth not his supreme power and dignity. It is said in the 16. chapter, that God plaguing him for these foresaid abuses, he shall be so farre from repentance, as by the contrarie he shall finde out a new sort of vermin, that is, a new Ecclesiasticall order, which are called their frogges, who shall mooue and entice the Princes of the earth to ioyne with him, and make warre against the faithfull, pressing vtterly to destroy them: and of that battell, and the end thereof doeth this place make mention.

Now shortly ioyne all these together, and so obtaine the meaning. There shall arise an Antichrist and enemie to God and his Church: hee shall bee head of a false and hypocriticall Church: hee shall claime a supreme power in earth: he shall vsurpe the power of God: he shall deceiue men with abusing locusts: he shall persecute the faithfull: none shall bee found that dare openly resist him: In the end, feeling his kingdome decay, and the trew Church beginning to prosper, he shall by a new sort of deceiuing spirits, gather together the Kings of the earth in great multitudes like the sands of the Sea, and by ioyning or at least suffering of that other great open enemy, he shall with these numbers compasse the campes of the faithfull,

besiege the beloued Citie, make warre against the Saints: but victorie shal he not haue, and shame and confusion shalbe his, and all his partakers end.

The Pope is Antichrist, and Poperie the looſing of Satan, from whom proceedeth false doctrine & cruelte to subuert the kingdom of Christ.

Now whether the Pope beareth these markes or not, let any indifferent man iudge; I thinke surely it expounds it selfe: Doeth he not vsurpe Christ his office, calling himselfe vniuersall Bishop and head of the Church? Playeth he not the part of *Apollyon*, and *Abaddon* the king of the Locusts and destroyer, or sonne of perdition, in chopping and changing of soules betwixt heauen, hell, and his fantasticke or imagined purgatorie at his pleasure? Blasphemeth he not, in denying vs to be saued by the imputation of Christ his righteousnesse? Moreouer, hath hee not sent forth and abused the world with innumerable orders of locusts and shauelings? Hath hee not so fully ruled ouer the world these many hundreth yeeres, as to the fire went hee, whosoeuer hee was, that durst deny any part of his vsurped supremacie? And hath he not of late dayes, seeing his kingdome going to decay, sent out the Iesuites, his last and most pernicious vermin, to stirre vp the Princes of the earth his slaues, to gather and league themselues together for his defence, and rooting out of all them that professe Christ truely? And whereas the open enemie of God, the Turke was vnder bloody warres with him euer before, is there not of late a truce among them, that the faithfull may be the more easily rooted out? And are not the armies presently assembled, yea vpon the very point of their execution in *France* against the Saints there? In *Flanders* for the like; and in *Germanie*, by whom already the Bishop of *Collein* is displaced? And what is prepared and come forward against this Ile? Doe we not daily heare, and by all appearance and likelihood shall shortly see? Now may we iudge if this be not the time, whereof this place that I haue made choice doeth meane, and so the due time for the reuealing of this Prophecie. Thus farre for the interpretation of the sentence or meaning.

The Iesuites pernicious vermine.

THE THIRD PART.

Now I come to the last part, what we may learne of this place, which I will shortly touch in few points, and so make an end.

And first of the deuill his looſing by the rising of Antichrist, for the iust punishment of the vnthankefull world hating the trewth, and delighting in lies, and manifesting of his owne chosen that stucke to the trewth; we haue two things to note: One for instruction, that the iustice of God in respect of man his falling wilfully frō the trewth, (as *Paul* saith) iustly did send to the world the great abuser with efficacie of lies; as well to tyrannize spiritually ouer the conscience by heresie, as corporally ouer their bodies by the ciuill sword. And therefore we must feare to fall from the trewth reuealed and professed by vs, that we may be free from the like punishment. The other for our comfort, that this tyrannie of the Antichrist, sifting out the chaffe from the corne,

Man his sinne procureth God his iustice to looſe Satan.

corne, as our Master sayth, shall tend to the double condemnation of the fallers backe, and to the double crowne of glory, to the perseuerers or standers out to the end. Blessed therefore are they that perseuere or stand out to the end, for they shall be saued.

Backe-sliders shall perish: constant christians shall be crowned. Matth. 10.22.

Next, of the number of nations in the foure quarters of the earth deceiued, and companies gathered together to fight like the sand of the sea, Wee are taught, that the defection or falling away vnder the Antichrist, was generall, and so no visible Church was there: whereof two things doe follow: One, the Church may be corrupted and erre: another, the Church may lurke, and be vnknowen for a certaine space.

2 The defection or falling away vnder Antichrist, shall be vniuersall.

Thirdly, of that that Satan is not content onely to deceiue, except hee also gather to the battell his instruments; we are informed of the implacable or vnappeaseable malice, borne by Satan in his instruments against God in his members, who neuer ceaseth like a roaring Lyon (as *Peter* sayth) to goe about assailing to deuoure. This his malice is notably laid foorth in the 12. and 13. Chap. of this Booke: For it is said, that when he had spewed out great riuers of waters, that is, infinite heresies and lies to swallow vp the woman, and notwithstanding shee was deliuered therefro, yet againe hee raised vp a beast out of the sea, the bloody Romane Empire by the sword, to deuoure her, and her seed; and that being wounded deadly, yet hee raiseth another beast foorth of the earth, which is the Antichrist, by heresie and sword ioyned together to serue his turne: So the deuill, seeing that no mist of heresies can obscure or darken the Gospel in the hearts of the faithfull, and that the cruell sword of persecutors cannot stay the prosperous successe of Christ his kingdome, hee raiseth vp the Antichrist with both his swords, to the effect that as one of them sayth, That which *Peter* his keyes could not, *Paul* his sword should: And so hath hee done at this time; For seeing the true Church will not be abused with the absurd heresies, for last refuge, now rooted out must they be by the ciuill Sword.

3 Satan his children both deceiue, and persecute.

Fourthly, of their great numbers, able to compasse about the tents of the Saints, and to besiege the holy Cities, we are enformed that the wicked are euer the greatest part of the world: And therfore our Master sayth, *Many are called, few chosen*: And againe, *Wide is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many enter thereat: but narrow is the way that leadeth to life, and few enter thereat.* Also hee calleth them the world, and the Deuill the prince of the same.

4 The wicked in number euer ouerpasse the godly.

Fiftly, the agreeance of *Gog* and *Magog*, the Turke the open enemy, and the Pope the couered enemie, to this persecution, declareth the rooted hatred of the wicked against the faithfull: who though they be otherwise in enmitie among themselues, yet agree in this respect, *in odium tertij*, as did *Herod* and *Pilate*.

5 The wicked at variance among themselues, can wel agree in one against Christ

Sixtly, the compassing of the Saints, and besieging of the beloued City, declareth vnto vs a certaine note of a false Church, to be persecution: for they come to seeke the faithfull; the faithfull are those that are sought: The wicked are the besiegers; the faithfull the besieged.

6 The false Church euer persecuteth.

Seuenthly,

7 Scripture by Scripture should be expounded. 2. King. 1. 10, 11.

Seuenthly, in the forme of language, and phrase or maner of speaking, of fire comming downe from heauen here vsed, and taken out of the Booke of the Kings, where, at *Elias* his prayers, with fire from heauen were destroyed *Achazias* his souldiers: as the greatest part of all the words, verses, and sentences of this booke are taken and borrowed of other parts of the Scripture, we are taught to vse onely Scripture for interpretation of Scripture, if we would be sure, and neuer swarue from the analogie of faith in expounding, seeing it repeateth so oft the owne phrases, and thereby expoundeth them.

8

Eightly, of the last part of the confusion of the wicked, euen at the top of their height and wheele, we haue two things to note: One that God although he suffereth the wicked to run on while their cup be full, yet in the end he striketh them, first in this world, and next in the world to come; to the deliuerance of his Church in this world, and the perpetuall glory of the same in the world to come: The other note is, that after the great persecution and the destruction of the pursuers, shall the day of Iudgement follow: For so declareth the 11. verse of this same Chapter; but in how short space it shall follow, that is onely knowne vnto God; Onely this farre are we certaine, that in the last estate, without any moe generall mutations, the world shall remaine till the consummation and end of the same.

All men should be lawfully armed spiritually and bodily to fight against the Antichrist, and his vpholders.

To conclude then with exhortation: It is al our duties in this Isle at this time, to do two things: One, to consider our estate: An other to conforme our actions according thereunto: Our estate is, we are threefold besieged: First, spiritually by the heresies of the antichrist: Secondly, corporally & generally, as members of that Church, the which in the whole they persecute: Thirdly, corporally and particularly by this present armie. Our actions then conformed to our estate are these: First, to call for helpe at God his hands: Next, to assure vs of the same, seeing we haue a sufficient warrant, his constant promise expressed in his word: Thirdly, since with good conscience we may, being in the tents of the Saints, & beloued City, stand in our defence, encourage one another to vse lawfull resistance, and concurre or ioyne one with another as warriors in one Campe, and citizens of one beloued City, for maintenance of the good cause God hath clad vs with, and in defence of our liberties, natiue countrey, and liues: For since we see God hath promised not only in the world to come, but also in this world, to giue vs victory ouer them, let vs in assurance hereof strongly trust in our God, cease to mistrust his promise, and fall through incredulitie or vnbeliefe: For then are we worthy of double punishment: For the stronger they waxe, and the neerer they come to their light, the faster approcheth their wracke, and the day of our deliuery: For kind, and louing, true, and constant, carefull, and watchfull, mighty, and reuenging is he that promiseth it: To whom be praise and glory for euer. AMEN.

A MEDI-

A MEDITATION VPON THE xxv. xxvj. xxvij. xxviij. and xxix. verſes of the xv. Chap. of the firſt Booke of the Chronicles of the Kings:

Written by the moſt Chriſtian King, and ſincere Profeſſour of the trewth, IAMES by the grace of God, King of England, France, Scotland, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith.

THE TEXT.

25 *So Dauid and the Elders of Iſrael and the Captaines of thouſands went to bring vp the Arke of the Couenant of the Lord, from the houſe of Obed-Edom with ioy.*

26 *And becauſe that God helped the Leuites that bare the Arke of the Couenant of the Lord, they offered ſeuen Bullockes and ſeuen Rammes.*

27 *And Dauid had on him a linnen garment, as all the Leuites that bare the Arke, and the ſingers and Chenaniah that had the chiefe charge of the ſingers: and vpon Dauid was a linnen Ephod.*

28 *Thus all Iſrael brought vp the Arke of the Lords Couenant with ſhouting and ſound of Cornet, and with Trumpets, and with Cymbales, making a ſound with Violes and with harpes.*

29 *And when the Arke of the Couenant of the Lord came into the Citie of Dauid, Michal the daughter of Saul looked out at a window, and ſaw King Dauid dauncing and playing, and ſhee deſpiſed him in her heart.*

THE MEDITATION.

AS of late when greateſt appearance of perill was by that forreine and godleſſe fleete, I tooke occaſion by a Text ſelected for the purpoſe, to exhort you to remaine conſtant, reſting aſſured of a happy deliuerance: So now by the great mercies of God, my ſpeeches hauing taken an euident effect, I could doe no leſſe of my carefull duety, then out of this place cited, teach you what reſteth on your part to be done; not of any opinion I haue of my abilitie to inſtruct you, but that theſe meditations of mine, may after my death remaine to the poſteritie, as a certaine teſtimony of my vpright and honeſt meaning in this ſo great and weightie a cauſe. Now I come

come to the matter. *Dauid* that godly King, you ſee, hath no ſooner obtained victory ouer Gods, and his enemies the Philiſtines, but his firſt action which followes, is with concurrence of his whole eſtates, to tranſlate the Arke of the Lords couenant to his houſe in great triumph and gladneſſe, accompanied with the ſound of muſicall inſtruments: And being ſo brought to the Kings houſe, he himſelfe dances and reioyces before it: which thing *Michal* the daughter of *Saul* and his wife perceiuing, ſhe contemned and laughed at her husband in her minde. This is the ſumme.

THE METHOD.

FOr better vnderſtanding whereof, theſe heades are to be opened vp in order, and applied. And firſt what cauſes mooued *Dauid* to doe this worke. Secondly, what perſons concurred with *Dauid* in doing of this worke. Thirdly, what was the action it ſelfe, and forme of doing vſed in the ſame. Fourthly, the perſon of *Michal*. And fiftly, her action.

THE FIRST PART.

Zeale in Dauid and experiẽce of Gods kindneſſe towards him, moued Dauid to honour God.

AS to the firſt part; The cauſes moouing *Dauid*, paſſing all others, I note two: One internall, the other, external: the internall was a feruent and zealous mind in *Dauid* fully diſpoſed to extoll the glorie of God that had called him to be King, as he ſaith himſelfe. The zeale of thy houſe it eats me vp, *Pſal.* 69.9. But more largely expreſſed in the 132. *Pſalme*, compoſed at the ſame time while this worke was a doing. The externall was a notable victorie newly obtained by the power of God ouer and againſt the Philiſtines, olde and pernitious enemies to the people of God, expreſſed in the laſt part of the 14. chapter preceding. By this victorie or cauſe externall, the internal cauſes and zeale in *Dauid* is ſo doubly inflamed, that all things ſet aſide, in this worke onely he will be occupied. Theſe are the two weightie cauſes mouing him. Wherof we may learne, firſt that the chiefe vertue which ſhould be in a chriſtian Prince, and which the Spirit of God alwayes chiefly praiſes in him, is a feruencie and conſtant zeale to promote the glorie of God, that hath honoured him. Next, that where this zeale is vnfained, God leaues neuer that perſon, without continuall powring of his bleſſings on him, thereby to ſtirre vp into him a double meaſure of zeale and thankfulneſſe towards God. Thirdly, that the Church of God neuer wanted enemies and notable victories ouer them, to aſſure them at all times of the conſtant kindnes of God towards them; euen, when as by the croſſe, as a bitter medicine, he cureth their infirmities, ſaueth them from groſſe ſinnes, and trieth their faith: For we find plainely in the Scriptures, that no ſoo-

The Church euer troubled by men, hath a ioyfull end.

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ner God himselfe choosed Israel to be his people; but assoone, & euer thereafter as long as they remained his, the diuell so enuied their prosperity, as hee hounded out his instruments the nations, at all times to trouble and warre against them, yet to the comfort of his Church afflicted, and wrack of the afflicters in the end. This first was practised by *Pharao* in Egypt: and after their deliuerance, first by the Ammonites, and then by the Philistines continually thereafter, vntill the rising of the Monarchies, who euery one did exercise themselues in the same labour. But to note here the rage of all prophane Princes and nations which exercised their crueltie vpon the Church of God, were superfluous and tedious, in respect of that which I haue set downe in my former meditation: Wherefore I onely goe forward then in this. As this was the continuall behauiour of the Nations towards Israel; So it was most especially in the time of *Dauid*, and among the rest at this time here cited; at what time hauing newly inuaded Israel, and beeing driuen backe, they would yet assemble againe in great multitudes to warre against the people of God, and not content to defend their owne countries as the Israelites did, would needes come out of the same to pursue them, and so spread themselues in the valley: But *Dauid* by Gods direction, brings foorth the people against them, who fights, and according to Gods promises, ouercomes them, onely by the hand of God, and not by their power, as the place it selfe most plainely doeth shew: So the Church of God may be troubled, but in trouble it cannot perish; and the end of their trouble is the very wracke and destruction of Gods enemies.

THE SECOND PART.

Ow followes secondly the persons who did concurre with *Dauid* in this action: The Spirit noteth three rankes of them. In the first are the Elders of Israel: In the next, are the captaines ouer thousands: In the third, are the Priests and Leuites, of whom summarily I will speake. These Elders were substituted vnder *Dauid* in the kingdome, and as his hands in all parts of the countrey ministring iustice and iudgement to the Kings subiects: And they were of two sorts, maiestrates in walled townes, who in the gates of the cities executed iudgement; and chiefe in Tribes, and fathers of families, who in the countrey did iudge and minister iudgement as the Scripture reports: They were not vnlike to two of the estates of our kingdome, the Baron and the Burgesse. The Captaines ouer thousands were godly and valiant men, who vnder the King did rule in time of warre, had the custodie of the Kings person, and fought his battailes: These were necessarie officers for *Dauid*, who was appointed by God in his time (as wee are taught out of Gods owne words, speaking by *Nathan* to *Dauid*) to fight Gods battailes, to subdue the enemies of his Church, and to procure by so doing, a peaceable kingdome for

Three rankes of persons concurre with Dauid in this worke.

for *Solomon* his ſonne, who ſhould in peace, as a figure of Chriſt the Prince of peace, build the Lords Temple. Theſe are ſpoken of here, to teach vs, firſt, that their calling is lawfull: next, that in their calling, they ſhould be earneſt to honour God: and thirdly, that theſe Captaines chiefly were lawfully called, and lawfully walked therein, as we haue plaine declaration out of *Dauids* owne mouth, expreſſed well in the whole 101. *Pſalme*, ſeeing none were admitted in his ſeruice or houſhold, but ſuch as vnfainedly feared God. And without all queſtion, godly and zealous *Dauid* would neuer haue committed the guard of his perſon, nor the fighting of Gods battailes to the enemies of God, or men of warre, of whoſe godlineſſe and vertue he neuer had proofe: See then their names and praiſe, 1. *Chron.* 11. 26. The third ranke of Prieſts and Leuites are ſet downe in the ſame chapter, verſ. 4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11. So men of all eſtates were preſent in this godly worke. This is to be marked well of Princes, and of all thoſe of any high calling or degree that hath to doe in Gods cauſe. *Dauid* doth nothing in matters appertaining to God without the preſence and ſpeciall concurrence of Gods Miniſters, appointed to be ſpirituall rulers in his Church: and at the firſt meant to conuey the ſame Arke to Ieruſalem, finding their abſence and want of their counſell hurtfull: now in this chapter, verſ. 12,13. he ſaith to them, *Ye are the chiefe Fathers of the Leuites, ſanctifie your ſelues and your brethren, and bring vp the Arke of the Lord God of Iſrael vnto the place that I haue prepared for it. For becauſe ye were not there at the firſt, the Lord our God made a breach among vs: for we ſought him not in due order.* And thus farre for the ſecond part concerning perſons: Wherein we may learne, firſt, that a godly king findes, as his heart wiſheth, godly eſtates concurring with him. Next a godly king of his godly foreſight in chooſing good vnder-rulers, reapeth this profit and pleaſure, that as hee goeth before, ſo they with zealous hearts doe follow.

THE THIRD PART.

The Arke is tranſported with ioy to Ieruſalem.

He ſumme of this ioyfull conuoy may be digeſted in three actions, which are theſe: The tranſporting of the Arke; the harmony of muſicall inſtruments; and *Dauids* dancing and reioycing before it. He built a Tabernacle for the Arke in mount *Sion*, & tranſported it therunto, to ſignify his thankfulnes for the many victories God had put in his hands: and this tranſporting was the occaſion of all this ſolemnitie and reioycing that followed thereupon. As to the Arke it ſelfe, we know it was built by *Moyſes* at the cõmand of God, in the wildernes of *Sinai*: This Arke was made of *Shittim* wood, which admits no corruption: It was of moſt comely ſhape and forme, two cubits and a halfe in length, a cubit and a halfe in height, and a cubit and a halfe in breadth, ouerlaid within and without with pure beaten gold, and was not only a figure of *Ieſus Chriſt* our perfect Sauiour, in whom all

The ſignification of the Arke of the Couenant.

all the promiſes of God, are yea and Amen, 2.*Corinth.* 1.20. and in whom as a ſure Arke, all abundance of Gods bleſſings are placed, that out of his fulneſſe we may all receiue grace vpon grace, *Iohn* 1.16. ſeeing he is made vnto vs of God, wiſedome, righteouſneſſe, ſanctification and redemption, 1. *Corinth.* 1.30. but alſo a ſure pledge of Gods continuall preſence in Chriſt with his people, to bleſſe them with all maner of bleſſings. And to ſignifie this purpoſe more particularly, within the Arke was placed the Tables of the Couenant, and Law written by God, (for which cauſe alſo it was called the Arke of the Couenant) *Rom.* 10.4. to teach them in Chriſt promiſed, the perfection of the whole Law to be found, for all that beleeue in him. Aboue the Arke was a couer or lid called The Mercie Seate, and aboue the lid the figures of two Cherubins, couering with their wings the Mercie Seat: betwixt the which two, the liuing God did louingly ſpeake to the inſtruction and comfort of his people, to aſſure them that all Gods mercifull dealings with man (either in communicating his knowledge to them: or in ſending his Angels miniſtring Spirits for their comfort,) hath the ground and foundation in CHRIST IESVS eternally. This Arke then being a ſure Sacrament of Gods fauour towards them, and a Couenant of IESVS CHRIST, wherein corporally Gods mercifull promiſes did inſue; followes the third part, the forme of doing vſed therein by theſe perſons. Generally, the action was to bring vp the Arke of the Couenant of the Lord, from the houſe of *Obed Edom* with ioy, and to be placed in the Tabernacle built for it by the King in Mount *Sion*. The forme of doing vſed by euery perſon, is: The Prieſts offer Bullocks and Rammes, becauſe that God bleſſed the worke; The King clad in a linnen garment, dances and playes before the Arke: *Chenaniah* the chiefe of the ſingers with his fellowes, praiſes God with Pſalmes, and all the eſtates in Iſrael, bring the Arke of the Couenant with ſhowting, ſound of Cornet, Trumpet, cymbals, violes, and harpes, and place it in the citie of Dauid. Briefly then, *Dauid* vpon his victories doeth tranſport to his houſe the ſame, to teſtifie hereby his care to receiue Gods fauour towards him and his people: Not thinking it enough to haue once or twiſe proofe thereof; but alſo to procure a continuance by the preſence of his holy Arke, eſteeming this the worthieſt trophee or triumph, he could make or erect for his notable victories: A triumph indeed farre ſurpaſsing the Egyptian Piramides, the Grecian trophees, or yet the Romane triumphall chariots. As to the harmonie and muſicall inſtruments that accompanied this holy Arke, I truſt no man is ignorant of the cuſtome that was among the Iewes, in praiſing God with all kind of inſtruments, as *Dauids* Pſalmes innumerable times beare witneſſe. But in caſe ſome would demand wherefore the Church of God ſhould more extraordinarily reioyce at one time, then at another, ſeeing we are aſſured that all Gods actions towards vs, are for our weale, either ſpiritually or corporally, ſuppoſe wee cannot at euery time comprehend it: I anſwere, that although I muſt confeſſe that ſentence to bee moſt

Heb.1.14.
Ioh.1.4,11.

orthodoxe, yet muſt I alſo confeſſe, that whenſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe God to manifeſt by outward ſignes to the world, as at one time more then another the great loue to his Church, by ſome notable worke for their deliuerance; We are then of duty bound in the higheſt degree to praiſe God, as well for confirming of the weake ones amongſt vs, as for ſtopping of the mouthes, and daſhing of the proud wicked without vs, to make the glory of his Name, as farre as in vs lieth, to reſound: The manifold examples of the Saints of God through the whole Scriptures prooue this more then euidently, beſides the examples of the prayers of ſundry of the godly, who for the glory of his Name, more then for their particular weale, haue prayed him to giue publike teſtimonie of his loue towards them: So did *Moſes*, *Ioſhua*, *Dauid*, *Elias*, *Elizeus*, and innumerable others of the Prophets and ſeruants of God. As to the dancing of *Dauid*: dancing, playing, and ſuch like actions we know are of themſelues indifferent, and good or euil according to their vſe, and the intention of the vſer; and therefore being vſed at this time with a comely zeale, for the ſetting foorth of Gods glory, are not onely to be borne with and excuſed, but euen moſt highly to be prayſed and commended, although that *Michal* diſprayſed the ſame. Moreouer, it is to be marked that *Dauid* in this doing, did nothing without the ſpecial motion of the ſpirit of God, as an extraordinarie worke, which ſo fully poſſeſſed his ſoule at this preſent, that forgetfull, as it were, of the actions of his bodie; hee gaue his whole perſon ouer to be gouerned as it pleaſed him, alwayes ſeeking in all, the honour and glorie of his God, without reſpect to himſelfe: And thus farre for the third part: Whereof wee haue to note firſt in the Arke: The ground of all true and ancient religion, and the body of the whole ſeruice of God that brings ſaluation, is to bee ſituate in Ieſus Chriſt onely, as is plainely ſet downe, *Act.* 4.12. *Ioh.* 14.6. 1. *Cor.* 2.11. 1. *Ioh.* 1.7. Next, that they which will be ſaued by this Arke, muſt beare this Arke in their heart by faith, in their mouth by open confeſſion, *Rom.* 1. and in their actions confirming their whole doing in their calling to his will, *Matth.* 7.21, 22, 23. Thirdly, that they who are ſincerely ioyned with Chriſt, reioyce in the bearing of Chriſt, and count it their higheſt ioy to be occupied continually in his bearing.

Chriſt is the ground of all true Religion.

THE FOVRTH PART.

Michals hypocriſie.

AS to the perſon of *Michal*, ſhee was *Sauls* daughter, and *Dauids* wife, a woman appearandly euill brought vp by a moſt wicked father; which the Spirit of God will ſignifie, by calling her *Sauls* daughter, as ſhe was in hypocriſie his daughter in deed, as well as by nature: yet ſhee was ioyned with the body of the Church viſible, which is ſignified by the ſtile giuen her, when ſhe was called *Dauids* wife: And ſo ſhe was outwardly a perſon ioyned by mariage in ſocietie with the Church, yet in effect a lurking hypocrite

crite within the bowels of the ſame. Such kinde of folkes (hypocrites I meane) are a *malum neceſſarium* inſeparably and continually ioyned with the trew Church, neuer to be ſifted while the Maſter of the Harueſt come with the fanne in his hand.

THE FIFT PART.

Michals doings.

HEr doings are, being quiet in her lodging, al the time of her huſbands great and publike reioycing with the people not comming out; for not being able, as appeareth, to counterfeit finely euough a diſſimulate ioyfull countenance: And therefore looking out at a window, ſhee ſpies her husband dancing before the Arke, incontinent interprets ſhee this indifferent action *in malam partem*, as not being touched with a true feeling of the cauſe of his ioy, and ſo deſpiſes ſhe his doing in her minde, as onely proceeding of a laſciuious wantonneſſe. A marueilous caſe; ſhee that before of naturall loue to her husband did preſerue him, although to her owne great perill, from the hands of her owne father *Saul*, cannot now abide to ſee him vſe aright that indifferent action, which ſhe her ſelfe (I doubt not) did oft through licentiouſnes abuſe. By this we may note the nature of the hypocrites, and interiour enemies of the Church, who although in their particulars not concerning Religion, there will be none in ſhew more friendly to the godly then they; yet how ſoone matters of Religion or concerning the honour of God, comes in hand, O then are they no longer able to containe or bridle their paſſions, euen as here *Michal* defended her husband, euen in the particulars betwixt him and her owne father; but his dancing before the Arke to the honour of God, ſhe could no wiſe abide.

The application of the purpoſe to vs.

Now thus farre being ſaid for the methodicall opening vp of the Text; It reſts onely to examine how pertinently this place doeth appertaine to vs and our preſent eſtate: And firſt as to the perſons, the people of God and the nations their enemies, together with their pridefull purſuite of *Dauid*, and Gods moſt notable deliuerance. Is there not now a ſincere profeſſion of the trewth amongſt vs in this Iſle, oppugned by the nations about, haters of the holy word? And doe we not alſo as Iſrael, profeſſe one onely God, and are ruled by his pure word onely? on the other part, are they not as Philiſtines, adorers of legions of gods, and ruled by the fooliſh traditions of men? Haue they not as the Philiſtines, beene continually the purſuers, and we as Iſrael the defenders of our natiue ſoile and countrey? next, haue they not now at the laſt euen like the Philiſtines, come out of their owne ſoiles to purſue vs, and ſpread themſelues to that effect vpon the great valley of our ſeas, preſumptuouſly threatning the deſtruction and wracke of vs? But thirdly, had not our victory beene farre more notable then that of Iſrael, and hath not the one beene as well wrought by the

hand of God, as the other? For as God by ſhaking the tops of the mulbery trees with his mightie windes, put the Philiſtines to flight, hath hee not euen in like maner by brangling with his mightie windes their timber caſtles, ſcattered and ſhaken them aſunder to the wracke of a great part, and confuſion of the whole? Now that we may reſemble Iſrael as well in the reſt of this action, what triumph reſts vs to make for the crowning of this bleſſed comedy? Euen to bring amongſt vs the Arke with all reioycing. What is the Arke of Chriſtians vnder grace, but the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, whom with ioy wee bring amongſt vs, when as receiuing with ſinceritie and gladneſſe the new Teſtament in the blood of Chriſt our Sauiour, in our heart we beleeue his promiſes, and in word and deede wee beare witneſſe thereto before the whole world, and walke ſo in the light as it becomes the ſonnes of the ſame? this is the worthieſt triumph of our victory that we can make. And although there will doubtleſſe be many *Michals* amongſt vs, let vs reioyce and praiſe God for the diſcouerie of them, aſſuring our ſelues they were neuer of vs, accounting all them to be againſt vs, that either reioyce at the proſperitie of our enemies, or reioyce not with vs at our miraculous deliuerance: For all they that gather not with vs, they ſcatter. And let vs alſo diligently and warily trie out theſe craftie *Michals*: for it is in that reſpect that Chriſt recommends vnto vs the wiſedome of Serpents, not thereby to deceiue and betray others (no, God forbid) but to arme vs againſt the deceit and treaſon of hypocrites that goe about to trap vs. And leſt that theſe great benefits which God hath beſtowed vpon vs, be turned through our vnthankfulneſſe into a greater curſe, in ſeruing for teſtimonies at the latter day againſt vs, to the procuring of our double ſtripes; let vs now to conclude, bring in the Arke amongſt vs in two reſpects before mentioned, ſeeing we haue already receiued the Goſpel; firſt by conſtant remaining in the puritie of the trewth, which is our moſt certeine couenant of ſaluation in the only merits of our Sauior: And next, let vs ſo reforme our defiled liues, as becomes regenerate Chriſtians, to the great glory of our God, the vtter defacing of our aduerſaries the wicked, and our vnſpeakeable comfort both here and alſo for euer. AMEN.

His

His Maiesties owne Sonnet.

THe nations banded gainst the Lord of might
Prepar'd a force, and set them to the way:
Mars dreſt himſelfe in ſuch an awfull plight,
The like whereof was neuer ſeene they ſay:
They forward came in monſtrous aray,
Both Sea and land beſet vs euery where:
Bragges threatned vs a ruinous decay,
What came of that? the iſſue did declare.
The windes began to toſſe them here and there,
The Seas begun in foming waues to ſwell:
The number that eſcap'd, it fell them faire:
The reſt were ſwallowed vp in gulfes of hell:
But how were all theſe things miraculous done?
God laught at them out of his heauenly throne.

Idem Latinè.

INSANO tumidæ gentes coiere tumultu,
Auſæ, inſigne nefas, bello vltro ciere tonantem,
Mars ſeſe accinxit, metuenda tot agmina nunquam,
Viſa ferunt, properare truces miro ordine turmæ,
Noſque mari & terra ſæuo claſere duello,
Exitium diraque minantes ſtrage ruinam;
Irrita ſed triſti lugent conamina fine:
Nam laceras iecit ventus ludibria puppes,
Et merſit rapidis turgeſcens montibus æquor.
Fœlix communi qui euaſit clade ſuperſtes,
Dum reliquos miſero, deglutit abyſſus hiatu.
Qui vis tanta cadit? quis totque ſtupenda peregit?
Vanos Ioua *ſacro conatus riſit Olympo.*

Per Metellanum Cancellarium.

DAEMONOLOGIE,

IN FORME OF A DIALOGVE,

Diuided into three Bookes,

WRITTEN BY THE HIGH AND MIGHTIE PRINCE, IAMES by the Grace of GOD King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, &c.*

¶ THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

THe fearefull abounding at this time in this Countrey, of these detestable slaues of the Diuel, the Witches or enchaunters, hath mooued mee (beloued Reader) to dispatch in post, this following Treatise of mine, not in any wise (as I protest) to serue for a shew of my learning and ingine, but onely (moued of conscience) to preasse thereby, so farre as I can, to resolue the doubting hearts of many; both that such assaults of Satan are most certainely practised, and that the instruments thereof, merits most seuerely to be punished: against the damnable opinions of two principally in our aage, whereof the one called Scot, *an Englishman, is not ashamed in publike Print to deny, that there can be such a thing*

thing as Witch-craft: and so maintaines the old errour of the Sadduces in denying of spirits; The other called Wierus, *a German Physition, sets out a publike Apologie for all these crafts-folkes, whereby, procuring for their impunitie, he plainely bewrayes himselfe to haue bene one of that profession. And for to make this Treatise the more pleasant and facill, I haue put it in forme of a Dialogue, which I haue diuided into three Bookes: The first speaking of Magie in generall, and Necromancie in speciall: The second, of Sorcerie and Witch-craft: and the third, containes a discourse of all these kinds of spirits, and Spectres that appeares and troubles persons, together with a conclusion of the whole worke. My intention in this labour, is onely to prooue two things, as I haue already said: The one, that such diuelish artes haue bene and are: The other, what exact triall and seuere punishment they merit: and therefore reason I, What kinde of things are possible to be performed in these Arts, and by what naturall causes they may be, not that I touch euery particular thing of the Diuels power, for that were infinite: but onely to speake scholastickely, (since this cannot be spoken in our language) I reason vpon* genus *leauing* species, *and* differentia *to bee comprehended therein: As for example, speaking of the power of Magiciens, in the first booke and sixt Chapter, I say, that they can suddenly cause be brought vnto them, all kinds of daintie dishes, by their familiar spirit; since as a thiefe he delights to steale, and as a spirit he can subtilly and suddenly ynough transport the same. Now vnder this* genus, *may be comprehended all particulars, depending thereupon; such as the bringing Wine out of a wall (as wee haue heard oft to haue bene practised) and such others; which particulars, are sufficiently prooued by the reasons of the generall. And such like in the second booke of Witch-craft in speciall, and fift Chapter, I say, and preue by diuers Arguments, that Witches can by the power of their master, cure or cast on diseases: Now by these same reasons, that proues their power by the Diuell of diseases in generall, is aswell proued their power in special; as of weakning the nature of some men, to make them vnable for women, and making*

making it to abound in others, more then the ordinary course of nature would permit: And such like in all other particular sicknesses. But one thing I will pray thee to obserue in all these places, where I reason vpon the diuels power, which is the different ends and scopes, that God as the first cause, and the diuell as his instrument and second cause, shoots at in all these actions of the diuel, (as Gods hang-man:) For where the diuels intention in them is euer to perish, either the soule, or the body, or both of them, that he is so permitted to deale with; God by the contrary, drawes euer out of that euill, glory to himselfe, either by the wracke of the wicked in his iustice, or by the triall of the patient, and amendment of the faithful, being wakened vp with that rod of correction. Hauing thus declared vnto thee then, my full intention in this Treatise, thou wilt easily excuse, I doubt not, aswel my pretermitting, to declare the whole particular rites and secrets of these vnlawfull arts; as also their infinit and wonderfull practises, as being neither of them pertinent to my purpose: the reason whereof, is giuen in the hinder end of the first Chapter of the third booke: and who likes to be curious in these things, he may reade, if he will heare of their practises, Bodinus Dæmonomanie, *collected with greater diligence, then written with iudgement, together with their confessions, that haue bene at this time apprehended. If he would know what hath bene the opinion of the Ancients, concerning their power, he shall see it well described by* Hyperius *&* Hemmingius, *two late Germane writers; Besides innumerable other neotericke Theologues, that write largely vpon that subject: And if he would know what are the particular rites, and curiosities of these blacke Arts (which is both vnnecessary and perillous) he will finde it in the fourth Booke of* Cornelius Agrippa, *and in* Wierus, *whom-of I spake. And so wishing my paines in this Treatise (beloued Reader) to be effectuall, in arming all them that reade the same, against these aboue mentioned errours, and recommending my good will to thy friendly acceptation, I bid thee heartily fare-well.*

IAMES R.

DAEMONOLOGIE, IN FORME OF A DIALOGVE.

FIRST BOOKE.

ARGVMENT.

The exord of the whole. The description of Magie in speciall.

CHAP. I. ARGVMENT.

Proued by the Scripture, that these vnlawfull arts in genere, *haue bene and may be put in practise.*

PHILOMATHES and EPISTEMON reason the matter.

PHILOMATHES.

I Am surely very glad to haue met with you this day: for I am of opinion, that ye can better resolue me of some thing, whereof I stand in great doubt, nor any other whomwith I could haue met.

EPI. In what I can, that ye like to speir at me, I will willingly and freely tell my opinion, and if I proue it not sufficiently, I am heartily content that a better reason carry it away then.

PHI. What thinke ye of these strange newes, which now onely furnishes purpose to all men at their meeting: I meane of these Witches?

EPI. Surely they are wonderfull: And I thinke so cleare and plaine confessions in that purpose, haue neuer fallen out in any aage or countrey.

PHI. No question if they be true, but thereof the Doctours doubts.

EPI. What part of it doubt ye of?

PHI.

PHI. Euen of all, for ought I can yet perceiue: and namely, that there is ſuch a thing as Witch-craft or Witches, and I would pray you to reſolue me thereof if ye may: for I haue reaſoned with ſundrie in that matter, and yet could neuer be ſatisfied therein.

EPI. I ſhall with good will doe the beſt I can: But I thinke it the difficiller, ſince ye deny the thing it ſelfe in generall: for as it is ſaid in the Logicke ſchooles, *Contra negantem principia non eſt diſputandum.* Alwaies for that part, that Witch-craft, and Witches haue beene, and are, the former part is clearely prooued by the Scriptures, and the laſt by daily experience and confeſſions.

PHI. I know ye wil alleadge me *Sauls Pythoniſſe*: but that as appeares will not make much for you.

EPI. Not onely that place, but diuers others: But I maruell why that ſhould not make much for me?

PHI. The reaſons are theſe, firſt yee may conſider, that *Saul* beeing troubled in ſpirit, and hauing faſted long before, as the text teſtifieth, and being come to a woman that was bruted to haue ſuch knowledge, and that to enquire ſo important newes, he hauing ſo guilty a conſcience for his hainous offences, and ſpecially, for that ſame vnlawfull curioſitie, and horrible defection: and then the woman crying out vpon the ſuddaine in great admiration, for the vncouth ſight that ſhe alledged to haue ſeene, diſcouering him to be the King, though diſguiſed, and denied by him before: it was no wonder, I ſay, that his ſenſes being thus diſtracted, hee could not perceaue her faining of her voice, he being himſelfe in another chalmer, and ſeeing nothing. Next, what could be, or was raiſed? The ſpirit of *Samuel?* prophane, and againſt all Theologie: the deuill in his likeneſſe? as vnappeirant, that either God would permit him to come in the ſhape of his Saints, (for then could neuer the Prophets in thoſe dayes haue beene ſure, what ſpirit ſpake to them in their viſions) or then that he could fore-tell what was to come thereafter; for Prophecie proceedeth onely of GOD: and the diuell hath no knowledge of things to come.

EPI. Yet if ye will marke the words of the text, yee will finde clearely, that *Saul* ſaw that apparition: for giuing you that *Saul* was in another chalmer, at the making of the circles and coniurations, needfull for that purpoſe (as none of that craft wil permit any others to behold at that time) yet it is euident by the text, that how ſoone that once that vncleane ſpirit was fully riſen, ſhe called in vpon *Saul*: For it is ſaid in the text, that *Saul knew him to be Samuel*, which could not haue beene, by the hearing tell onely of an olde man with a mantill, ſince there was many moe old men dead in *Iſrael* nor *Samuel*: And the common weid of that whole countrey was mantils. As to the next, that it was not the ſpirit of *Samuel*, I grant: In the prouing whereof ye need not to inſiſt, ſince all Chriſtians of whatſoeuer religion agrees vpon that: and none but either mere ignorants, or Necromanciers, or Witches doubts thereof. And that the deuill is permitted at ſome-

ſometimes to put himſelfe in the likeneſſe of the Saints, it is plaine in the
1.Cor.11.14. Scriptures, where it is ſaid, that *Satan can transforme himſelfe into an Angel of light.* Neither could that bring any inconuenience with the viſions of the Prophets, ſince it is moſt certaine, that God will not permit him ſo to deceiue his owne: but onely ſuch, as firſt wilfully deceiue them-ſelues, by running vnto him, whom God then ſuffers to fall in their owne ſnares, and iuſtly permits them to be illuded with great efficacie of deceit, becauſe they would not beleeue the trueth (as *Paul* ſayth.) And as to the diuels foretelling of things to come, it is true that he knowes not all things future; but yet that hee knowes part, the tragicall euent of this hiſtorie declares it, (which the wit of woman could neuer haue fore-ſpoken) not that hee hath any preſcience, which is onely proper to God; or yet knowes any thing by looking vpon God, as in a mirrour (as the good Angels doe) hee being for euer debarred from the fauourable preſence and countenance of his Creatour; but onely by one of theſe two meanes: either, as being worldly wiſe, and taught by a continuall experience, euer ſince the Creation, iudges by likelyhood of things to come, according to the like that hath paſſed before, and the naturall cauſes, in reſpect of the viciſſitude of all things worldly: or elſe by Gods imploying of him in a turne, and ſo foreſeene thereof,
1.King.22. as appeares to haue beene in this, whereof we finde the very like in *Micheas* propheticke diſcourſe to king *Achab.* But to prooue this my firſt propoſition, that there can be ſuch a thing as Witch-craft and Witches, there are many moe places in the Scriptures then this, as I ſaid before. As firſt in the
Exod.22. Lawe of GOD, it is plainely prohibited: But certaine it is, that the Law of God ſpeakes nothing in vaine, neither doeth it lay curſes, or enioyne puniſhments vpon ſhadowes, condemning that to be ill, which is not in eſ-
Exod.7.&2. ſence or being, as we call it. Secondly, it is plaine, where wicked *Pharaohs* Wiſe-men imitated a number of *Moſes* miracles, to harden the tyrants heart thereby. Thirdly, ſaid not *Samuel* to *Saul*, that *diſobedience is as the ſinne*
1.Sam.15. *of Witch-craft?* To compare it to a thing that were not, it were too too abſurd. Fourthly, was not *Simon Magus* a man of that craft? And fiftly, what
Acts 8. Acts 16. was ſhe that had the ſpirit of *Python*? beſide innumerable other places that were irkeſome to recite.

CHAP.

CHAP. II. ARGV.

What kind of ſinne the practiſers of theſe vnlawfull arts commit. The diuiſion of theſe arts: And what are the meanes that allure any to practiſe them.

PHILOMATHES.

BVt I thinke it very ſtrange, that God ſhould permit any man-kind (ſince they beare his owne Image) to fall in ſo groſſe and filthie a defection.

EPI. Although man in his Creation was made to the image of the Creator, yet through his fall hauing once loſt it, it is but reſtored againe in a part by grace onely to the elect: So all the reſt falling away from God, are giuen ouer into the hands of the diuell that enemy, to beare his image; and being once ſo giuen ouer, the greateſt and the groſſeſt impietie is the pleaſanteſt, and moſt delightfull vnto them. Gene.1.

PHI. But may it not ſuffice him to haue indirectly the rule, and procure the perdition of ſo many ſoules by alluring them to vices, and to the following of their owne appetites, ſuppoſe hee abuſe not ſo many ſimple ſoules, in making them directly acknowledge him for their maſter?

EPI. No ſurely, for he vſes euery man, whom of he hath the rule, according to their complexion and knowledge: and ſo, whom hee findes moſt ſimple, he plaineſt diſcouers himſelfe vnto them: For he being the enemie of mans ſaluation, vſes all the meanes hee can to intrappe them ſo farre in his ſnares, as it may bee vnable to them thereafter (ſuppoſe they would) to rid themſelues out of the ſame.

PHI. Then this ſinne is a ſinne againſt the holy Ghoſt.

EPI. It is in ſome, but not in all.

PHI. How that? Are not all theſe that runne directly to the diuell in one Categorie?

EPI. God forbid, for the ſinne againſt the holy Ghoſt hath two branches: The one, a falling backe from the whole ſeruice of God, and a refuſall of all his precepts: The other is the doing of the firſt with knowledge, knowing that they doe wrong againſt their owne conſcience, and the teſtimonie of the holy Spirit, hauing once had a taſte of the ſweetnes of Gods mercies: Now in the firſt of theſe two, all ſorts of Necromancers, Enchanters or Witches, are comprehended, but in the laſt, none but ſuch as erre with this knowledge that I haue ſpoken of. Hebr.6.10.

PHI. Then it appeares that there are more ſorts nor one, that are directly profeſſours of his ſeruice: and if ſo be, I pray you tell me how many and what are they?

EPI. There are principally two ſorts, whereunto all the parts of that vnhappy Art are redacted; whereof the one is called *Magie* or *Necromancie*, the other *Sorcerie* or *Witch-craft*.

PHI. What I pray you? and how many are the meanes, whereby the diuell allures perſons in any of theſe ſnares?

EPI. Euen by these three passions that are within our selues: Curiositie in great ingines: thirst of reuenge, for some tortes deepely apprehended: or greedy appetite of geare, caused through great pouertie. As to the first of these, Curiositie, it is onely the inticement of *Magicians* or *Necromanciers*: and the other two are the allurers of the *Sorcerers* or *Witches*; for that old and craftie serpent being a Spirit, he easily spies our affections, and so conformes himselfe thereto, to deceiue vs to our wracke.

CHAP. III. ARGV.

The significations and etymologies of the words of Magie *and* Necromancie. *The difference betwixt* Necromancie *and* Witchcraft: *What are the entrefsis, and beginnings, that bring any to the knowledge thereof.*

PHILOMATHES.

I Would gladly first heare, what thing it is that ye call *Magie* or *Necromancie*.

EPI. This word *Magi* in the Persian tongue, imports as much as to be a contemplatour or Interpretour of Diuine and heauenly sciences, which being first vsed among the *Chaldees*, through their ignorance of the true diuinitie, was esteemed and reputed amongst them, as a principall vertue: And therfore, was named vniustly with an honourable stile, which name the *Greekes* imitated, generally importing all these kindes of vnlawfull artes: And this word *Necromancie* is a Greeke word, compounded of Νέκυες and μαντεία, which is to say, the prophecie by the dead. This last name is giuen, to this blacke and vnlawfull science, by the figure *Synechdoche*, because it is a principall part of that arte, to serue themselues with dead carcases in their diuinations.

PHI. What difference is there betwixt this arte, and Witch-craft?

EPI. Surely, the difference vulgare put betwixt them, is very merry, and in a maner true; for they say, that the Witches are seruants onely, and slaues to the diuel; but the Necromanciers are his Masters and commanders.

PHI. How can that be true, that any men being specially addicted to his seruice, can be his commanders?

EPI. Yea they may be; but it is onely *secundum quid*: For it is not by any power that they can haue ouer him, but *ex pacto* allanerlie; whereby he obliges himselfe in some trifles to them, that he may on the other part obteine the fruition of their body and soule, which is the onely thing he huntes for.

PHI. A very in-æquitable contract forsooth: But I pray you discourse vnto me, what is the effect and secrets of that arte.

EPI. That is an ouer large field ye giue me: yet I shall doe my good-will, the most summarly that I can, to runne through the principall points thereof. As there are two sorts of folkes, that may be entised to this art, *to wit*,

wit, learned or vnlearned: so is there two meanes, which are the first steerers vp and feeders of their curiositie, thereby to make them to giue themselues ouer to the same: Which two meanes, I call the diuels schoole, and his rudiments. The learned haue their curiositie wakened vp, and fed by that which I cal his schole: this is the *Astrologie* iudiciar; For diuers men hauing attained to a great perfection in learning, and yet remayning ouerbare (alas) of the Spirit of regeneration and fruits thereof, finding all naturall things common, aswell to the stupide pedants, as vnto them, they assay to vendicate vnto them a greater name, by not onely knowing the course of things heauenly, but likewise to clime to the knowledge of things to come thereby: Which, at the first face appearing lawfull vnto them, in respect the ground thereof seemeth to proceed of naturall causes onely, they are so allured thereby, that finding their practise to proue trew in sundry things, they study to know the cause thereof, and so mounting from degree to degree, vpon the slipperie and vncertaine scale of curiositie; they are at last entised, that where lawfull artes or sciences faile, to satisfie their restlesse minds, euen to seeke to that blacke and vnlawfull science of *Magie*: Where, finding at the first, that such diuers formes of circles and coniurations rightly ioyned thereunto, will raise such diuers formes of spirits, to resolue them of their doubts, and attributing the doing thereof, to the power inseparably tied, or inherent in the circles, and many wordes of God, confusedly wrapped in; they blindly glory of themselues, as if they had by their quicknesse of ingine, made a conquest of *Plutoes* dominion, and were become Emperours ouer the *Stygian* habitacles: Where, in the meane time (miserable wretches) they are become in very deed, bondslaues to their mortall enemie: and their knowledge, for all that they presume thereof, is nothing increased, except in knowing euill, and the horrors of hell for punishment thereof, as *Adams* was by the eating of the forbidden tree. Gene.3.

CHAP. IIII. ARGV.

The description of the rudiments and Schoole, which are the entresses to the arte of Magie: *And in speciall the differences betwixt* Astronomie *and* Astrologie: *Diuision of* Astrologie *in diuers parts.*

PHILOMATHES.

BVt I pray you likewise forget not to tell what are the diuels rudiments.

EPI. His rudiments, I call first in generall, all that which is called vulgarly the vertue of word, herbe, and stone, which is vsed by vnlawfull charmes, without naturall causes; as likewise all kinde of practicques, freites, or other like extraordinary actions, which cannot abide the trew touch of naturall reason.

PHI. I would haue you to make that plainer, by ſome particular examples; for your propoſition is very generall.

EPI. I meane either by ſuch kinde of Charmes as commonly daft wiues vſe, for healing of forſpoken goods, for preſeruing them from euill eyes, by knitting roun trees, or ſundrieſt kinde of hearbes, to the haire or tailes of the goods: by curing the worme, by ſtemming of blood, by healing of Horſe-crookes, by turning of the riddle, or doing of ſuch like innumerable things by words, without applying any thing, meete to the part offended, as Mediciners doe: Or elſe by ſtaying married folkes, to haue naturally adoe with other (by knitting ſo many knots vpon a point at the time of their marriage,) And ſuch like things, which men vſe to practiſe in their merrineſſe: For fra vnlearned men (being naturally curious, and lacking the trew knowledge of God) finde theſe practiſes to proue trew, as ſundrie of them will doe, by the power of the diuell for deceiuing men, and not by any inherent vertue in theſe vaine words and freites; and being deſirous to winne a reputation to themſelues in ſuch like turnes, they either (if they be of the ſhamefaſter ſort) ſeeke to be learned by ſome that are experimented in that Arte, (not knowing it to be euill at the firſt) or elſe being of the groſſer ſort, runne directly to the diuel for ambition or deſire of gaine, and plainely contract with him thereupon.

PHI. But me thinkes theſe meanes which ye call the Schoole and rudiments of the diuel, are things lawfull, and haue bene approued for ſuch in all times and aages: as in ſpeciall, this ſcience of *Aſtrologie*, which is one of the ſpeciall members of the *Mathematiques*.

EPI. There are two things which the learned haue obſerued from the beginning, in the ſcience of the heauenly Creatures, the Planets, Starres, and ſuch like: The one is their courſe and ordinarie motions, which for that cauſe is called *Aſtronomia*, Which word is a compound of νόμος and ἀστέρων, that is to ſay, the law of the Starres: And this Art indeed is one of the members of the *Mathematiques*, and not onely lawfull, but moſt neceſſary and commendable: The other is called *Aſtrologia*, being compounded of ἀστέρων and λόγος, which is to ſay, the word and preaching of the Starres: Which is diuided into two parts: The firſt, by knowing thereby the powers of ſimples, and ſicknesſes, the courſe of the ſeaſons and the weather, being ruled by their influence; which part depending vpon the former, although it bee not of it ſelfe a part of *Mathematiques*: yet it is not vnlawfull, being moderately vſed, ſuppoſe not ſo neceſſarie and commendable as the former. The ſecond part is to truſt ſo much to their influences, as thereby to foretell what common-weales ſhall flouriſh or decay: what perſons ſhall be fortunate or vnfortunate: what ſide ſhall winne in any battell: what man ſhal obtaine victorie at ſingular combate: what way, and of what aage ſhall men die: what horſe ſhall winne at match-running: and diuers ſuch like incredible things, wherein *Cardanus*, *Cornelius Agrippa*, and diuers others haue more curiouſly then profitably written at large. Of this roote laſt ſpoken of,

ſprings

ſprings innumerable branches; ſuch as the knowledge by the natiuities; the *Cheiromancie*, *Geomancie*, *Hydromancie*, *Arithmancie*, *Phyſiognomie*, and a thouſand others, which were much practiſed, and holden in great reuerence by the Gentiles of old: And this laſt part of *Aſtrologie* whereof I haue ſpoken, which is the root of their branches, was called by them *pars fortunæ*. This part now is vtterly vnlawfull to be truſted in, or practiſed amongſt Chriſtians, as leaning to no ground of naturall reaſon: and it is this part which I called before the Diuels ſchoole.

PHI. But yet many of the learned are of the contrarie opinion.

EPI. I grant, yet I could giue my reaſons to fortifie and maintaine my opinion, if to enter into this diſputation it would not draw me quite off the ground of our diſcourſe, beſides the miſ-ſpending of the whole day thereupon: One word onely I will anſwere to them, and that in the Scriptures (which muſt be an infallible ground to all true Chriſtians,) That in the Prophet *Ieremie* it is plainely forbidden, to beleeue or hearken vnto them that propheſie and fore-ſpeake by the courſe of the Planets and Stars.

CHAP. V. ARGV.

How farre the vſing of Charmes is lawfull or vnlawfull. The deſcription of the formes of Circles and Coniurations: And what cauſeth the Magicians *themſelues to be wearie thereof.*

PHILOMATHES.

WEL, ye haue ſaid farre inough in that argument. But how prooue yee now that theſe Charmes or vnnaturall practiques are vnlawfull: For ſo many honeſt and merry men and women haue publikely practiſed ſome of them, that I think if ye would accuſe them all of Witch-craft, ye would affirme more nor ye will be beleeued in.

EPI. I ſee if you had taken good tent (to the nature of that word, wherby I named it,) ye would not haue beene in this doubt, nor miſtaken mee ſo farre as ye haue done: For although, as none can be ſcholers in a ſchoole, and not be ſubiect to the maſter thereof: ſo none can ſtudie and put in practiſe (for ſtudie the alone, and knowledge, is more perillous nor offenſiue; and it is the practiſe onely that makes the greatneſſe of the offence;) the Circles and Art of *Magie*, without committing an horrible defection from God: And yet as they that reade and learne their rudiments, are not the more ſubiect to any ſchoole-maſter, if it pleaſe not their parents to put them to the ſchoole thereafter: So they who ignorantly prooue theſe practiques, which I call the Diuels rudiments, vnknowing them to be baits, caſt out by him, for trapping ſuch as God will permit to fall into his hands, this kinde of folkes I ſay, no doubt, are to be iudged the beſt of, in reſpect they vſe no inuocation nor helpe of him (by their knowledge at leaſt) in

these turnes, and so haue neuer entred themselues into Satans seruice; Yet to speake trewly for mine owne part (I speake but for my selfe) I desire not to make so neere riding: For in my opinion our enemie is ouer craftie, and wee ouer weake (except the greater grace of God) to assay such hazards, wherein he preases to trap vs.

PHI. Ye haue reason forsooth: for as the common prouerbe sayth; They that sup keile with the deuill, haue need of long spoones: But now I pray you goe forward in the describing of this arte of *Magie*.

EPI. Fra they be come once vnto this perfection in euill, in hauing any knowledge (whether learned or vnlearned) of this blacke arte; they then begin to be wearie of the raising of their Maister, by coniured circles, being both so difficile and perillous, and so come plainely to a contract with him, wherein is specially contained formes and effects.

PHI. But I pray you or euer you goe further, discourse me somewhat of their circles and coniurations; and what should be the cause of their wearying thereof: For it should seeme that that forme should be lesse fearefull yet, then the direct haunting and societie, with that foule and vncleane Spirite.

EPI. I thinke yee take me to be a Witch my selfe, or at the least would faine sweare your selfe prentise to that craft: Alwayes as I may, I shal shortly satisfie you, in that kinde of coniurations, which are contained in such bookes, which I call the Deuils Schoole: There are foure principall parts: the persons of the coniurers; the action of the coniuration; the words and rites vsed to that effect; and the Spirits that are coniured. Ye must first remember to lay the ground, that I tolde you before, which is, that it is no power inherent in the circles, or in the holinesse of the names of God blasphemously vsed; nor in whatsoeuer rites or ceremonies at that time vsed, that either can raise any infernall spirit, or yet limitate him perforce within or without these circles. For it is he onely, the father of all lies, who hauing first of all prescribed that forme of doing, feining himselfe to be commanded and restrained thereby, will be loth to passe the boundes of these iniunctions; as wel thereby to make them glory in the impiring ouer him (as I said before:) as likewise to make himselfe so to be trusted in these little things, that he may haue the better commoditie thereafter, to deceiue them in the end with a tricke once for all; I meane the euerlasting perdition of their soule and body. Then laying this ground, as I haue said, these coniurations must haue fewe or moe in number of the persons coniurers (alwayes passing the singular number) according to the qualitie of the circle, and forme of apparition. Two principall things cannot well in that errand be wanted: holy-water (whereby the deuill mockes the *Papists*) and some present of a liuing thing vnto him. There are likewise certaine seasons, dayes and houres, that they obserue in this purpose: These things being all ready and prepared, circles are made triangular, quadrangular, round, double or single, according to the forme of apparition that they craue.

craue. But to ſpeake of the diuers formes of the circles, of the innumerable characters and croſſes that are within and without, and out-through the ſame, of the diuers formes of apparitions, that that craftie ſpirit illudes them with, and of all ſuch particulars in that action, I remit it to ouermany that haue buſied their heads in deſcribing of the ſame; as being but curious, and altogether vnprofitable. And this farre onely I touch, that when the coniured Spirit appeares, which will not be while after many circumſtances, long prayers, and much muttring and murmuring of the coniurers; like a *Papiſt* Prieſt, diſpatching a hunting *Maſſe*: how ſoone I ſay, he appeares, if they haue miſſed one iote of all their rites; or if any of their feet once ſlyde ouer the circle through terrour of his fearefull apparition, hee payes himſelfe at that time in his owne hand, of that due debt which they ought him; and otherwiſe would haue delayed longer to haue payed him: I meane, hee carries them with him body and ſoule. If this be not now a iuſt cauſe to make them weary of theſe formes of coniuration, I leaue it to you to iudge vpon; conſidering the long ſomneſſe of the labour, the preciſe keeping of dayes and houres (as I haue ſaid) the terribleneſſe of apparition, and the preſent perill that they ſtand in, in miſſing the leaſt circumſtance or freite, that they ought to obſerue: And on the other part, the deuill is glad to mooue them to a plaine and ſquare dealing with him, as I ſaid before.

CHAP. VI. ARGV.

The Deuils contract with the Magicians: *The diuiſion there of in two parts: What is the difference betwixt Gods miracles and the Deuils.*

PHILOMATHES.

INdeed there is cauſe enough, but rather to leaue him at all, then to runne more plainely to him, if they were wiſe hee dealt with: But goe forward now, I pray you, to theſe turnes, fra they become once deacons in this craft.

EPI. From time that they once plainely begin to contract with him: The effect of their contract conſiſts in two things: in formes and effects, as I began to tell already, were it not ye interrupted me: (for although the contract be mutual, I ſpeake firſt of that part, wherein the diuel obliges himſelfe to them) By formes, I meane in what ſhape or faſhion he ſhall come vnto them, when they call vpon him; And by effects, I vnderſtand, in what ſpeciall ſorts or ſeruices he binds himſelfe to bee ſubiect vnto them. The qualitie of theſe formes and effects, is leſſe or greater, according to the skill and art of the *Magician*: For as to the formes, to ſome of the baſer ſort of them he obliges himſelfe to appeare at their calling vpon him, by ſuch a proper name which he ſhewes vnto them, either in likenes of a Dog, a Cat, an Ape, or ſuch-like other beaſt; or elſe to anſwere by a voice

voice onely. The effects, are to answere to such demands, as concerne curing of diseases, their owne particular menagerie, or such other base things as they require of him. But to the most curious sort, in the formes hee will oblige himselfe, to enter into a dead bodie, and there out of to giue such answeres, of the euent of battels, of matters concerning the estate of commonwealths, and such like other great questions: yea, to some he will bee a continuall attender, in forme of a Page: Hee will permit himselfe to bee coniured, for the space of so many yeeres, either in a tablet or a ring, or such like thing, which they may easily cary about with them: Hee giues them power to sell such wares to others, whereof some will be dearer, and some better cheape, according to the lying or true speaking of the Spirit that is coniured therein: Not but that in very deed, all deuils must be lyars; but so they abuse the simplicitie of these wretches, that become their scholers, that they make them beleeue, that at the fall of *Lucifer*, some Spirits fell in the aire, some in the fire, some in the water, some in the land, in which Elements they still remaine. Whereupon they build, that such as fell in the fire, or in the aire, are trewer then they, who fell in the water, or in the land, which are all but meere trattles, and forged by the authour of all deceite. For they fell not by weight, as a solide substance, to sticke in any one part; but the principall part of their fall, consisting in quality, by the falling from the grace of God, wherein they were created, they continued stil thereafter, and shall doe while the latter day, in wandring through the world, as Gods hang-men, to execute such turnes as hee employes them in: And when any of them are not occupied in that, returne they must to their prison in hell (as it is plaine in the miracle that
Matth.8. CHRIST wrought at *Gennezareth*) therein at the latter day to be all enclosed for euer: and as they deceiue their Schollers in this, so doe they, in imprinting in them the opinion, that there are so many Princes, Dukes, and Kings amongst them, euery one commanding fewer or moe Legions, and impiring in diuers artes, and quarters of the earth: For though that I will not deny that there be a forme of order amongst the Angels in Heauen, and consequently, was amongst them before their fall; yet, either that they bruike the same sensine; or that God will permit vs to know by damned diuels, such heauenly mysteries of his, which he would not reueale to vs, neither by Scripture nor Prophets, I thinke no Christian will once thinke it. But by the contrary of all such mysteries, as he hath closed vp with his Seale of secrecie; it becommeth vs to be contented with an humble ignorance, they being things not necessary for our saluation. But to returne to the purpose, as these formes, wherein Satan obliges himselfe to the greatest of the *Magicians*, are wonderfull curious; so are the effects correspondent vnto the same: For he will oblige himselfe to teach them artes and sciences, which he may easily doe, being so learned a knaue as he is, to carry them newes from any part of the world, which the agilitie of a Spirit may easily performe: to reueale to them the secrets of any persons,

so

ſo being they be once ſpoken, for the thought none knowes but GOD; except ſo farre as ye may gheſſe by their countenance, as one who is doubtleſly learned enough in the *Phyſiognomie*: Yea, hee will make his Schollers to creepe in credite with Princes, by fore-telling them many great things; part true, part falſe: For if all were falſe, hee would tyne credite at all handes; but alwayes doubtſome, as his Oracles were. And he will alſo make them to pleaſe Princes, by faire banquets and daintie diſhes, carried in ſhort ſpace fra the farthest part of the world: For no man doubts but he is a thiefe, and his agilitie (as I ſpake before) makes him to come with ſuch ſpeed. Such like, he wil guard his Schollers with faire armies of horſemen and footmen in appearance, Caſtles and forts, Which all are but impreſſions in the aire, eaſily gathered by a Spirit, drawing ſo neere to that ſubſtance himſelfe: As in like maner he will learne them many Iuglarie trickes at Cardes, dice, and ſuch like, to deceiue mens ſenſes thereby, and ſuch innumerable falſe practiques, which are proued by ouer-many in this aage; as they who are acquainted with that *Italian* called SCOTO yet liuing, can report: And yet are all theſe things but deluding of the ſenſes, and no wayes true in ſubſtance; as were the falſe miracles wrought by King *Pharaos* Magicians, for counterfeiting *Moyſes*: For that is the difference betwixt GODS miracles and the diuels, GOD is a creatour, what he makes appeare in myracle, it is ſo in effect: As *Moyſes* Rod being caſten downe, was no doubt turned into a naturall Serpent: where as the diuel (as Gods Ape) counterfetting that by his *Magicians*, made their wandes to appeare ſo, onely to mens outward ſenſes: as kythed in effect by their being deuoured by the other; For it is no wonder, that the diuel may delude our ſenſes, ſince we ſee by common proofe, that ſimple Iugglars wil make an hundreth things ſeeme both to our eyes and eares otherwayes then they are. Now as to the *Magicians* part of the contract, it is in a word that thing which I ſaid before, the diuel hunts for in all men.

PHI. Surely ye haue ſaid much to mee in this art, if all that you haue ſaid be as trew as wonderfull.

EPI. For the trewth in theſe actions, it wil be eaſily confirmed, to any that pleaſes to take paine vpon the reading of diuers authenticke hiſtories, and the enquiring of daily experiences. And as for the trewth of their poſſibilitie, that they may be, and in what maner, I truſt I haue alledged nothing whereunto I haue not ioyned ſuch probable reaſons, as I leaue to your diſcretion, to weigh and conſider: One word onely I omitted, concerning the forme of making of this contract, which is either written with the *Magicians* owne blood: or elſe being agreed vpon (in termes his ſcholemaſter) touches him in ſome part, though peraduenture no marke remain, as it doeth with all Witches.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII. ARG.

The reason why the art of Magie *is vnlawfull: What punishment they merit, And who may be accounted guilty of that crime.*

PHILOMATHES.

SVrely, ye haue made this art to appeare very monstrous and detestable. But what I pray you shal be said to such as maintaine this arte to bee lawfull, for as euill as you haue made it?

EPI. I say, they sauour of the panne themselues, or at least little better; and yet I would be glad to heare their reasons.

PHI. There are two principally, that euer I heard vsed; beside that which is founded vpon the common Prouerbe (that the *Necromancers* command the deuill, which ye haue already refuted.) The one is grounded vpon a receiued custome: The other vpon an authoritie, which some think infallible. Vpon custome, we see that diuerse Christian Princes and Magistrates seuere punishers of Witches, will not onely ouer-see *Magicians* to liue within their dominions; but euen sometimes delight to see them prooue some of their practicques. The other reason is, that *Moyses* beeing brought vp (as it is expresly said in the Scriptures) *in all the sciences of the Egyptians*; whereof no doubt, this was one of the principals; and hee notwithstanding of this art, pleasing God, as he did, consequently that art professed by so godly a man, could not be vnlawfull.

EPI. As to the first of your reasons, grounded vpon custome: I say, an euill custome can neuer be accepted for a good law, for the ouer great ignorance of the word in some Princes and Magistrates, and the contempt thereof in others, mooues them to sinne heauily against their office in that point. As to the other reason, which seemes to be of greater weight, if it were formed in a Syllogisme; it behooued to be in many termes, and full of fallacies (to speake in termes of *Logicque*:) for first, that that generall proposition, affirming *Moyses* to be taught *in all the sciences of the Egyptians*, should conclude that he was taught in *Magie*, I see no necessitie: For we must vnderstand, that the Spirit of God there, speaking of sciences, vnderstands them that are lawfull; for except they be lawfull, they are but *abusiuè* called sciences, and are but ignorances, indeed: *Nam homo pictus, non est homo.* Secondly, giuing that he had beene taught in it, there is great difference betwixt knowledge and practising of a thing, as I said before: For God knoweth all things, being alwaies good, and of our sinne and our infirmitie proceedeth our ignorance. Thirdly, giuing that he had both studied and practised the same (which is more then monstrous to bee beleeued by any Christian) yet we know well inough, that before that euer the Spirit of God began to call *Moyses*, he was fled out of Egypt, being fourtie yeeres of aage, for the slaughter of an Egyptian, and in his good father *Iethroes* land, first

first called at the fierie bush, hauing remained there other fourtie yeeres in exile: so that suppose hee had beene the wickeddest man in the world before, he then became a changed and regenerate man, and very little of olde *Moyses* remained in him. *Abraham* was an Idolater in *Vr* of *Chaldæa*, before he was called: And *Paul* beeing called *Saul*, was a most sharpe persecutour of the Saints of God, while that name was changed.

PHI. What punishment then thinke ye merit these *Magicians* and *Necromancers*?

EPI. The like no doubt, that *Sorcerers* and *Witches* merit; and rather so much greater, as their errour proceedes of the greater knowledge, and so drawes neerer to the sinne against the holy Ghost. And as I say of them, so say I the like of all such as consult, enquire, entertaine, and ouersee them, which is seene by the miserable ends of many that aske counsell of them: For the deuill hath neuer better tidings to tell to any, then hee told to *Saul*: neither is it lawfull to vse so vnlawful instruments, were it neuer for so good a purpose: For that axiome in Theologie is most certaine and infallible, *Nunquam faciendum est malum, vt bonum inde eueniat.* Actes 3.

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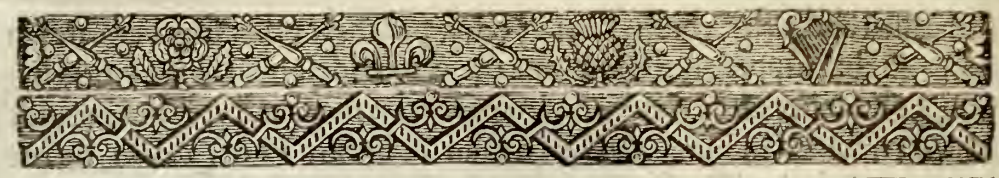


THE SECOND BOOKE OF DÆMONOLOGIE.

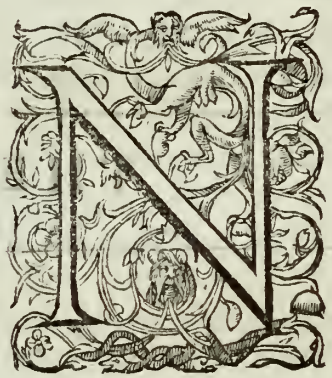
ARGVMENT.

The description of Sorcerie and Witchcraft in speciall.

CHAP. I. ARGVMENT.

Proued by the Scripture, that such a thing can be: And the reasons refuted of all such as would call it but an imagination and Melancholicque humour.

PHILOMATHES.



OW, since ye haue satisfied mee now so fully, concerning *Magie* or *Necromancie*, I wil pray you to doe the like in *Sorcerie* or *Witchcraft*.

EPI. That field is likewise very large, and although in the mouthes and pennes of many, yet few knowe the trewth thereof, so well as they beleeue themselues, as I shall so shortly as I can, make you (God willing) as easily to perceiue.

PHI. But I pray you before ye goe further, let mee interrupt you here with a short digression, which is, that many can scarcely beleeue that there is such a thing as *Witchcraft*: Whose reasons I will shortly alleage vnto you, that yee may satisfie mee as well in that, as yee haue done in the rest. For first, whereas the Scripture seemes to prooue *Witchcraft* to bee, by diuers examples, and specially by sundrie of the same, which ye haue alleaged; it is thought by some, that these places speake of *Magicians* and *Necromancers* onely, and not of *Witches*: As in speciall, these wise men of *Pharaohs*, that counterfeited *Moyses* myracles, were *Magicians* say they, and not *Witches*: As likewise that *Pythonisse* that *Saul* consulted with: And so was *Simon Magus* in the new Testament, as that very stile imports. Secondly, where ye would oppone the dayly practicque, and confession of so many, that is thought likewise to be but very Melancholicque imaginations of simple rauing creatures. Thirdly, if *Witches* had such power of Witching of folkes to death, (as they say they haue) there had bene none left aliue long since in the world but they; at the least, no good or godly person of whatsoeuer estate, could haue escaped their diuelrie.

EPI.

EPI. Your three reasons, as I take, are grounded: the first of them *negatiuè* vpon the Scripture: The second *affirmatiuè* vpō Phisick: And the third vpon the certaine proofe of experience. As to your first, it is most trew indeede, that all these wise men of *Pharaoh* were *Magicians* of arte: As likewise it appeares well, that the *Pythonisse*, with whom *Saul* consulted, was of that same profession: and so was *Simon Magus*. But ye omitted to speake of the Lawe of God, wherein are all *Magicians*, Diuiners, Enchanters, Sorcerers, Witches, and whatsoeuer of that kind that consult with the deuill, plainely prohibited, and alike threatned against. And besides that, she who had the Spirit of *Python*, in the Actes, whose Spirit was put to silence by the Apostle, could be no other thing but a very Sorcerer or Witch, if ye admit the vulgar distinction, to be in a maner trew, whereof I spake in the beginning of our conference: For that spirit whereby she conquested such gaine to her Masters, was not at her raising or commanding, as shee pleased to appoint, but spake by her tongue, as well publikely as priuately: whereby she seemed to draw nearer to the sort of *Demoniakes* or possessed, if that coniunction betwixt them, had not beene of her owne consent; as it appeared by her, not being tormented therewith, and by her conquesting of such gaine to her Masters (as I haue alreadie said.) As to your second reason grounded vpon Physicke, in attributing their confessions or apprehensions, to a naturall melancholique humour, any that please physically to consider vpon the naturall humour of melancholly, according to all the Physicians, that euer writ thereupon, they shall find that that will be ouershort a cloake to couer their knauery with: For as the humour of Melancholly in the selfe is blacke, heauie and terrene, so are the symptomes thereof, in any persons that are subiect thereunto, leannesse, palenesse, desire of solitude; and if they come to the highest degree thereof, meere folly and *Manie*: whereas by the contrary, a great number of them that euer haue beene conuict or confessours of Witchcraft, as may be presently seene by many that haue at this time confessed; they are by the contrary, I say, some of them rich and worldly wise, some of them fat or corpulent in their bodies, and most part of them altogether giuen ouer to the pleasures of the flesh, continuall haunting of companie, and all kinde of merrinesse, both lawfull and vnlawful, which are things directly contrary to the symptomes of melancholly, whereof I spake; and further experience daily prooues, how loth they are to confesse without torture, which witnesseth their guiltinesse; where by the contrary, the Melancholiques neuer spare to bewray themselues, by their continuall discourses, feeding thereby their humor in that which they thinke no crime. As to your third reason, it scarsely merits an answere: for if the deuill their master were not bridled, as the Scriptures teach vs, suppose there were no men nor women to bee his instruments, he could finde wayes enough without any helpe of others to wracke all mankinde; whereunto he employes his whole study, and *goeth about like a roaring Lyon* (as *Peter* sayth) to that effect, but the limits of his

Acts 16.

power were ſet downe before the foundations of the world were laide, which he hath not power in the leaſt iote to tranſgreſſe. But beſide all this, there is ouer great a certaintie to prooue that they are, by the daily experience of the harmes that they doe, both to men, and whatſoeuer thing men poſſeſſe, whom God will permit them to be the inſtruments, ſo to trouble or viſite, as in my diſcourſe of that arte, ye ſhall heare clearely prooued.

CHAP. II. ARGV.

The Etymologie and ſignification of that word Sorcerie : *The firſt entreſſe and prentiſhip of them that giue themſelues to that craft.*

PHILOMATHES.

Ome on then I pray you, and returne where ye left.

EPI. This word of *Sorcerie* is a Latine word, which is taken from caſting of the lot, and therefore he that vſeth it, is called *Sortiarius à ſorte* : As to the word of *Witchcraft*, it is nothing but a proper name giuen in our language : The cauſe wherefore they were called *Sortiarij*, proceeded of their practiques, ſeeming to come of lot or chance, ſuch as the turning of the riddle, the knowing of the forme of prayers, or ſuch like tokens, if a perſon diſeaſed would liue or die : And in generall, that name was giuen them for vſing of ſuch charmes, and freits, as that Craft teacheth them. Many points of their craft and practicques are common betwixt the *Magicians* and them : for they ſerue both one Maſter, although in diuers faſhions. And as I deuided the *Necromancers* into two ſortes, learned and vnlearned; ſo muſt I deny them in other two, rich and of better accompt; poore and of baſer degree. Theſe two degrees now of perſons, that practiſe this Craft, anſwere to the paſſions in them, which (I tolde you before) the Diuell vſed as meanes to entice them to his ſeruice : for ſuch of them as are in great miſerie and pouertie, he allures to follow him, by promiſing vnto them great riches, and worldly commoditie: Such as though rich, yet burne in a deſperate deſire of reuenge, he allures them by promiſes, to get their turne ſatisfied to their hearts contentment. It is to be noted now, that that olde and craftie enemie of ours, aſſailes none, though touched with any of theſe two extremities, except he firſt finde an entreſſe ready for him, either by the great ignorance of the perſon he deales with, ioyned with an euill life, or elſe by their careleſneſſe and contempt of God : And finding them in an vtter deſpaire, for one of theſe two former cauſes that I haue ſpoken of, he prepares the way by feeding them craftely in their humour, and filling them further and further with deſpaire, while hee finde the time proper to diſcouer himſelfe vnto them : At which time, either vpon their walking ſolitarie in the fieldes, or elſe lying panſing in their bed; but alwaies without the company of any other, hee either by a voyce, or in likeneſſe of

of a man inquires of them, what troubles them, and promiſeth them, a ſuddaine and certaine way of remedie, vpon condition on the other part, that they follow his aduiſe, and doe ſuch things as he will require of them: Their mindes being prepared before-hand, as I haue alreadie ſpoken, they eaſily agreed vnto that demand of his, and ſyne ſets an other tryiſt, where they may meete againe: At which time, before hee proceede any further with them, hee firſt perſwades them to addict themſelues to his ſeruice, which being eaſily obtained, he then diſcouers what he is vnto them, makes them to renounce their God and Baptiſme directly, and giues them his marke vpon ſome ſecret place of their bodie, which remaines ſoare vnhealed, while his next meeting with them, and thereafter euer inſenſible, howſoeuer it be nipped or pricked by any, as is daily prooued, to giue them a proofe thereby, that as in that doing, he could hurt and heale them; ſo all their ill and well doing thereafter, muſt depend vpon him: And beſides that, the intolerable dolour that they feele in that place, where he hath marked them, ſerues to waken them, and not to let them reſt, while their next meeting againe: fearing leſt otherwaies they might either forget him, being as new Prentiſes, and not well enough founded yet, in that fiendly follie: or elſe remembring of that horrible promiſe they made him at their laſt meeting, they might skunner at the ſame, and preaſſe to call it backe. At their third meeting, he makes a ſhew to be carefull to performe his promiſes, either by teaching them waies how to get themſelues reuenged, if they be of that ſort: or elſe by teaching them leſſons, how by moſt vile and vnlawfull meanes, they may obtaine gaine, and wordly commoditie, if they be of the other ſort.

CHAP. III. ARGV.

The Witches *actions diuided into two parts: The actions proper to their owne perſons: Their actions toward others: The forme of their conuentions, and adoring of their Maſter.*

PHILOMATHES.

YEe haue ſaid now enough of their initiating in that order; It reſts then that yee diſcourſe vpon their practiſes, fra they be paſſed Prentiſes: for I would faine heare what is poſſible to them to performe in very deed. Although they ſerue a common Maſter with the *Necromancers*, (as I haue before ſaid) yet ſerue they him in another forme: For as the meanes are diuers, which allure them to theſe vnlawful Arts of ſeruing the deuill; ſo by diuers waies vſe they their practiſes, anſwering to theſe meanes, which firſt the deuill vſed as inſtruments in them, though all tending to one end, *to wit*, the enlarging of Satans tyrannie, and croſſing of the propagation of the Kingdome of CHRIST, ſo farre as lyeth in the poſſibilitie, either of the one or

other ſort, or of the deuill their maſter: For where the *Magicians*, as allured by curioſitie, in the moſt part of their practiſes, ſeeke principally the ſatiſfying of the ſame, and to winne to themſelues a popular honour and eſtimation; theſe Witches on the other part, being inticed, either for the deſire of reuenge, or of worldly riches, their whole practiſes are either to hurt men and their goods, or what they poſſeſſe, for ſatisfying of their cruell mindes in the former, or elſe by the wracke in whatſoeuer ſort, of any whom God will permit them to haue power of, to ſatisfie their greedie deſire in the laſt point.

EPI. In two parts their actions may be diuided; the actions of their owne perſons, and the actions proceeding from them towards any other: And this diuiſion being well vnderſtood, will eaſily reſolue you, what is poſſible to them to doe: For although all that they confeſſe is no lie vpon their part, yet doubtleſly, in my opinion, a part of it is not indeede, according as they take it to be: And in this I meane by the actions of their owne perſons: For as I ſaid before, ſpeaking of *Magie*, that the diuell illudes the ſenſes of theſe ſchollers of his, in many things, ſo ſay I the like of theſe Witches.

PHI. Then I pray you firſt to ſpeake of that part of their owne perſons, and ſyne ye may come next to their actions towards others.

EPI. To the effect that they may performe ſuch ſeruices of their falſe Maſter, as he employes them in, the deuill as Gods Ape, counterfeits in his ſeruants this ſeruice and forme of adoration, that God preſcribed and made his ſeruants to practiſe: For as the ſeruants of God publikely vſe to conveene for ſeruing of him, ſo makes he them in great numbers to conveene (though publikely they dare not) for his ſeruice. As none conveenes to the adoration and worſhipping of God, except they be marked with his Seale, the Sacrament of Baptiſme: So none ſerues Satan, and conveenes to the adoring of him, that are not marked with that marke, whereof I alreadie ſpake. As the Miniſter ſent by God teacheth plainely at the time of their publike conuentions, how to ſerue him in ſpirit and trewth; ſo that vnclean ſpirit, in his owne perſon teacheth his diſciples at the time of their conueening, how to worke all kind of miſchiefe, and craues coumpt of all their horrible and deteſtable proceedings paſſed, for aduancement of his ſeruice: Yea that hee may the more viuely counterfeit and ſcorne God, he oft times makes his ſlaues to conueene in theſe very places, which are deſtinate and ordained for the conveening of the ſeruants of God (I meane by Churches) But this farre, which I haue yet ſaid, I not onely take it to be trew in their opinions, but euen ſo to be indeed: For the forme that he vſed in counterfaiting God amongſt the Gentiles, makes me ſo to thinke: As God ſpake by his Oracles, ſpake he not ſo by his? As God had aſwell bloodie Sacrifices, as others without blood, had not he the like? As God had Churches ſanctified to his ſeruice, with Altars, Prieſts, Sacrifices, Ceremonies and Prayers; had he not the like polluted to his ſeruice? As God gaue reſponſes by

Vrim

Vrim and *Thummim*, gaue he not his responses by the intralles of beasts, by the singing of fowles, and by their actions in the aire? As God by visions, dreames, and extasies reuealed what was to come, and what was his will vnto his seruants; vsed hee not the like meanes to forewarne his slaues of things to come? Yea euen as God loued cleaneneſſe, hated vice and impuritie, and appointed punishments therefore; vsed he not the like (though falsly I grant, and but in eschewing the lesse inconuenience, to draw them vpon a greater) yet dissimuled he not, I say, so farre as to appoint his priests to keepe their bodies cleane and vndefiled, before their asking responses of him? And fained he not God, to be a protectour of euery vertue, and a iust reuenger of the contrarie? This reason then mooues mee, that as he is that same diuell, and as crafty now as he was then, so will he not spare as pertly in these actions that I haue spoken of, concerning the Witches persons: but further, Witches oft times confesse, not only his conueening in the Church with them, but his occupying of the Pulpit; Yea, their forme of adoration, to be the kissing of his hinder parts: Which though it seeme ridiculous, yet may it likewise be trew, seeing we reade that in *Calicute*, he appearing in forme of a Goat-bucke, hath publikely that vn-honest homage done vnto him, by euery one of the people: So ambitious is he, and greedy of honour (which procured his fall) that he will euen imitate God in that part, where it is said, that *Moyses* could see but the *hinder parts of God, for the brightnesse of his glory*: And yet that speech is spoken but ἀνθρωποπαθέως. Exod. 33.

CHAP. IIII. ARGV.

What are the wayes possible, whereby the Witches may transport themselues to places farre distant: And what are impossible and meere illusions of Satan: And the reasons thereof.

PHILOMATHES.

BVt by what way say they, or thinke yee it possible they can come to these vnlawfull conuentions?

EPI. There is the thing which I esteeme their senses to be deluded in, and though they lie not in confessing of it, because they thinke it to be trew, yet not to be so in substance or effect: for they say, that by diuers meanes they may conueene, either to the adoring of their Master, or to the putting in practise any seruice of his, committed vnto their charge: one way is naturall, which is naturall riding, going, or sailing, at what houre their master comes and aduertises them: and this way may be easily beleeued: another way is some-what more strange, and yet it is possible to bee trew: which is, by being caried by the force of the spirit which is their conducter, either aboue the earth, or aboue the Sea swiftly, to the place where they are to meete: which I am perswaded to bee likewise possible, in respect that as *Habakkuk* was carried by the Angel in that forme, to the den where *Daniel* lay; so thinke I, the diuell will be readie to imitate God,

Apocrypha of Bel and the Dragon.

as well in that as in other things: which is much more possible to him to doe, being a Spirit, then to a mighty wind, being but a naturall Meteore, to transport from one place to another, a solide body, as is commonly and daily seene in practise: But in this violent forme they cannot be caried, but a short bounds, agreeing with the space that they may retaine their breath: for if it were longer, their breath could not remaine vnextinguished, their body being caried in such a violent and forcible maner; as by example: If one fall off a small height, his life is but in perill, according to the hard or soft lighting: but if one fall from an high and stay rocke, his breath will be forcibly banished from the body, before he can win to the earth, as is oft seene by experience: And in this transporting they say themselues, that they are inuisible to any other, except amongst themselues, which may also be possible in my opinion: For if the deuill may forme what kinde of impressions he pleases in the aire, (as I haue said before, speaking of *Magie*) why may hee not farre easilier thicken and obscure so the aire, that is next about them, by contracting it straite together, that the beames of any other mans eyes cannot pierce thorow the same, to see them? But the third way of their comming to their conuentions, is that, wherein I thinke them deluded: for some of them say, that being transformed in the likenesse of a little beast or foule, they will come and pierce through whatsoeuer house or Church, though all ordinarie passages be closed, by whatsoeuer open the aire may enter in at: And some say, that their bodies lying still, as in an extasie, their spirits will be rauished out of their bodies, and caried to such places; and for verifying thereof, will giue euident tokens, as well by witnesses that haue seene their body lying senceless in the meane time, as by naming persons whom-with they met, and giuing tokens what purpose was amongst them, whom otherwise they could not haue knowen: for this forme of iourneying, they affirme to vse most, when they are transported from one countrey to another.

PHI. Surely I long to heare your owne opinion of this: for they are like old wiues trattles about the fire. The reasons that mooue me to thinke that these are meere illusions, are these: First, for them that are transformed in likenesse of beasts or foules, can enter through so narrow passages, although I may easily beleeue that the diuell could by his workmanship vpon the aire, make them appeare to be in such formes, either to themselues, or to others: yet how he can contract a solide body within so little roome, I thinke it is directly contrary to it selfe; for to be made so little, and yet not diminished; to be so straitly drawen together, and yet feele no paine, I thinke it is so contrary to the qualitie of a naturall bodie, and so like to the little transubstantiate god in the Papists Masse, that I can neuer beleeue it: So to haue a quantitie, is so proper to a solide body, that as all Philosophers conclude, it cannot be any more without one, then a spirit can haue one: For, when *Peter* came out of the prison, and the doores all locked; it was not by any cõtracting of his body in so little roome, but by the giuing place

Actes 12.

place of the doore, though vnespied by the Gaylors: And yet is there no comparison, when this is done, betwixt the power of God, and of the diuel. As to their forme of extasie and spirituall transporting, it is certaine the soules going out of the body, is the onely definition of naturall death: and who are once dead, God forbid we should thinke that it should lie in the power of all the diuels in hell, to restore them to their life againe; although he can put his owne spirit in a dead body, which the *Necromancers* commonly practise, as ye haue heard. For that is the office properly belonging to God; and besides that, the soule once parting from the body, cannot wander any longer in the world, but to the owne resting place must it goe immediately, abiding the coniunction of the body againe, at the latter day. And what Christ or the Prophets did miraculously in this case, it can in no Christian mans opinion, be made common with the diuel. As for any tokens that they giue for prouing of this, it is very possible to the diuels craft, to perswade them to these meanes: for he being a spirit, may he not so rauish their thoughts, and dull their senses, that their body lying as dead, he may obiect to their spirits, as it were in a dreame, and (as the Poets write of *Morpheus*) represent such formes of persons, of places, and other circumstances, as he pleases to illude them with? Yea, that he may deceiue them with the greater efficacie; may he not at that same instant by fellow angels of his, illude such other persons so in that same fashion, whom-with hee makes them to beleeue that they mette, that all their reports and tokens, though seuerally examined, may euery one agree with another? And that whatsoeuer actions, either in hurting men or beasts, or whatsoeuer other thing that they falsly imagine, at that time to haue done, may by himselfe or his marrowes, at that same time be done indeed; so as if they would giue for a token of their being rauished at the death of such a person within so short space thereafter, whom they beleeue to haue poisoned, or witched at that instant, might he not at that same houre, haue smitten that same person, by the permission of GOD, to the farther deceiuing of them, and to mooue others to beleeue them? And this is surely the likelyest way, and most according to reason, which my iudgement can finde out in this, and whatsoeuer other vnnaturall points of their confession: And by these meanes shall we faile surely, betwixt *Charybdis* and *Scylla*, in eschewing the not beleeuing of them altogether on the one part, lest that draw vs to the errour, that there is no *Witches*: and on the other part in beleeuing of it, make vs to eschew the falling into innumerable absurdities, both monstrously against all Theologie diuine, and Philosophie humane.

CHAP.

CHAP. V. ARGV.

Witches actions towards others: Why there are more women of that craft then men: What things are possible to them to effectuate by the power of their master: The reasons thereof: What is the surest remedy of the harmes done by them.

PHILOMATHES.

FOrsooth your opinion in this, seemes to cary most reason with it; and since ye haue ended then the actions belonging properly to their owne persons, say forward now to their actions vsed towards others.

EPI. In their actions vsed towards others, three things ought to be considered: First, the maner of their consulting thereupon: Next, their part as instruments: And last, their masters part, who puts the same in execution. As to their consultations thereupon, they vse them oftest in the Churches, where they conueene for adoring, at what time their master enquiring at them what they would be at, euery one of them propones vnto him, what wicked turne they would haue done, either for obtaining of riches, or for reuenging them vpon any whom they haue malice at; who granting their demaund, as no doubt willingly he will, since it is to doe euill, hee teacheth them the meanes whereby they may doe the same: As for little trifling turnes that women haue adoe with, he causeth them to ioynt dead corpses, and to make powders thereof, mixing such other things there amongst, as he giues vnto them.

PHI. But before ye goe further, permit me, I pray you, to interrupt you one word, which ye haue put me in memorie of, by speaking of Women; What can be the cause that there are twentie women giuen to that craft, where there is one man?

EPI. The reason is easie, for as that sexe is frailer then man is, so is it easier to be intrapped in these grosse snares of the diuell, as was ouer-well prooued to be trew, by the Serpents deceiuing of *Eua* at the beginning, which makes him the homelier with that sexe sensine.

PHI. Returne now where ye left.

EPI. To some others at these times he teacheth, how to make pictures of waxe or clay, that by the roasting thereof, the persons that they beare the name of, may be continually melted or dried away by continuall sicknesse: To some he giues such stones or pouders, as will helpe to cure or cast on diseases: And to some hee teacheth kindes of vncouth poysons, which Mediciners vnderstand not (for he is farre cunninger then man, in the knowledge of all the occult proprieties of nature) not that any of these meanes which he teacheth them (except the poysons which are composed of things naturall,) can of themselues helpe any thing to these turnes, that they are employed in, but onely being GODS ape, as well in that, as in all other things; Euen as God by his Sacraments which are earthly of themselues,

ſelues, workes a heauenly effect, though no wayes by any cooperation in them: And as Chriſt by clay and ſpettle wrought together, *opened the eyes of the blinde man*, ſuppoſe there was no vertue in that which he outwardly applied, ſo the diuel will haue his outward meanes to be ſhewes as it were of his doing, which hath no part or cooperation in his turnes with him, how farre that euer the ignorants be abuſed in the contrarie. And as to the effects of theſe two former parts; *to wit*, the conſultations and the outward meanes, they are ſo wonderfull, as I dare not alleadge any of them, without ioyning a ſufficient reaſon of the poſſibilitie thereof; For leauing all the ſmall trifles among wiues, and to ſpeake of the principall points of their craft, for the common trifles thereof, they can doe without conuerting well enough by themſelues, theſe principall points, I ſay, are theſe; They can make men or women to loue or hate other, which may be very poſſible to the diuel to effectuate, ſeeing he being a ſubtile ſpirit, knowes well enough how to perſwade the corrupted affection of them whom God wil permit him ſo to deale with: They can lay the ſickneſſe of one vpon another, which likewiſe is very poſſible vnto him: For ſince by Gods permiſſion, he laide ſickeneſſe vpon *Iob*, why may he not farre eaſilier lay it vpon any other; For as an old practitian, hee knowes well enough what humour domines moſt in any of vs, and as a ſpirit he can ſubtillie waken vp the ſame, making it peccant, or to abound, as hee thinkes meet for troubling of vs, when God will ſo permit him: And for the taking off of it, no doubt he will be glad to relieue ſuch of preſent paine, as he may thinke by theſe meanes to perſwade to be catched in his euerlaſting ſnares and fetters. They can bewitch and take the life of men or women, by roaſting of the Pictures, as I ſpake of before, which likewiſe is verie poſſible to their maſter to performe: for although (as I ſaid before) that inſtrument of waxe haue no vertue in that turne doing, yet may he not very well, euen by the ſame meaſure, that his coniured ſlaues melts that waxe at the fire, may hee not, I ſay, at theſe ſame times, ſubtily, as a ſpirit, ſo weaken and ſcatter the ſpirits of life of the patient, as may make him on the one part, for faintneſſe, to ſweat out the humour of his bodie, and on the other part, for the not concurrence of theſe ſpirits, which cauſes his digeſtion, ſo debilitate his ſtomacke, that this humour radicall continually, ſweating out on the one part, and no new good ſucke being put in the place thereof, for lacke of digeſtion on the other, he at laſt ſhall vaniſh away, euen as his picture will doe at the fire? And that knauiſh and cunning workeman, by troubling him, onely at ſometimes, makes a proportion, ſo neere betwixt the working of the one and the other, that both ſhall end as it were at one time. They can raiſe ſtormes and tempeſts in the aire, either vpon Sea or land, though not vniuerſally, but in ſuch a particular place and preſcribed bounds, as GOD will permit them ſo to trouble: Which likewiſe is very eaſie to be diſcerned from any other naturall tempeſts that are Meteores, in reſpect of the ſudden and violent raiſing thereof, together with the ſhort

Iohn 9.

ſhort induring of the ſame. And this is likewiſe very poſſible to their maſter to doe, hee hauing ſuch affinitie with the aire, as being a ſpirit, and hauing ſuch power of the forming and moouing thereof, as yee haue heard me alreadie declare: For in the Scripture, that ſtile of *the Prince of the aire*, is giuen vnto him. They can make folkes to become Phrenticque or Maniacque, which likewiſe is very poſſible to their maſter to doe, ſince they are but naturall ſicknesses: and ſo he may lay on theſe kindes, as well as any others. They can make ſpirits, either to follow and trouble perſons, or haunt certaine houſes, and affray oftentimes the inhabitants, as hath bene knowne to bee done by our *Witches* at this time. And likewiſe they can make ſome to bee poſſeſſed with ſpirits, and ſo to become very Dæmoniacques: and this laſt ſort is very poſſible likewiſe to the diuel their maſter to doe, ſince he may eaſily ſend his owne angels to trouble in what forme he pleaſes, any whom God will permit him ſo to vſe.

Ephes. 2.

PHI. But will God permit theſe wicked inſtruments by the power of the deuill their maſter, to trouble by any of theſe meanes, any that beleeue in him?

EPI. No doubt, for there are three kindes of folkes whom God will permit ſo to be tempted or troubled; the wicked for their horrible ſinnes, to puniſh them in the like meaſure; the godly that are ſleeping in any great ſinnes or infirmities, and weakneſſe in faith, to waken them vp the faſter by ſuch an vncouth forme: and euen ſome of the beſt, that their patience may be tried before the world, as *Iobs* was: For why may not God vſe any kinde of extraordinary puniſhment, when it pleaſes him; as well as the ordinarie rods of ſickeneſſe or other aduerſities?

PHI. Who then may be free from theſe deuiliſh practiſes?

EPI. No man ought to preſume ſo farre as to promiſe any impunitie to himſelfe: for God hath before all beginnings, præordinated, as well the particular ſorts of plagues, as of benefites for euery man, which in the owne time he ordaines them to be viſited with, and yet ought we not to be the more afraide for that, of any thing that the diuell and his wicked inſtruments can doe againſt vs: for we daily fight againſt the diuell in a hundreth other wayes: And therefore, as a valiant captaine affraies no more being at the combate, nor ſtayes from his purpoſe for the rummiſhing ſhot of a Canon, nor the ſmall clacke of a Piſtolet, ſuppoſe he be not certaine what may light vpon him; Euen ſo ought we boldly to goe forward in fighting againſt the diuell without any greater terrour, for theſe his rareſt weapons, nor for the ordinary whereof we haue daily the proofe.

PHI. Is it not lawfull then, by the helpe of ſome other Witch, to cure the diſeaſe that is caſten on by that craft?

EPI. No wayes lawfull; for I gaue you the reaſon thereof in that axiome of Theologie, which was the laſt words I ſpake of *Magie*.

PHI. How then may theſe diſeaſes be lawfully cured?

EPI. Only by earneſt prayer vnto God, by amendment of their liues, and

and by ſharpe purſuing euery one, according to his calling of theſe inſtruments of Satan, whoſe puniſhment to the death will be a ſalutarie ſacrifice for the patient. And this is not onely the lawfull way, but likewiſe the moſt ſure: For by the deuils meanes, *can neuer the deuill be caſten out*, as Chriſt ſayth. And when ſuch a cure is vſed, it may well ſerue for a ſhort time, but at the laſt, it will doubtleſly tend to the vtter perdition of the patient, both in body and ſoule. Marke 3.

CHAP. VI. ARGV.

What ſort of folkes are leaſt or moſt ſubiect to receiue harme by Witchcraft: What power they haue to harme the Magiſtrate, and vpon what reſpects they haue any power in priſon: And to what end may or will the deuill appeare to them therein: Vpon what reſpects the deuill appeares in ſundry ſhapes to ſundry of them at any time.

PHILOMATHES.

BVt who dare take vpon him to puniſh them, if no man can be ſure to be free from their vnnaturall inuaſions?

EPI. Wee ought not the more of that reſtraine from vertue, that the way wherby we clime thereunto be ſtraight and perillous: But beſides that, as there is no kinde of perſons ſo ſubiect to receiue harme of them, as theſe that are of infirme and weake faith (which is the beſt buckler againſt ſuch inuaſions:) ſo haue they ſo ſmall power ouer none, as ouer ſuch as zealouſly and earneſtly purſue them, without ſparing for any wordly reſpect.

PHI. Then they are like the Peſt, which ſmites theſe ſickareſt, that flies it fartheſt, and apprehends deepleſt the perill thereof.

EPI. It is euen ſo with them: for neither is it able to them to vſe any falſe cure vpon a patient, except the patient firſt beleeue in their power, and ſo hazard the tinſell of his owne ſoule, nor yet can they haue leſſe power to hurt any, nor ſuch as contemne moſt their doings, ſo being it comes of faith, and not of any vaine arrogancie in themſelues.

PHI. But what is their power againſt the Magiſtrate?

EPI. Leſſe or greater, according as he deales with them: for if hee be ſlothfull towards them, God is very able to make them inſtruments to waken and puniſh his ſlouth: but if he be the contrary, hee according to the iuſt Law of God, and allowable law of all nations, will be diligent in examining and puniſhing of them: God will not permit their maſter to trouble or hinder ſo good a worke.

PHI. But fra they be once in hands and firmance, haue they any further power in their craft?

EPI. That is according to the forme of their detention: If they be but apprehended and deteined by any priuate perſon, vpon other priuate reſpects, their power no doubt either in eſcaping, or in doing hurt, is no leſſe

lesse nor euer it was before: But if on the other part, their apprehending and detention be by the lawfull Magistrate, vpon the iust respects of their guiltinesse in that craft, their power is then no greater then before that euer they medled with their master: For where God begins iustly to strike by his lawfull Lieutenants, it is not in the deuils power to defraud or bereaue him of the office, or effect of his powerfull and reuenging Scepter.

PHI. But will neuer their Master come to visite them, fra they be once apprehended and put in firmance?

EPI. That is according to the estate that these miserable wretches are in: For if they be obstinate in still denying, he will not spare, when hee findes time to speake with them, either if he finde them in any comfort, to fill them more and more with the vaine hope of some manner of reliefe; or else if he finde them in a deepe despaire, by all meanes to augment the same, and to perswade them by some extraordinarie meanes to put themselues downe, which very commonly they doe: But if they bee penitent and confesse, God will not permit him to trouble them any more with his presence and allurements.

PHI. It is not good vsing his counsell I see then: But I would earnestly know when he appeares to them in prison, what formes vses hee then to take?

EPI. Diuers formes, euen as hee vses to doe at other times vnto them: For as I told you, speaking of *Magie*, he appeares to that kind of craftes-men ordinarily in a forme, according as they agree vpon it among themselues; Or if they be but prentises, according to the qualitie of their circles or conjurations: Yet to these capped creatures, he appeares as hee pleases, and as he findes meetest for their humors: For euen at their publicke conuentions, hee appeares to diuers of them in diuers formes, as we haue found by the difference of their confessions in that point: For he deluding them with vaine impressions in the aire, makes himselfe to seeme more terrible to the grosser sort, that they may thereby be mooued to feare and reuerence him the more: and lesse monstrous and vncouth like againe to the craftier sort, lest otherwise they might sturre and skunner at his vglinesse.

PHI. How can he then be felt; as they confesse they haue done him, if his body be but of aire?

EPI. I heare little of that amongst their confessions, yet may hee make himselfe palpable, either by assuming any dead bodie, and vsing the ministerie thereof, or else by deluding as well their sence of feeling as seeing; which is not impossible to him to doe, since all our senses, as wee are so weake, and euen by ordinarie sicknesses will be oftentimes deluded.

PHI. But I would speere one word further yet, concerning his appearing to them in prison, which is this: May any other that chances to be present at that time in the prison, see him as well as they?

EPI. Sometimes they will, and sometimes not, as it pleases God.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII. ARG.

Two formes of the diuels visible conuersing in the earth, with the reasons wherefore the one of them was commonest in the time of Papistrie, *and the other sensine. Those that deny the power of the diuell, denie the power of God, and are guilty of the errour of the* Sadduces.

PHILOMATHES.

HAth the Diuell then power to appeare to any other, except to such as are his sworne disciples; especially since all Oracles, and such like kinds of illusions were taken away and abolished by the comming of CHRIST?

EPI. Although it be true indeede, that the brightnesse of the Gospel at his comming, scaled the cloudes of all these grosse errours in the Gentilisme; yet that these abusing spirits, cease not sensine at sometimes to appeare, daily experience teaches vs. Indeed this difference is to be marked betwixt the formes of Satans conuersing visibly in the world: For of two different formes thereof, the one of them by the spreading of the Euangel, and conquest of the white horse, in the sixt Chapter of the Reuelation, is much hindred and become rather there-through: This his appearing to any Christians, troubling of them outwardly, or possessing of them constrainedly: The other of them is become commoner and more vsed sensine, I meane by their vnlawfull artes, whereupon our whole purpose hath beene. This wee finde by experience in this Isle to be true: For as wee know, moe ghosts and spirits were seene, nor tongue can tell, in the time of blind *Papistrie* in these countries, where now by the contrarie, a man shall scarcely all his time heare once of such things; and yet were these vnlawful artes farre rarer at that time, and neuer were so much heard of, nor so rife as they are now.

PHI. What should be the cause of that?

EPI. The diuers nature of our sinnes procures at the Iustice of God, diuers sorts of punishments answering thereunto: and therefore as in the time of *Papistrie*, our fathers erring grossely, and through ignorance, that mist of errours ouershadowed the Diuell to walke the more familiarly amongst them, and as it were by barnely and affraying terrours, to mocke and accuse their barnely errours; by the contrarie, we now being sound of Religion, and in our life rebelling to our profession, God iustly by that sinne of rebellion, as *Samuel* calleth it, accuseth our life so wilfully fighting against our profession.

PHI. Since ye are entred now to speake of the appearing of spirits, I would be glad to heare your opinion in that matter: for many denie that any such spirits can appeare in these daies, as I haue said.

EPI Doubtlesse who denieth the power of the Diuell, would like-

wise denie the power of God, if they could for shame. For since the Diuel is the very contrarie opposite to God, there can bee no better way to know God, then by the contrarie; as by the ones power (though a creature) to admire the power of the great Creatour: by the falshood of the one to consider the trewth of the other: by the iniustice of the one, to consider the Iustice of the other: And by the cruelty of the one, to consider the mercifulnesse of the other: And so foorth in all the rest of the essence of God, and qualities of the Diuell. But I feare indeed, there bee ouer many *Sadducees* in this world, that denie all kindes of Spirits: For conuicting of whose errour, there is cause inough if there were no more, that God should permit at sometimes Spirits visibly to kyith.

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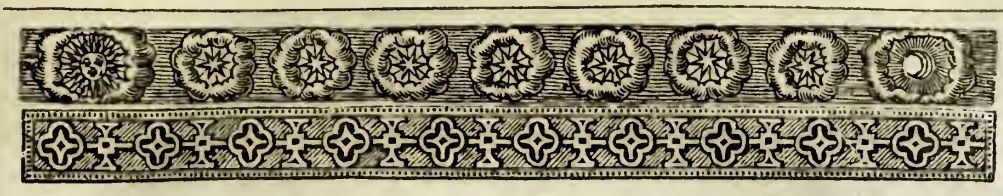


THE THIRD BOOKE OF DÆMONOLOGIE.

ARGVMENT.

The description of all these kinds of Spirits that trouble men or women. The conclusion of the whole Dialogue.

CHAP. I. ARGV.

The diuision of Spirits in foure principall kindes: The description of the first kinde of them, called Spectra & vmbræ mortuorum: *What is the best way to be free of their trouble.*

PHILOMATHES.

Pray you now then goe forward in telling what ye thinke fabulous, or may be trowed in that case.

EPI. That kind of the diuels couersing in the earth, may be diuided in foure different kindes, whereby he affraieth and troubleth the bodies of men: For of the abusing of the soule, I haue spoken alreadie. The first is, where spirits troublesome houses or solitarie places: The second, where Spirits follow vpon certaine persons, and at diuers houres trouble them: The third, when they enter within them, and possesse them: The fourth is these kinde of Spirits that are called vulgarly the *Fairie*: Of the three former kinds, ye heard already, how they may artificially be made by *Witchcraft* to trouble folke; now it restes to speake of their naturall comming as it were, and not raised by *Witchcraft*. But generally I must forewarne you of one thing before I enter in this purpose: that is, that although in my discoursing of them, I deuide them in diuers kinds, ye must notwithstanding thereof note my phrase of speaking in that: For doubtlesse they are in effect, but all one kinde of Spirits, who for abusing the more of mankinde, take on these sundrie shapes, and vse diuers formes of outward actions, as if some were of nature better then other. Now I returne to my purpose: As to the first kinde of these spirits, that were called by the ancients by diuers names, according as their actions were: For if they were Spirits that haunted some houses, by appearing in diuers and horrible formes, and making great dinne, they were

 called

called *Lemures* or *Spectra*: If they appeared in likeneſſe of any defunct to ſome friends of his, they were called *vmbræ mortuorum*: And ſo innumerable ſtiles they got, according to their actions, as I haue ſaid alreadie; as we ſee by experience, how many ſtiles they haue giuen them in our language in the like maner. Of the appearing of theſe Spirits, we are certified by the Scriptures, where the Prophet *Eſay* 13. and 34. Chap. threatning the deſtruction of *Ieruſalem*, declares, that it ſhall not onely be wracked, but ſhall become ſo great a ſolitude, as it ſhall be the habitacle of Howlets, and of *Zijm* and *Ijm*, which are the proper Hebrew names for theſe Spirits. The cauſe why they haunt ſollitarie places, it is by reaſon, that they may affray and brangle the more the faith of ſuch as them alone hauntes ſuch places: For our nature is ſuch, as in companies we are not ſo ſoone moued to any ſuch kind of feare, as being ſollitarie, which the diuel knowing well enough, he will not therefore aſſaile vs but when wee are weake: And beſides that, God will not permit him ſo to diſhonour the ſocieties and companies of Chriſtians, as in publicque times and places to walke viſiblie amongſt them: On the other part, when he troubles certaine houſes that are dwelt in, it is a ſure token either of groſſe ignorance, or of ſome groſſe and ſlanderous ſinnes amongſt the inhabitants thereof, which God by that extraordinarie rod puniſhes.

Eſay 13. Iere. 50.

PHI. But by what way or paſſage can theſe Spirits enter into theſe houſes, ſeeing they alledge that they will enter, doore and window being ſteiked?

EPI. They will chooſe the paſſage for their entreſſe, according to the forme that they are in at that time: For if they haue aſſumed a dead bodie, whereinto they lodge themſelues, they can eaſily enough open without dinne any doore or window, and enter in thereat; And if they enter as a Spirit onely, any place where the aire may come in at, is large enough an entrie for them: For as I ſaid before, a Spirit can occupie no quantitie.

PHI. And will God then permit theſe wicked Spirits to trouble the reſt of a dead bodie, before the reſurrection thereof? Or if hee will ſo, I thinke it ſhould be of the reprobate onely.

EPI. What more is the reſt troubled of a dead bodie, when the diuell caries it out of the graue to ſerue his turne for a ſpace, nor when the *Witches* take it vp and ioynts it, or when as Swine wortes vp the graues? The reſt of them that the Scripture ſpeakes of, is not meaned by a locall remaining continually in one place, but by their reſting from their trauailes and miſeries of this world, while their latter coniunction againe with the ſoule at that time, to receiue full glorie in both: And that the diuel may vſe as well the miniſtrie of the bodies of the faithfull in theſe caſes, as of the vnfaithfull, there is no inconuenience; for his haunting with their bodies after they are dead, can no-waies defile them, in reſpect of the ſoules abſence: And for any diſhonour it can be vnto them, by what reaſon can it be greater, then the hanging, heading, or many ſuch ſhamefull deaths, that good men

men will ſuffer? For there is nothing in the bodies of the faithfull, more worthie of honour, or freer from corruption by nature, nor in theſe of the vnfaithfull, while time they be purged and glorified in the *latter Day*, as is daily ſeene by the vilde diſeaſes and corruptions, that the bodies of the faithfull are ſubiect vnto, as ye will ſee clearely proued, when I ſpeake of the poſſeſſed and Dæmoniacques.

PHI. Yet there are ſundry that affirme to haue haunted ſuch places, where theſe ſpirits are alledged to be; and could neuer heare nor ſee any thing.

EPI. I thinke well: for that is onely reſerued to the ſecret knowledge of God, whom he will permit to ſee ſuch things, and whom not.

PHI. But where theſe ſpirits haunt and trouble any houſes, what is the beſt way to baniſh them?

EPI. By two meanes may onely the remeid of ſuch things be procured: The one is ardent prayer to God, both of theſe perſons that are troubled with them, and of that Church whereof they are: The other is the purging of themſelues by amendment of life, from ſuch ſinnes, as haue procured that extraordinarie plague.

PHI. And what meane then theſe kindes of ſpirits, when they appeare in the ſhadow of a perſon newly dead, or to die, to his friends?

EPI. When they appeare vpon that occaſion, they are called Wraithes in our language: Amongſt the *Gentiles* the diuell vſed that much, to make them beleeue that it was ſome good ſpirit that appeared to them then, either to forewarne them of the death of their friend, or elſe to diſcouer vnto them the will of the defunct, or what was the way of his ſlaughter, as it is written in the booke of the hiſtories prodigious: and this way he eaſily deceiued the *Gentiles*, becauſe they knew not God: and to that ſame effect is it, that he now appeares in that maner to ſome ignorant Chriſtians: for hee dares not ſo illude any that knoweth that, neither can the ſpirit of the defunct returne to his friend, or yet an Angel vſe ſuch formes.

PHI. And are not our war-woolfes one ſort of theſe ſpirits alſo, that haunt and trouble ſome houſes or dwelling places?

EPI. There hath indeede beene an olde opinion of ſuch like things; for by the *Greekes* they were called λυκανθρωποι, which ſignifieth men-wolfes: But to tell you ſimply my opinion in this, if any ſuch thing hath beene, I take it to haue proceeded but of a naturall ſuper-abundance of Melancholy, which as we reade, that it hath made ſome thinke themſelues pitchers, and ſome horſes, and ſome one kinde of beaſt or other, ſo ſuppoſe I that it hath ſo viciat the imagination and memory of ſome, as *per lucida interualla*, it hath ſo highly occupied them, that they haue thought themſelues very Woolfes indeed at theſe times: and ſo haue counterfeited their actions in going on their hands and feete, preaſſing to deuoure women and barnes, fighting and ſnatching with all the towne dogges, and in vſing ſuch like other brutiſh actions, and ſo to become beaſts by a ſtrong apprehenſion, as

Daniel 4. *Nebuchad-nezzar* was ſeuen yeeres: but as to their hauing and hiding of their hard and ſchelly ſluiches, I take that to be but eiked, by vncertaine report, the author of all lies.

CHAP. II. ARGV.

The deſcription of the next two kinds of Spirits, whereof the one followes outwardly, the other poſſeſſes inwardly the perſons that they trouble: That ſince all prophecies and viſions are now ceaſed, all ſpirits that appeare in theſe formes are euill.

PHILOMATHES.

COme forward now to the reſt of theſe kinds of ſpirits.

EPI. As to the next two kindes, that is, either theſe that outwardly trouble and follow ſome perſons, or elſe inwardly poſſeſſe them, I wil conioine them in one, becauſe as well the cauſes are alike in the perſons that they are permitted to trouble; as alſo the wayes whereby they may be remedied and cured.

PHI. What kinde of perſons are they that vſe to be ſo troubled?

EPI. Two kindes in ſpeciall; either ſuch as being guiltie of grieuous offences, God puniſhes by that horrible kinde of ſcourge; or elſe being perſons of the beſt nature peraduenture, that ye ſhall finde in all the countrey about them, God permits them to be troubled in that ſort, for the triall of their patience, and wakening vp of their zeale, for admoniſhing of the beholders, not to truſt ouer-much in themſelues, ſince they are made of no better ſtuffe, and peraduenture blotted with no ſmaller ſinnes (as Chriſt ſaid, ſpeaking of them vpon whom the Tower of *Sylo* fell:) And for giuing likewiſe to the ſpectators, matter to praiſe God, that they meriting no better, are yet ſpared from being corrected in that fearefull forme. Luke 13.

PHI. Theſe are good reaſons for the part of GOD, which apparantly mooues him ſo to permit the Diuell to trouble ſuch perſons: But ſince the Diuell hath euer a contrarie reſpect in all the actions that GOD imployes him in, which is I pray you the end and marke he ſhootes at in this turne?

EPI. It is to obtaine one of two things thereby, if he may: The one is the tinſell of their life, by inducing them to ſuch perillous places, at ſuch time as he either followes or poſſeſſes them, which may procure the ſame, and ſuch like, ſo farre as GOD will permit him, by tormenting them to weaken their bodie, and caſt them into incurable diſeaſes: The other thing that he preaſſes to obtaine by troubling of them, is the tinſell of their ſoule, by intiſing them to miſtruſt & blaſpheme God, either for the intolerableneſſe of their torments, as hee aſſayed to haue done with *Iob*; or elſe for his promiſing vnto them to leaue the troubling of them, in caſe they would ſo doe, as is knowen by experience at this ſame time by the confeſſion of a young one that was ſo troubled. Iob 1.

PHI. Since ye haue ſpoken now of both theſe kinds of ſpirits comprehending them in one, I muſt now goe backe againe in ſpeering ſome queſtions

ſtions of euery one of theſe kindes in ſpeciall. And firſt for theſe that follow certaine perſons, ye know that there are two ſorts of them: One ſorte that trouble and torment the perſons that they haunt with: Another ſort that are ſeruiceable vnto them in all kind of their neceſſaries, and omit neuer to forewarne them of any ſuddaine perill that they are to bee in: And ſo in this caſe, I would vnderſtand whether both theſe ſorts be but wicked and damned ſpirits, or if the laſt ſort be rather Angels, (as ſhould appeare by their actions) ſent by God to aſſiſt ſuch as hee ſpecially fauours: For it is written in the Scriptures, that *God ſends legions of Angels to guard and watch ouer his elect.* Gene.32. 1.Kings 6. Pſal.34.

EPI. I know well inough where fra that errour which ye alledge hath proceeded; For it was the ignorant Gentiles that were the fountaine thereof, Who for that they knew not God, they forged in their owne imaginations, euery man to be ſtil accompanied with two ſpirits, whereof they called the one *genius bonus*, the other *genius malus*: the Greekes called them εὐδαίμονα and κακοδαίμονα: whereof the former they ſaide, perſwaded him to all the good hee did; the other entiſed him to all the euill. But praiſed bee GOD, wee that are Chriſtians, and walke not amongſt the *Cymmerian* coniectures of man, know well inough, that it is the good Spirit of GOD onely, who is the fountaine of all goodneſſe, that perſwades vs to the thinking or doing of any good, and that it is our corrupted fleſh and Satan, that intiſeth vs to the contrarie: And yet the Diuell for confirming in the heades of ignorant Chriſtians, that errour firſt maintained among the Gentiles, he whiles among the firſt kind of ſpirits that I ſpeake of, appeared in time of Papiſtrie and blindneſſe, and haunted diuers houſes, without doing any euill, but doing as it were neceſſarie turnes vp and downe the houſe: and this ſpirit they called *Brownie* in our language, who appeared like a rough-man: yea, ſome were ſo blinded, as to beleeue that their houſe was all their ſonſier, as they called it, that ſuch ſpirits reſorted there.

PHI. But ſince the diuels intention in all his actions, is euer to doe euill, what euill was there in that forme of doing, ſince their actions outwardly were good?

EPI. Was it not euill inough to deceiue ſimple ignorants, in making them to take him for an Angel of light, and ſo to account of Gods enemy as of their particular friend? where by the contrary, all we that are Chriſtians, ought aſſuredly to know, that ſince the comming of Chriſt in the fleſh, and eſtabliſhing of his Church by the Apoſtles, al miracles, viſions, prophecies, & appearances of Angels or good ſpirits, are ceaſed; which ſerued only for the firſt ſowing of faith, and planting of the Church: Where now the Church being eſtabliſhed, and the white Horſe whereof I ſpake before, hauing made his conqueſt, the Law and Prophets are thought ſufficient to ſerue vs, or make vs inexcuſable, as Chriſt ſaith in his parable of *Lazarus* and the rich man.

CHAP.

CHAP. III. ARGV.

The description of a particular sort of that kinde of following Spirits, called Incubi *and* Succubi: *And what is the reason wherefore these kinds of Spirits haunt most the Northerne and barbarous parts of the world.*

PHILOMATHES.

THE next question that I would speere, is likewise concerning this first of these two kinds of Spirits that ye haue conioyned; and it is this: ye know how it is commonly written and reported, that amongst the rest of the sorts of Spirits that follow certaine persons, there is one more monstrous nor all the rest, in respect as it is alleaged, they conuerse naturally with them whom they trouble and haunt with: and therefore I would know in two things your opinion herein: First, if such a thing can be: and next if it be, whether there be a difference of sexes amongst these Spirits or not?

EPI. That abhominable kinde of the diuels abusing of men or women, was called of old, *Incubi* and *Succubi*, according to the difference of the sexes that they conuersed with. By two meanes this great kinde of abuse might possibly be performed: The one, when the diuel onely as a Spirit, and stealing out the sperme of a dead bodie, abuses them that way, they not graithly seeing any shape, or feeling any thing, but that which hee so conueyes in that part; as we reade of a Monasterie of Nunnes which were burnt for their being that way abused: The other meane is, when he borrowes a dead body and so visibly, and as it seemes vnto them naturally as a man conuerses with them. But it is to be noted, that in whatsoeuer way he vseth it, that sperme seemes intollerably cold to the person abused: For if he steale out the nature of a quicke person, it cannot be so quickly caried, but it will both tine the strength and heate by the way, which it could neuer haue had for lacke of agitation, which in the time of procreation is the procurer and wakener vp of these two naturall qualities: And if he occupying the dead bodie as his lodging, expell the same out thereof in the due time, it must likewise be cold by the participation with the qualities of the dead body whereout of it comes. And whereas ye enquire if these Spirits be diuided in sexes or not, I thinke the rules of Philosophie may easily resolue a man of the contrary: For it is a sure principle of that Art, that nothing can be diuided in sexes, except such liuing bodies as must haue a naturall seed to genere by: But we know Spirits haue no seed proper to themselues, nor yet can they gender one with an other.

PHI. How is it then, that they say sundrie monsters haue bene gotten by that way?

EPI. These tales are nothing but *Aniles fabulæ*: For that they haue no nature of their owne, I haue shewed you alreadie: And that the cold nature of

of a dead bodie, can worke nothing in generation, it is more nor plaine, as being alreadie dead of it ſelfe, as well as the reſt of the bodie is, wanting the naturall heate, and ſuch other naturall operation, as is neceſſarie for working that effect, and in caſe ſuch a thing were poſſible (which were vtterly againſt all the rules of nature) it would breed no monſter, but onely ſuch a naturall off-ſpring, as would haue come betwixt that man or woman and that other abuſed perſon, in caſe they both being aliue had had a doe with other: For the Diuels part therein, is but the naked carrying or expelling of that ſubſtance; and ſo it could participate with no quality of the ſame. Indeede, it is poſſible to the craft of the Diuell to make a womans belly to ſwell after he hath that way abuſed her, which hee may doe either by ſtirring vp her owne humour, or by hearbes, as wee ſee beggers daily doe: And when the time of her deliuery ſhould come to make her thoil great dolours, like vnto that naturall courſe, and then ſubtilly to ſlip in the Mid-wiues hands, ſtocks, ſtones, or ſome monſtrous barne brought from ſome other place: but this is more reported and gueſſed at by others, nor beleeued by me.

PHI. But what is the cauſe that this kinde of abuſe is thought to bee moſt common in ſuch wilde parts of the world, as *Lap-land*, and *Fin-land*, or in our North Iſles of *Orknay* and *Schet-land*?

EPI. Becauſe where the Diuell findes greateſt ignorance and barbaritie, there aſſailes he groſſelieſt, as I gaue you the reaſon wherfore there were moe Witches of women-kinde nor men.

PHI. Can any be ſo vnhappie as to giue their willing conſent to the Diuels vile abuſing them in this forme?

EPI. Yea, ſome of the Witches haue confeſſed, that he hath perſwaded them to giue their willing conſent thereunto, that hee may thereby haue them feltred the ſikarer in his ſnares: but as the other compelled ſort is to be pitied and prayed for, ſo is this moſt highly to be puniſhed and deteſted.

PHI. Is it not the thing which we call the *Mare*, which takes folkes ſleeping in their beds, a kinde of theſe ſpirits, whereof ye are ſpeaking?

EPI. No, that is but a naturall ſickeneſſe, which the Mediciners haue giuen that name of *Incubus* vnto, *ab incubando*, becauſe it being a thicke fleume, falling into our breaſt vpon the heart, while we are ſleeping, intercludes ſo our vitall ſpirits, and takes all power from vs, as makes vs think that there were ſome vnnaturall burden or ſpirit, lying vpon vs, and holding vs downe.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII. ARGV.

The description of the Dæmoniackes and possessed: By what reason the Papists may haue power to cure them.

PHILOMATHES.

WEll, I haue tolde you now all my doubts, and ye haue satisfied me therein, concerning the first of these two kindes of spirits that yee haue conioyned: now I am to enquire onely two things at you concerning the last kinde, I meane the Dæmoniackes. The first is, whereby shall these possessed folkes be discerned fra them that are troubled with a naturall Phrensie or *Manie*: The next is, how can it be that they can be remedied by the Papists Church, whom we counting as Heretiques, it should appeare that one diuell should not cast out another, for then would *his kingdome be diuided in it selfe*, as Christ said.

Matth. 12. Marke 3.

EPI. As to your first question; there are diuers symptomes, whereby that heauie trouble may be discerned from a naturall sickenesse, and specially three, omitting the diuers vaine signes that the Papists attribute vnto it: Such as the raging at holy water, their fleeing abacke from the Crosse, their not abiding the hearing of God named, and innumerable such like vaine things that were alike fashious and feckles to recite: But to come to these three symptomes then, whereof I spake, I account the one of them to be the incredible strength of the possessed creature, which will farre exceede the strength of sixe of the wightest and wodest of any other men that are not so troubled: The next is the boldening vp so farre of the patients breast and belly, with such an vnnaturall sturring and vehement agitation within them, and such an ironie hardnesse of his sinewes so stiffely bended out, that it were not possible to pricke out as it were the skinne of any other person so farre; so mightily workes the diuell in all the members and senses of his body, hee being locally within the same, suppose of his soule and affections thereof, hee haue no more power then of any other mans: The last is, the speaking of sundry languages, which the patient is knowen, by them that were acquainted with him, neuer to haue learned, and that with an vncouth and hollow voice, and all the time of his speaking, a greater motion being in his breast then in his mouth: But fra this last symptome is excepted such, as are altogether in the time of their possessing bereft of all their senses, being possessed with a dumbe and blind spirit, whereof Christ relieued one, in the 12. of *Matthew*. And as to your next demand, it is first to be doubted if the Papists, or any not professing the onely true Religion, can relieue any of that trouble: and next, in case they can, vpon what respect it is possible vnto them. As to the former, vpon two reasons it is grounded: first that it is knowen so many of them to be counterfeit, which wyle the Clergie inuents for confirming of their rotten

rotten Religion: The next is, that by experience we finde, that few who are possessed indeed, are fully cured by them; but rather the diuell is content to release the bodily hurting of them, for a short space, thereby to obtaine the perpetuall hurt of the soules of so many that by these false miracles may be induced or confirmed in the profession of that erroneous Religion; euen as I told you before that he doeth in the false cures or casting off of diseases by Witches. As to the other part of the argument in case they can, which rather (with reuerence of the learned thinking otherwise) I am induced to beleeue, by reason of the faithfull report that men sound of Religion, haue made according to their sight thereof, I thinke if so be I say these may be the respects, whereupon the Papists may haue that power. Christ gaue a commission and power to his Apostles to cast out diuels, which they according thereunto put in execution: the rules he bade them obserue in that action, was fasting and prayer; and the action it selfe to be done in his name. This power of theirs proceeded not then of any vertue in them, but onely in him who directed them; as was clearely prooued by *Iudas* his hauing as great power in that commission, as any of the rest. It is easie then to be vnderstood that the casting out of diuels, is by the vertue of fasting and prayer, and in calling of the Name of God, suppose many imperfections be in the person that is the instrument, as Christ himselfe teacheth vs of the power that false prophets shall haue to cast out diuels. It is no wonder then, these respects of this action being considered, that it may be possible to the Papists, though erring in sundry points of Religion to accomplish this, if they vse the right forme prescribed by Christ herein: For what the worse is that action that they erre in other things, more then their Baptisme is the worse that they erre in the other Sacrament, and haue eiked many vaine freittes to the Baptisme it selfe.

PHI. Surely it is no little wonder that God should permit the bodies of any of the faithfull to be so dishonoured, as to be a dwelling place to that vncleane spirit.

EPI. There is it which I told right now, would proue and strengthen my argument of the diuels entring into the dead bodies of the faithfull: For if he is permitted to enter into their liuing bodies, euen when they are ioyned with the soule; how much more will God permit him to enter into their dead carions, which is no more man, but the filthie and corruptible caise of man? For as Christ saith, *It is not any thing that enters within man that defiles him, but onely that which proceedes and commeth out of him.* Marke 7.

CHAP.

CHAP. V. ARGV.

The description of the fourth kinde of Spirits, called the Phairie: *What is possible therein, and what is but illusions. How farre this Dialogue entreates of all these things, and to what end.*

PHILOMATHES.

NOw I pray you come on to that fourth kinde of Spirits.

EPI. That fourth kinde of Spirits, which by the Gentiles was called *Diana*, and her wandering court, and amongst vs was called the *Phairie* (as I told you) or our good neighbours, was one of the sorts of illusions that was rifest in the time of Papistrie: for although it was holden odious to prophesie by the diuel, yet whom these kinde of Spirits caried away, and informed, they were thought to be sonsiest and of best life. To speake of the many vaine trattles founded vpon that illusion, How there was a King and Queene of *Phairie*, of such a iolly court and traine as they had, how they had a teynd, and duetie, as it were, of all goods, how they naturally rode and went, eate and dranke, and did all other actions like naturall men and women, I thinke it liker *Virgils Campi Elysij*, nor any thing that ought to be beleeued by Christians, except in generall, that as I spake sundrie times before, the diuell illuded the senses of sundrie simple creatures, in making them beleeue that they saw and heard such things as were nothing so indeed.

PHI. But how can it be then, that sundrie *Witches* haue gone to death with that confession, that they haue bene transported with the *Phairie* to such a hill, which opening, they went in, and there saw a faire Queene, who being now lighter, gaue them a stone that had sundrie vertues, which at sundrie times hath bene produced in iudgement?

EPI. I say that, euen as I said before of that imaginar rauishing of the Spirit foorth of the bodie: For may not the diuel obiect to their fantasie, their senses being dulled, and as it were asleepe, such hilles and houses within them, such glistering courtes and traines, and whatsoeuer such like wherewith he pleaseth to delude them, and in the meane time their bodies being senseleſſe, to conuey in their hand any stone or such like thing, which he makes them to imagine to haue receiued in such a place.

PHI. But what say ye to their foretelling the death of sundrie persons, whom they alleage to haue seene in these places? that is, a sooth-dreame (as they say) since they see it walking.

EPI. I thinke that either they haue not bene sharpely enough examined, that gaue so blunt a reason for their prophesie, or otherwise, I thinke it likewise as possible that the diuel may prophesie to them when he deceiues their imaginations in that sort, as well as when hee plainely speakes vnto them at other times: for their prophesying, is but by a kind of vision,

as

as it were, wherein he commonly counterfeites God among the Ethnicks, as I told you before.

PHI. I would know now whether these kinds of Spirits may onely appeare to *Witches*, or if they may also appeare to any other.

EPI. They may doe to both; to the innocent sort, either to affray them, or to seeme to be a better sort of folkes nor vncleane Spirits are; and to the *Witches* to be a colour of safetie for them, that ignorant Magistrates may not punish them for it, as I told euen now: But as the one sort, for being perforce troubled with them ought to be pitied, so ought the other sort (who may be discerned by their taking vpon them to prophesie by them,) that sort, I say, ought as seuerely to be punished as any other *Witches*, and rather the more, that they goe dissemblingly to worke.

PHI. And what makes the spirits haue so different names from others?

EPI. Euen the knauerie of that same diuell; who as he illudes the *Necromancers* with innumerable feined names for him and his angels, as in speciall, making *Satan*, *Beelzebub*, and *Lucifer*, to bee three sundry spirits, where wee finde the two former, but diuers names giuen to the Prince of all the rebelling Angels by the Scripture; as by Christ, the Prince of all the diuels is called *Beelzebub* in that place, which I alleaged against the power of any hereticques to cast out diuels. By *Iohn* in the Reuelation, the old tempter is called *Satan the Prince of all the euill Angels*: And the last, to wit, *Lucifer*, is but by allegorie taken from *the day Starre* (so named in diuers places of the Scriptures) because of his excellencie (I meane the Prince of them) in his creation before his fall; euen so I say hee deceiues the Witches, by attributing to himselfe diuers names; as if euery diuers shape that he transformes himselfe in, were a diuers kinde of spirit.

PHI. But I haue heard many moe strange tales of this *Phairie*, nor ye haue yet told me.

EPI. As well I doe in that, as I did in all the rest of my discourse: For because the ground of this conference of ours, proceeded of your speering at me at our meeting: if there was such a thing as Witches or spirits: and if they had any power: I therefore haue framed my whole discourse, onely to proue that such things are and may be, by such number of examples as I shew to be possible by reason, and keepe me from dipping any further in playing the part of a Dictionarie, to tell what euer I haue read or heard in that purpose, which both would exceede faith, and rather would seeme to teach such vnlawfull artes, nor to disallow and condemne them, as it is the duetie of all Christians to doe.

CHAP. VI. ARG.

Of the tryall and punishment of Witches: What sort of accusation ought to be admitted against them: What is the cause of the increasing so farre of their number in this aage.

PHILOMATHES.

THen to make an end of our conference, since I see it drawes late, what forme of punishment thinke yee merite these *Magicians* and Witches? For I see that ye account them to be all alike guiltie.

EPI. They ought to be put to death according to the Law of God, the ciuill and imperiall Law, and municipall Law of all Christian nations.

PHI. But what kinde of death I pray you?

EPI. It is commonly vsed by fire, but that is an indifferent thing to be vsed in euery countrey, according to the Law or custome thereof.

PHI. But ought no sexe, aage nor rancke to be exempted?

EPI. None at all (being so vsed by the lawfull magistrate) for it is the highest point of Idolatry, wherein no exception is admitted by the law of God.

PHI. Then barnes may not be spared.

EPI. Yea, not a haire the lesse of my conclusion: For they are not that capable of reason as to practise such things: And for any being in company and not reueiling thereof, their lesse and ignorant aage will no doubt excuse them.

PHI. I see ye condemne them all that are of the counsell of such craftes.

EPI. No doubt, for as I said, speaking of *Magie*, the consulters, trusters in, ouer-seers, interteiners or stirrers vp of these craftes-folkes, are equally guiltie with themselues that are the practisers.

PHI. Whether may the Prince then, or supreame Magistrate, spare or ouer-see any that are guilty of that craft, vpon some great respects knowen to him?

EPI. The Prince or Magistrate for further trials cause, may continue the punishing of them such a certaine space as he thinkes conuenient: But in the end to spare the life, and not to strike when God bids strike, and so seuerely punish in so odious a fault and treason against God, it is not onely vnlawfull, but doubtlesse no lesse sinne in that Magistrate, nor it was in *Saules* sparing of *Agag*; and so comparable to the sinne of Witch-craft it selfe, as *Samuel* alledged at that time.

1 Sam. 15.

PHI. Surely then, I thinke since this crime ought to be so seuerely punished, Iudges ought to beware to condemne any, but such as they are sure are guiltie, neither should the clattering report of a carling serue in so weightie a case.

EPI.

EPI. Iudges ought indeede to beware whom they condemne: for it is as great a crime (as *Salomon* ſaith,) ***To condemne the innocent, as to let the guiltie escape free***; neither ought the report of any one infamous perſon, be admitted for a ſufficient proofe, which can ſtand of no law. Prou.17.

PHI. And what may a number then of guilty perſons confeſſions, worke againſt one that is accuſed?

EPI. The Aſſiſe muſt ſerue for interpretour of our law in that reſpect: But in my opinion, ſince in a matter of treaſon againſt the Prince, barnes or wiues, or neuer ſo diffamed perſons, may of our law ſerue for ſufficient witneſſes and proofes; I thinke ſurely that by a farre greater reaſon, ſuch witneſſes may be ſufficient in matters of high treaſon againſt God: For who but Witches can be prooues, and ſo witneſſes of the doings of Witches?

PHI. Indeed, I trow they will be loath to put any honeſt man vpon their counſell: But what if they accuſe folke to haue bene preſent at their Imaginar conuentions in the ſpirit, when their bodies lye ſenceleſſe, as ye haue ſaid?

EPI. I thinke they are not a haire the leſſe guiltie: For the Diuel durſt neuer haue borrowed their ſhadow or ſimilitude to that turne, if their conſent had not beene at it: And the conſent in theſe turnes is death of the lawe.

PHI. Then *Samuel* was a Witch: For the diuell reſembled his ſhape, and played his perſon in giuing reſponſe to *Saul*.

EPI. *Samuel* was dead as well before that; and ſo none could ſlaunder him with medling in that vnlawful arte. For the cauſe why, as I take it, that God will not permit Satan to vſe the ſhapes of ſimilitudes of any innocent perſons at ſuch vnlawfull times, is, that God will not permit that any innocent perſons ſhalbe ſlandered with that vile defection: for then the diuell would finde waies anew, to calumniate the beſt. And this wee haue in proofe by them that are carried with the *Phairie*, who neuer ſee the ſhadowes of any in that Court, but of them that thereafter are tryed to haue beene brethren and ſiſters of that craft: And this was likewiſe prooued by the confeſſion of a young Laſſe, troubled with ſpirits, laid on her by Witchcraft: that although ſhe ſaw the ſhapes of diuers men and women troubling her, and naming the perſons whom theſe ſhadowes repreſent: yet neuer one of them are found to be innocent, but all clearely tryed to bee moſt guiltie, and the moſt part of them confeſſing the ſame. And beſides that, I thinke it hath beene ſeldome heard tell of, that any, whom perſons guiltie of that crime accuſed, as hauing knowen them to be their marrowes by eye-ſight, and not by heare-ſay, but ſuch as were ſo accuſed of Witchcraft, could not be clearely tried vpon them, were at the leaſt publikely knowen to be of a very euill life and reputation: ſo iealous is God I ſay, of the fame of them that are innocent in ſuch cauſes. And beſides that, there are two other good helps that may be vſed for their triall: The one is, the finding of their marke, and the trying the inſenſiblenes therof: The other

is their fleeting on the water: for as in a ſecret murther, if the dead carkaſſe bee at any time thereafter handled by the murtherer, it will guſh out of bloud, as if the bloud were crying to the heauen for reuenge of the murtherer, God hauing appointed that ſecret ſupernaturall ſigne, for triall of that ſecret vnnaturall crime, ſo it appeares that God hath appointed (for a ſupernaturall ſigne of the monſtrous impietie of Witches) that the water ſhall refuſe to receiue them in her boſome, that haue ſhaken off them the ſacred water of Baptiſme, and wilfully refuſed the benefite thereof: No, not ſo much as their eyes are able to ſhed teares (threaten and torture them as ye pleaſe) while firſt they repent (God not permitting them to diſſemble their obſtinacie in ſo horrible a crime) albeit the women-kind eſpecially, be able otherwayes to ſhed teares at euery light occaſion when they will, yea, although it were diſſemblingly like the Crocodiles.

PHI. Well, wee haue made this conference to laſt as long as leiſure would permit: and to conclude then, ſince I am to take my leaue of you, I pray God to purge this countrey of theſe diuelliſh practiſes: for they were neuer ſo rife in theſe parts, as they are now.

EPI. I pray God that ſo be too. But the cauſes are ouer-manifeſt, that make them to be ſo rife: For the great wickednes of the people on the one part, procures this horrible defection, whereby God iuſtly puniſheth ſinne by a greater iniquitie: and on the other part, the conſummation of the world, and our deliuerance drawing neere, makes Satan to rage the more in his inſtruments, knowing his kingdome to be ſo neere an end. And ſo farewell for this time.

BAΣI-

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ.
OR
HIS MAIESTIES INSTRVCTIONS TO HIS DEAREST SONNE, *HENRY* THE PRINCE.

THE ARGVMENT.

SONNET.

GOD giues not Kings the ſtile of *Gods* in vaine,
For on his Throne his Scepter doe they ſwey:
And as their ſubiects ought them to obey,
So Kings ſhould feare and ſerue their God againe:
If then ye would enioy a happie raigne,
Obſerue the Statutes of your heauenly King,
And from his Law, make all your Lawes to ſpring:
Since his Lieutenant here ye ſhould remaine,
Reward the iuſt, be ſtedfaſt, true, and plaine,
Repreſſe the proud, maintayning aye the right,
Walke alwayes ſo, as euer in his ſight,
Who guardes the godly, plaguing the prophane:
And ſo ye ſhall in Princely vertues ſhine,
Reſembling right your mightie King Diuine.

TO HENRY MY DEAREST SONNE, AND NATVRAL SVCCESSOVR.

WHom-to can so rightly appertaine *this Booke of instructions to a Prince in all the points of his calling, aswell generall, as a Christian towards God; as particular, as a King towards his people? Whom-to, I say, can it so iustly appertaine, as vnto you my dearest Sonne? Since I the authour thereof, as your naturall Father, must be carefull for your godly and vertuous education, as my eldest Sonne, and the first fruits of Gods blessing towards mee in my posteritie: and as a King must timously prouide for your trayning vp in all the points of a Kings Office; since yee are my naturall and lawfull successour therein: that being rightly informed hereby, of the waight of your burthen, ye may in time beginne to consider, that being borne to be a king, ye are rather borne to* onus, *then* honos: *not excelling all your people so farre in ranke and honour, as in daily care and hazardous paines-taking, for the dutifull administration of that great office, that God hath laide vpon your shoulders. Laying so a just symmetrie and proportion, betwixt the height of your honourable place, and the heauie waight of your great charge: and consequently,*

ſequently, in caſe of failing, which God forbid, of the ſadneſſe of your fall, according to the proportion of that height. I haue therefore for the greater eaſe to your memory, and that yee may at the firſt, caſt vp any part that yee haue to doe with, deuided this Treatiſe in three parts. The firſt teacheth you your duetie towards God as a Chriſtian: the next, your duetie in your Office as a King: and the third informeth you how to behaue your ſelfe in indifferent things, which of them-ſelues are neither right nor wrong, but according as they are rightly or wrong vſed; and yet will ſerue according to your behauiour therein, to augment or empaire your fame and authoritie at the handes of your people. Receiue and welcome this Booke then, as a faithfull Præceptour and counſellour vnto you: which, becauſe my affaires will not permit mee euer to bee preſent with you, I ordaine to bee a reſident faithfull admoniſher of you: And becauſe the houre of death is vncertaine to mee, as vnto all fleſh, I leaue it as my Teſtament and latter will vnto you. Chargeing you in the preſence of GOD, and by the fatherly authoritie I haue ouer you, that yee keepe it euer with you, as carefully, as Alexander *did the* Iliads *of* Homer. *Yee will finde it a iuſt and impartiall counſellour; neither flattering you in any vice, nor importuning you at vnmeete times. It will not come vn-called, neither ſpeake vnſpeered at: and yet conferring with it when yee are at quiet, yee ſhall ſay with* Scipio, *that yee are* nunquam minûs ſolus, quàm cum ſolus. *To conclude then, I charge you, as euer yee thinke to deſerue my Fatherly bleſſing, to follow and put in practiſe, as farre as lyeth in you, the præcepts hereafter following. And if yee follow the contrary courſe, I take the Great GOD to record, that this Booke ſhall one day bee a witneſſe betwixt mee and you; and ſhall procure to bee ratified in Heauen, the curſe that in that caſe here I giue vnto you. For I proteſt before that Great GOD, I had rather not bee a Father, and childleſſe, then bee a Father of wicked children. But hoping, yea, euen promiſing vnto my ſelfe, that GOD, who in his great bleſſing ſent you vnto mee; ſhall in the*

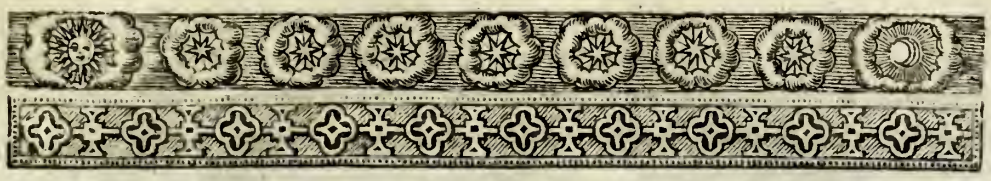
ſame

ſame bleſsing, as hee hath giuen mee a Sonne; ſo make him a good and a godly Sonne; not repenting him of his Mercie ſhewed vnto mee, I end, with my earneſt prayer to GOD, to worke effectually into you, the fruites of that bleſsing, which here from my heart I beſtow vpon you.

Your louing Father

I. R.

TO



TO THE READER.

Haritable Reader, it is one of the golden Sentences, which Christ our Sauiour vttered to his Apostles, that there is nothing so couered, that shal not be reuealed, neither so hidde, that shall not be knowen: and whatsoeuer they haue spoken in darkenesse, should be heard in the light: and that which they had spoken in the eare in secret place, should be publikely preached on the tops of the houses: *And since he hath said it, most trew must it be, since the authour thereof is the fountaine and very being of trewth: which should mooue all godly and honest men, to be very warie in all their secretest actions, and whatsoeuer middesses they vse for attaining to their most wished ends; lest otherwise how auowable soeuer the marke be, whereat they aime, the middesses being discouered to be shamefull whereby they climbe, it may turne to the disgrace both of the good worke it selfe, and of the authour thereof; since the deepest of our secrets, cannot be hidde from that all seeing eye, and penetrant light, piercing through the bowels of very darkenesse it selfe.* Luk. 12.

But as this is generally trew in the actions of all men, so is it more specially trew in the affaires of Kings: for Kings being publike persons, by reason of their office and authority, are as it were set (as it was said of old) vpon a publike stage, in the sight of all the people; where all the beholders eyes are attentiuely bent to looke and pry in the least circumstance of their secretest drifts: Which should make Kings the more carefull not to harbour the secretest thought in their minde, but such as in the owne time they shall not be ashamed openly to auouch; assuring themselues that Time the mother of Veritie, will in the due season bring her owne daughter to perfection.

The trew practise hereof, I haue as a King oft found in my owne person, though I thanke God, neuer to my shame, hauing laide my count, euer to walke as in the eyes of the Almightie, examining euer so the secretest of my drifts, before I gaue them course, as how they might some day bide the touchstone of a publike triall. And amongst the rest of my secret actions, which haue (vnlooked for of me) come to publike knowledge, it hath so fared with my ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ *directed to my eldest son; which I wrote for exercise of mine owne ingyne, and instruction of him, who is appointed by God (I hope) to sit on my Throne after me: For the purpose and matter thereof being onely fit for a King, as teaching him his office; and the person whom for it was ordained, a Kings heire, whose secret counsellor and faithfull admonisher it must be, I thought it no wayes conuenient nor comely, that either it should to all be proclaimed,*

proclaimed, which to one onely appertained (and specially being a messenger betwixt two so coniunct persons) or yet that the mould whereupon he should frame his future behauiour, when hee comes both vnto the perfection of his yeeres, and possession of his inheritance, should before the hand be made common to the people, the subiect of his future happy gouernment. And therefore for the more secret and close keeping of them, I onely permitted seuen of them to be printed, the Printer being first sworne for secrecie: and these seuen I dispersed amongst some of my trustiest seruants, to be keeped closely by them, lest in case by the iniquitie or wearing of time, any of them might haue beene lost, yet some of them might haue remained after me, as witnesses to my Sonne, both of the honest integritie of my heart, and of my fatherly affection and naturall care towards him. But since contrary to my intention and expectation, as I haue alreadie said, this Booke is now vented, and set foorth to the publike view of the world, and consequently subiect to euery mans censure, as the current of his affection leades him; I am now forced, as well for resisting to the malice of the children of enuie, who like waspes sucke venome out of euery wholsome herbe; as for the satisfaction of the godly honest sort, in any thing that they may mistake therein, both to publish and spread the true copies thereof, for defacing of the false copies that are alreadie spread, as I am enformed; as likewise by this Preface, to cleare such parts thereof, as in respect of the concised shortnesse of my Style, may be mis-interpreted therein.

To come then particularly to the matter of my Booke, there are two speciall great points, which (as I am informed) the malicious sort of men haue detracted therein; and some of the honest sort haue seemed a little to mistake: whereof the first and greatest is, that some sentences therein should seeme to furnish grounds to men, to doubt of my sinceritie in that Religion, which I haue euer constantly professed: the other is, that in some parts thereof I should seeme to nourish in my minde, a vindictiue resolution against England, *or at the least, some principals there, for the Queene my mothers quarrell.*

The first calumnie (most grieuous indeed) is grounded vpon the sharpe and bitter wordes, that therein are vsed in the description of the humors of Puritanes, and rash-headie Preachers, that thinke it their honour to contend with Kings, and perturbe whole kingdomes. The other point is onely grounded vpon the strait charge I giue my Sonne, not to heare nor suffer any vnreuerent speeches or bookes against any of his parents or progenitors: wherein I doe alledge my owne experience anent the Queene my mother; affirming, that I neuer found any that were of perfit aage the time of her reigne here, so stedfastly trew to me in all my troubles, as these that constantly kept their allegiance to her in her time. But if the charitable Reader will aduisedly consider, both the methode and matter of my Treatise, he will easily iudge, what wrong I haue sustained by the carping at both: For my Booke, suppose very small, being diuided in three seuerall parts; the first part thereof onely treats of a Kings duety towards God in Religion, wherein I haue so clearely made profession of my Religion, calling it the Religion wherein I was brought vp, and euer made profession of, and wishing him euer to continue in the same, as the onely trew forme of Gods worship; that I would haue thought my sincere plainnesse in that first part vpon that subiect, should haue ditted the mouth of the most enuious Momus, *that euer*

hell

hell did hatch, from barking at any other part of my booke vpon that ground, except they would alledge me to be contrarie to my selfe, which in so small a volume would smell of too great weakenesse, and sliprinesse of memory. And the second part of my booke, teaches my Sonne how to vse his Office, in the administration of Iustice and Politicke Gouernment: The third onely containing a Kings outward behauiour in indifferent things; what agreeance and conformitie hee ought to keepe betwixt his outward behauiour in these things, and the vertuous qualities of his minde; and how they should serue for trunsh-men, to interprete the inward disposition of the minde, to the eyes of them that cannot see farther within him, and therefore must onely iudge of him by the outward appearance: So as if there were no more to be looked into, but the very methode and order of the booke, it will sufficiently cleare me of that first and grieuousest imputation, in the point of Religion: since in the first part, where Religion is onely treated of, I speake so plainely. And what in other parts I speake of Puritanes, it is onely of their morall faults, in that part where I speake of Policie: declaring when they contemne the Law and souereigne authoritie, what exemplare punishment they deserue for the same. And now as to the matter it selfe whereupon this scandall is taken, that I may sufficiently satisfie all honest men, and by a iust Apologie raise vp a brasen wall or bulwarke against all the darts of the enuious, I will the more narrowly rip vp the words, whereat they seeme to be somewhat stomacked.

First then, as to the name of Puritanes, I am not ignorant that the style thereof doeth properly belong onely to that vile sect amongst the Anabaptists, called the Family of loue; because they thinke themselues onely pure, and in a maner without sinne, the onely trwe Church, and onely worthy to be participant of the Sacraments, and all the rest of the world to be but abomination in the sight of God. Of this speciall sect I principally meane, when I speake of Puritans; diuers of them, as Browne, Penry *and others, hauing at sundrie times come into Scotland, to sow their popple amongst vs (and from my heart I wish, that they had left no schollers behinde them, who by their fruits will in the owne time be manifested) and partly indeede, I giue this style to such brain-sicke and headie Preachers their disciples and followers, as refusing to be called of that sect, yet participate too much with their humours, in maintaining the aboue-mentioned errours; not onely agreeing with the generall rule of all Anabaptists, in the contempt of the ciuill Magistrate, and in leaning to their owne dreams and reuelations; but particularly with this sect, in accounting all men profane that sweare not to all their fantasies, in making for euery particular question of the policie of the Church, as great commotion, as if the article of the Trinitie were called in controuersie, in making the scriptures to be ruled by their conscience, and not their conscience by the Scripture; and he that denies the least iote of their grounds,* sit tibi tanquam ethnicus & publicanus, *not worthy to enioy the benefite of breathing, much lesse to participate with them of the Sacraments: and before that any of their grounds be impugned, let King, people, Law and all be trode vnder foote: Such holy warres are to be preferred to an vngodly peace: no, in such cases Christian Princes are not onely to be resisted vnto, but not to be prayed for, for prayer must come of Faith; and it is reuealed to their consciences, that GOD will heare no prayer for such a Prince. Iudge then, Christian Reader, if I wrong this sort of people, in giuing them the stile of that sect, whose errours they imitate: and since they are contented*

to

to weare their liuerie, let them not be ashamed to borrow also their name. It is onely of this kinde of men, that in this booke I write so sharply; and whom I wish my Sonne to punish, in-case they refuse to obey the Law, and will not cease to sturre vp a rebellion: Whom against I haue written the more bitterly, in respect of diuers famous libels, and iniurious speaches spred by some of them, not onely dishonourably inuectiue against all Christian Princes, but euen reprochfull to our profession and Religion, in respect they are come out vnder coulour thereof: and yet were neuer answered but by Papists, who generally medle aswell against them, as the religion it selfe; whereby the skandale was rather doubled, then taken away. But on the other part, I protest vpon mine honour, I meane it not generally of all Preachers, or others, that like better of the single forme of policie in our Church, then of the many Ceremonies in the Church of England; that are perswaded, that their Bishops smell of a Papall supremacie, that the Surplise, the cornerd cap, and such like, are the outward badges of Popish errours. No, I am so farre from being contentious in these things (which for my owne part I euer esteemed as indifferent) as I doe equally loue and honour the learned and graue men of either of these opinions. It can no wayes become me to pronounce so lightly a sentence, in so old a controuersie. Wee all (God be praised) doe agree in the grounds; and the bitterneſse of men vpon such questions, doeth but trouble the peace of the Church; and giues aduantage and entry to the Papists by our diuision: But towards them, I onely vse this prouision, that where the Law is otherwayes, they may content themselues soberly and quietly with their owne opinions, not resisting to the authoritie, nor breaking the Law of the Countrey; neither aboue all, sturring any rebellion or schisme: but possessing their soules in peace, let them preasse by patience, and well grounded reasons, either to perswade all the rest to like of their iudgements; or where they see better grounds on the other part, not to bee ashamed peaceably to incline thereunto, laying aside all præoccupied opinions.

And that this is the onely meaning of my Booke, and not any coldnesse or cracke in Religion, that place doeth plainely witnesse, where, after I haue spoken of the faults in our Ecclesiasticall estate, I exhort my sonne to be beneficiall vnto the good-men of the Ministrie; praising God there, that there is presently a sufficient number of good men of them in this kingdome: and yet are they all knowne to be against the forme of the English Church. Yea, so farre I am in that place from admitting corruption in Religion, as I wish him in promoouing them, to vse such caution, as may preserue their estate from creeping to corruption; euer vsing that forme through the whole Booke, where euer I speake of bad Preachers, terming them some of the Ministers, and not Ministers or Ministrie in generall. And to conclude this point of Religion, what indifferencie of Religion can Momus *call that in mee, where, speaking of my sonnes marriage (in-case it pleased God before that time to cut the threed of my life) I plainly forewarne him of the inconuenients that were like to ensew, incase he should marry any that be of a different profession in Religion from him: notwithstanding that the number of Princes professing our Religion be so small, as it is hard to foresee, how he can be that way, meetly matched according to his ranke.*

And as for the other point, that by some parts in this booke, it should appeare, that I doe nourish in my minde, a vindictiue resolution against England, or some principals there; it is surely more then wonderfull vnto me, vpon what grounds they can haue

haue gathered ſuch concluſions. For as vpon the one part, I neither by name nor deſcription poynt out England in that part of my diſcourſe; ſo vpon the other, I plainly bewray my meaning to be of Scottiſh-men, where I conclude that purpoſe in theſe termes: That the loue I beare to my Sonne, hath mooued me to be ſo plaine in this argument: for ſo that I diſcharge my conſcience to him in vttering the verity, I care not what any traitour or treaſon-allower doe thinke of it. And Engliſh-men could not thereby be meant, ſince they could be no traitours, where they ought no alleageance. I am not ignorant of a wiſe and princely apophthegme, which the ſame Queene of England vttered about the time of her owne Coronation. But the drift of that diſcourſe doth fully cleare my intention, being onely grounded vpon that precept to my Sonne, that he ſhould not permit any vnreuerent detracting of his prædeceſſours; bringing in that purpoſe of my mother onely for an example of my experience anent Scottiſh-men, without vſing any perſwaſion to him of reuenge. For a Kings giuing of any fault the dew ſtile, inferres no reduction of the faulters pardon. No, I am by a degree nearer of kinne vnto my mother then he is, neither thinke I my ſelfe, either that vnworthie, or that neere my end, that I neede to make ſuch a Dauidicall teſtament; ſince I haue euer thought it the dewtie of a worthie Prince, rather with a pike, then a penne, to write his iuſt reuenge: But in this matter I haue no delite to be large, wiſhing all men to iudge of my future proiects, according to my by-paſt actions.

Thus hauing as much inſiſted in the clearing of theſe two points, as will (I hope) giue ſufficient ſatisfaction to all honeſt men, and leauing the enuious to the foode of their owne venome; I will heartily pray thee, louing Reader, charitably to conceiue of my honeſt intention in this Booke. I know the greateſt part of the people of this whole Iſle, haue beene very curious for a ſight thereof: ſome for the loue they beare me, either being particularly acquainted with me, or by a good report that perhappes they haue heard of me; and therefore longed to ſee any thing, that proceeded from that authour whom they ſo loued and honoured; ſince bookes are viue Idees of the authours minde. Some onely for meere curioſitie, that thinke it their honour to know all new things, were curious to glut their eyes therewith, onely that they might vaunt them to haue ſeene it: and ſome fraughted with cauſleſſe enuie at the Authour, did greedily ſearch out the booke, thinking their ſtomacke fit ynough, for turning neuer ſo wholeſome foode into noyſome and infectiue humours: So as this their great concurrence in curioſitie (though proceeding from farre different complexions) hath enforced the vn-timous diuulgating of this Booke, farre contrarie to my intention, as I haue alreadie ſaid. To which Hydra of diuerſly-enclined ſpectatours, I haue no targe to oppone but plaineneſſe, patience, and ſinceritie: plaineneſſe, for reſoluing and ſatisfying of the firſt ſort; patience, for to beare with the ſhallowneſſe of the next; and ſinceritie, to defie the malice of the third with-all. Though I cannot pleaſe all men therein, I am contented, ſo that I onely pleaſe the vertuous ſort: and though they alſo finde not euery thing therein, ſo fully to anſwere their expectation, as the argument would ſeeme to require; although I would wiſh them modeſtly to remember, that God hes not beſtowed all his gifts vpon one, but parted them by a iuſtice diſtributiue; and that many eyes ſee more then one; and that the varietie of mens mindes is ſuch, that tot capita tot ſenſus; yea, and that euen the very faces, that God hath by nature brought foorth in the world, doe euery one in ſome of their particular lineaments, differ from

any other: yet in trewth it was not my intention in handling of this purpose (as it is easie to perceiue) fully to set downe heere all such grounds, as might out of the best writers haue beene alledged, and out of my owne inuention and experience added, for the perfite institution of a King: but onely to giue some such precepts to my owne Sonne, for the gouernement of this kingdome, as was meetest for him to be instructed in, and best became me to be the informer of.

If I in this Booke haue beene too particularly plaine, impute it to the necessitie of the subiect, not so much being ordained for the institution of a Prince in generall, as I haue said, as containing particular precepts to my Sonne in speciall: whereof he could haue made but a generall vse, if they had not contained the particular diseases of this kingdome, with the best remedies for the same which it became me best as a King, hauing learned both the theoricke and practicke thereof, more plainely to expresse, then any simple schoole-man, that onely knowes matters of kingdomes by contemplation.

But if in some places it seeme too obscure, impute it to the shortnesse thereof, being both for the respect of my selfe, and of my Sonne, constrained there-unto: my owne respect, for fault of leasure, being so continually occupied in the affaires of my office, as my great bu then, and restlesse fashery is more then knowen, to all that knowes or heares of me: for my Sonnes respect, because I know by my self, that a Prince so long as he is young, wil be so caried away with some sort of delight or other, that he cannot patiently abide the reading of any large volume: and when he comes to a ful maturity of aage, he must be so busied in the actiue part of his charge, as he will not be permitted to bestow many houres vpon the cõtemplatiue part therof: So as it was neither fit for him, nor possible for me, to haue made this Treatise any more ample then it is. Indeed I am litle beholden to the curiositie of some, who thinking it too large alreadie (as appears) for lacke of leisure to copy it, drew some notes out of it, for speeds sake; putting in the one halfe of the purpose, and leauing out the other: not vnlike the man that alledged that part of the Psalme, non est Deus, *but left out the præceeding words,* Dixit insipiens in corde suo. *And of these notes making a little pamphlet (lacking both my methode and halfe of my matter) entituled it, forsooth,* the Kings Testament, *as if I had eiked a third Testament of my owne to the two that are in the holy Scriptures. It is trew that in a place thereof, for affirmation of the purpose I am speaking of to my Sonne, I bring my selfe in there, as speaking vpon my Testament: for in that sense, euery record in write of a mans opinion in any thing (in respect that papers out-liue their authours) is as it were a Testament of that mans will in that case: and in that sense it is, that in that place I call this Treatise a Testament. But from any particular sentence in a booke, to giue the booke it selfe a title, is as ridiculous, as to style the booke of the Psalmes, the booke of* Dixit insipiens, *because with these wordes one of them doeth begin.*

Well, leauing these new baptizers and blockers of other mens books, to their owne follies, I returne to my purpose, anent the shortnesse of this booke, suspecting that all my excuses for the shortnesse thereof, shall not satisfie some, especially in our neighbour countrey: who thought, that as I haue so narrowly in this Treatise touched all the principall sicknesses in our kingdome, with ouertures for the remedies thereof, as I said before: so looked they to haue found something therein, that should haue touched the sickenesses of their state, in the like sort. But they will easily excuse me thereof, if they will

will consider the forme I haue vsed in this Treatise; wherein I onely teach my Son, out of my owne experience, what forme of gouernment is fittest for this kingdome: and in one part thereof speaking of the borders, I plainely there doe excuse my selfe, that I will speake nothing of the state of England, *as a matter wherein I neuer had experience. I know indeed, no kingdome lackes her owne diseases, and likewise what interest I haue in the prosperitie of that state: for although I would be silent, my blood and discent doeth sufficiently proclaime it. But notwithstanding, since there is a lawfull Queene there presently reigning, who hath so long with so great wisedome and felicitie gouerned her kingdomes, as (I must in trew sinceritie confesse) the like hath not beene read nor heard of, either in our time, or since the dayes of the Romane Emperour* Augustus; *it could no wayes become me, farre inferiour to her in knowledge and experience, to be a busie-body in other princes matters, and to fish in other folkes waters, as the prouerbe is: No, I hope by the contrary (with Gods grace) euer to keepe that Christian rule, To doe as I would be done to: and I doubt nothing, yea euen in her name I dare promise, by the bypast experience of her happy gouernment, as I haue already said, that no good subiect shall be more carefull to enforme her of any corruptions stollen in in her state, then shee shall be zealous for the discharge of her conscience and honour, to see the same purged, and restored to the ancient integritie; and further during her time, becomes me least of any to meddle in.*

And thus hauing resolued all the doubts, so farre as I can imagine, may be moued against this Treatise; it onely rests to pray thee (charitable Reader) to interprete fauourably this birth of mine, according to the integritie of the author, and not looking for perfection in the worke it selfe. As for my part, I onely glory thereof in this point, that I trust no sort of vertue is condemned, nor any degree of vice allowed in it: and that (though it be not perhaps so gorgeously decked, and richly attired as it ought to be) it is at the least rightly proportioned in all the members, without any monstrous deformitie in any of them: and specially that since it was first written in secret, and is now published, not of ambition, but of a kinde of necessitie; it must be taken of all men, for the trew image of my very minde, and forme of the rule, which I haue prescribed to my selfe and mine: Which as in all my actions I haue hitherto preassed to expresse, so farre as the nature of my charge, and the condition of time would permit me: so beareth it a discouery of that which may be looked for at my hand, and whereto euen in my secret thoughts, I haue engaged my selfe for the time to come. And thus in a firme trust, that it shall please God, who with my being and Crowne, gaue me this minde, to maintaine and augment the same in me and my posteritie, to the discharge of our conscience, the maintenance of our Honour, and weale of our people, I bid thee heartily farewell.

OF A KINGS CHRISTIAN DVETIE TOWARDS GOD.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

The trew ground of good gouernment.

AS he cannot be thought worthy to rule and command others, that cannot rule and dantone his owne proper affections and vnreasonable appetites, so can hee not be thought worthie to gouerne a Christian people, knowing and fearing God, that in his owne person and heart, feareth not and loueth not the Diuine Maiestie. Neither can any thing in his gouernment succeed well with him, (deuise and labour as he list) as comming from a filthie spring, if his person be vnsanctified: for (as that royal Prophet saith) *Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vaine that build it: except the Lord keepe the City, the keepers watch it in vaine*: in respect the blessing of God hath onely power to giue the successe thereunto: and as *Paul* saith, he *planteth, Apollos watereth; but it is God onely that giueth the increase*. Therefore (my Sonne) first of all things, learne to know and loue that God, whom-to ye haue a double obligation; first, for that he made you a man; and next, for that he made you a little GOD to sit on his Throne, and rule ouer other men. Remember, that as in dignitie hee hath erected you aboue others, so ought ye in thankfulnesse towards him, goe as farre beyond all others. A moate in anothers eye, is a beame into yours: a blemish in another, is a leprouse byle into you: and a veniall sinne (as the Papists call it) in another, is a great crime into you. Thinke not therefore, that the highnesse of your dignitie, diminisheth your faults (much lesse giueth you a licence to sinne) but by the contrary your fault shall be aggrauated, according to the height of your dignitie; any sinne that ye commit, not being a single sinne procuring but the fall of one; but being an exemplare sinne,

Psal. 127. 1.

1. Cor. 3. 6.

Double bond of a Prince to God.

The greatnesse of the fault of a Prince.

ſinne, and therefore drawing with it the whole multitude to be guiltie of the ſame. Remember then, that this gliſtering worldly glorie of Kings, is giuen them by God, to teach them to preaſſe ſo to gliſter and ſhine before their people, in all workes of ſanctification and righteouſneſſe, that their perſons as bright lampes of godlineſſe and vertue, may, going in and out before their people, giue light to all their ſteps. Remember alſo, that by the right knowledge, and feare of God (which is *the beginning of Wiſedome*, as *Salomon* ſaith) ye ſhall know all the things neceſſarie for the diſcharge of your duetie, both as a Chriſtian, and as a King; ſeeing in him, as in a mirrour, the courſe of all earthly things, whereof hee is the ſpring and onely mooner.

The trew glorie of Kings.

Prou 9.10.

Now, the onely way to bring you to this knowledge, is diligently to reade his word, and earneſtly to pray for the right vnderſtanding thereof. *Search the Scriptures*, ſayth Chriſt, *for they beare teſtimonie of me*: and, *the whole Scripture*, ſaith Paul, *is giuen by inſpiration of God, and is profitable to teach, to conuince, to correct, and to inſtruct in righteouſneſſe; that the man of God may be abſolute, being made perfite vnto all good workes.* And moſt properly of any other, belongeth the reading thereof vnto Kings, ſince in that part of Scripture, where the godly Kings are firſt made mention of, that were ordained to rule ouer the people of God, there is an expreſſe and moſt notable exhortation and commandement giuen them, to reade and meditate in the Law of God. I ioyne to this, the carefull hearing of the doctrine with attendance and reuerence: for, *faith commeth by hearing*, ſayth the ſame Apoſtle. But aboue all, beware ye wreſt not the word to your owne appetite, as ouer many doe, making it like a bell to ſound as ye pleaſe to interprete: but by the contrary, frame all your affections, to follow preciſely the rule there ſet downe.

The meanes to know God.

Iohn 5.39.

2.Tim.3.16. 17.

Deut.17.

Rom.10.17.

The whole Scripture chiefly containeth two things: a command, and a prohibition, to doe ſuch things, and to abſtaine from the contrary. Obey in both; neither thinke it enough to abſtaine from euill, and do no good; nor thinke not that if yee doe many good things, it may ſerue you for a cloake to mixe euill turnes therewith. And as in theſe two points, the whole Scripture principally conſiſteth, ſo in two degrees ſtandeth the whole ſeruice of God by man: interiour, or vpward; exteriour, or downward: the firſt, by prayer in faith towards God; the next, by workes flowing therefra before the world: which is nothing elſe, but the exerciſe of Religion towards God, and of equitie towards your neighbour.

Wherein chiefely the whole Scripture conſiſteth.

Two degrees of the ſeruice of God.

As for the particular points of Religion, I need not to dilate them; I am no hypocrite, follow my footſteps, and your owne preſent education therein. I thanke God, I was neuer aſhamed to giue account of my profeſſion, howſoeuer the malicious lying tongues of ſome haue traduced me: and if my conſcience had not reſolued me, that all my Religion preſently profeſſed by me and my kingdome, was grounded vpon the plaine wordes of the Scripture, without the which all points of Religion are

A regardable paterne.

ſuperfluous, as any thing contrary to the ſame is abomination, I had neuer outwardly auowed it, for pleaſure or awe of any fleſh.

And as for the points of equitie towards your neigbour (becauſe that will fall in properly, vpon the ſecond part concerning a Kings office) I leaue it to the owne roume.

Religion.

For the firſt part then of mans ſeruice to his God, which is Religion, that is, the worſhip of God according to his reuealed will, it is wholly grounded vpon the Scripture, as I haue alreadie ſaid, quickened by faith, and conſerued by conſcience: For the Scripture, I haue now ſpoken of it in generall; but that yee may the more readily make choice of any part thereof, for your inſtruction or comfort, remember ſhortly this methode.

The methode of Scripture.

The whole Scripture is dyted by Gods Spirit, thereby, as by his liuely word, to inſtruct and rule the whole Church militant to the end of the world: It is compoſed of two parts, the Olde and New Teſtament: The ground of the former is the Lawe, which ſheweth our ſinne, and containeth iuſtice: the ground of the other is Chriſt, who pardoning ſinne containeth grace. The ſumme of the Law is the tenne Commandements, more largely delated in the bookes of *Moſes*, interpreted and applied by the Prophets; and by the hiſtories, are the examples ſhewed of obedience or diſobedience thereto, and what *præmium* or *pœna* was accordingly giuen by God: But becauſe no man was able to keepe the Law, nor any part thereof, it pleaſed God of his infinite wiſedome and goodneſſe, to incarnate his only Sonne in our nature, for ſatisfaction of his iuſtice in his ſuffering for vs; that ſince we could not be ſaued by doing, we might at leaſt, bee ſaued by beleeuing.

Of the Law.

Of Grace.

The ground therefore of the word of grace, is contained in the foure hiſtories of the birth, life, death, reſurrection and aſcention of Chriſt: The larger interpretation and vſe thereof, is contained in the Epiſtles of the Apoſtles: and the practiſe in the faithfull or vnfaithfull, with the hiſtorie of the infancie and firſt progreſſe of the Church is contained in their Actes.

Vſe of the Law.

Would ye then know your ſinne by the Lawe? reade the bookes of *Moſes* containing it. Would ye haue a commentarie thereupon? Reade the Prophets, and likewiſe the bookes of the *Prouerbes* and *Eccleſiaſtes*, written by that great patterne of wiſedome *Salomon*; which will not only ſerue you for inſtruction, how to walke in the obedience of the Lawe of God, but is alſo ſo full of golden ſentences, and morall precepts, in all things that can concerne your conuerſation in the world, as among all the prophane Philoſophers and Poets, ye ſhall not finde ſo rich a ſtorehouſe of precepts of naturall wiſedome, agreeing with the will and diuine wiſedome of God. Would ye ſee how good men are rewarded, and wicked puniſhed? looke the hiſtoricall parts of theſe ſame bookes of *Moſes*, together with the hiſtories of *Ioſhua*, the *Iudges*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Eſther*, and *Iob*: but eſpecially the bookes of the *Kings* and *Chronicles*, wherewith ye ought to bee familiarly acquain-

acquainted: for there ſhall yee ſee your ſelfe, as in a myrrour, in the catalogue either of the good or the euill Kings.

Would yee know the doctrine, life, and death of our Sauiour Chriſt? reade the Euangeliſts. Would ye bee more particularly trained vp in his Schoole? meditate vpon the Epiſtles of the Apoſtles. And would ye be acquainted with the practiſes of that doctrine in the perſons of the primitiue Church? Caſt vp the Apoſtles Actes. And as to the Apocryphe bookes, I omit them, becauſe I am no Papiſt, as I ſaid before; and indeed ſome of them are no wayes like the dytement of the Spirit of God.

Vſe of the Goſpel.

But when ye reade the Scripture, reade it with a ſanctified and chaſte heart: admire reuerently ſuch obſcure places as ye vnderſtand not, blaming onely your owne capacitie: read with delight the plaine places, and ſtudie carefully to vnderſtand thoſe that are ſomewhat difficile: preaſſe to bee a good textuarie; for the Scripture is euer the beſt interpreter of it ſelfe; but preaſſe not curiouſly to ſeeke out farther then is contained therein; for that were ouer vnmannerly a preſumption, to ſtriue to bee further vpon Gods ſecrets, then he hath will ye be; for what hee thought needfull for vs to know, that hath he reuealed there: And delyte moſt in reading ſuch parts of the Scripture, as may beſt ſerue for your inſtruction in your calling; reiecting fooliſh curioſities vpon genealogies and contentions, *which are but vaine, and profite not*, as *Paul* ſaith.

How to reade the Scripture.

Tit. 3. 9.

Now, as to Faith, which is the nouriſher and quickner of Religion, as I haue alreadie ſaid, It is a ſure perſwaſion and apprehenſion of the promiſes of God, applying them to your ſoule: and therefore may it iuſtly be called, the golden chaine that linketh the faithfull ſoule to Chriſt: And becauſe it groweth not in our garden, but *is the free gift of God*, as the ſame Apoſtle ſaith, it muſt be nouriſhed by prayer, Which is nothing elſe, but a friendly talking with God.

Faith the nouriſher of Religion.

Philip. 1. 29.

As for teaching you the forme of your prayers, the Pſalmes of *Dauid* are the meeteſt ſchoole-maſter that ye can be acquainted with (next the prayer of our Sauiour, which is the onely rule of prayer) whereout of, as of moſt rich and pure fountaines, ye may learne all forme of prayer neceſſarie for your comfort at all occaſions: And ſo much the fitter are they for you, then for the common ſort, in reſpect the compoſer thereof was a King: and therefore beſt behoued to know a Kings wants, and what things were meeteſt to be required by a King at Gods hand for remedie thereof.

Prayer, and whence to learne the beſt forme therof.

Vſe often to pray when ye are quieteſt, eſpecially forget it not in your bed how oft ſoeuer ye doe it at other times: for publike prayer ſerueth as much for example, as for any particular comfort to the ſupplicant.

Seuerall exerciſe of prayer.

In your prayer, bee neither ouer ſtrange with God, like the ignorant common ſort, that prayeth nothing but out of bookes, nor yet ouer homely with him, like ſome of the vaine Phariſaicall puritanes, that thinke they rule him vpon their fingers: The former way will breede an vncouth coldneſſe in you towards him, the other will breede in you a contempt of him.

What rule or regard to be vſed in prayer.

him. But in your prayer to God ſpeake with all reuerence: for if a ſubiect will not ſpeake but reuerently to a King, much leſſe ſhould any fleſh preſume to talke with God as with his companion.

What to craue of God.

Craue in your prayer, not onely things ſpirituall, but alſo things temporall, ſometimes of greater, and ſometimes of leſſe conſequence; that yee may lay vp in ſtore his grant of theſe things, for confirmation of your faith, and to be an arles-peny vnto you of his loue. Pray, as yee finde your heart moueth you, *pro re nata*: but ſee that yee ſute no vnlawfull things, as reuenge, luſt, or ſuch like: for that prayer can not come of faith: *and whatſoeuer is done without faith, is ſinne*, as the Apoſtle ſaith.

Rom. 14.23.

How to interpret the iſſue of prayer.

When ye obtaine your prayer, thanke him ioyfully therefore: if otherwaies, beare patiently, preaſling to winne him with importunitie, as the widow did the vnrighteous Iudge: and if notwithſtanding thereof yee be not heard, aſſure your ſelfe, God foreſeeth that which yee aske is not for your weale: and learne in time, ſo to interprete all the aduerſities that God ſhall ſend vnto you; ſo ſhall yee in the middeſt of them, not onely be armed with patience, but ioyfully lift vp your eyes from the preſent trouble, to the happie end that God will turne it to. And when ye finde it once ſo fall out by proofe, arme your ſelfe with the experience thereof againſt the next trouble, aſſuring your ſelfe, though yee cannot in time of the ſhowre ſee through the cloude, yet in the end ſhall ye find, God ſent it for your weale, as ye found in the former.

Conſcience the conſeruer of Religion.

And as for conſcience, which I called the conſeruer of Religion, It is nothing elſe, but the light of knowledge that God hath planted in man, which euer watching ouer all his actions, as it beareth him a ioyfull teſtimonie when he does right, ſo choppeth it him with a feeling that hee hath done wrong, when euer he committeth any ſinne. And ſurely, although this conſcience be a great torture to the wicked, yet is it as great a comfort to the godly, if we will conſider it rightly. For haue wee not a great aduantage, that haue within our ſelues while wee liue here, a Count-booke and Inuentarie of all the crimes that wee ſhall bee accuſed of, either at the houre of our death, or at the Great day of Iudgement; which when wee pleaſe (yea though we forget) will chop, and remember vs to looke vpon it; that while we haue leaſure and are here, we may remember to amend; and ſo at the day of our triall, compeare with *new and white garments waſhed in the blood of the Lambe*, as *S. Iohn* ſaith. Aboue all then, my Sonne, labour to keepe ſound this conſcience, which many prattle of, but ouer few feele: eſpecially be carefull to keepe it free from two diſeaſes, wherewith it vſeth oft to be infected; to wit, Leaproſie, and Superſtition: the former is the mother of Atheiſme, the other of Hereſies. By a leaprouſe conſcience, I meane *a cauterized conſcience*, as *Paul* calleth it, being become ſenſeleſſe of ſinne, through ſleeping in a careleſſe ſecuritie, as King *Dauids* was after his murther and adulterie, euer til he was wakened by the Prophet *Nathans* ſimilitude. And by ſuperſtition, I meane, when one reſtraines himſelfe to any other

The inuentarie of our life.

Reu 7.14.

The diſeaſes of conſcience.

1. Tim. 4.2.

other rule in the seruice of God, then is warranted by the word, the onely trew square of Gods seruice.

As for a preseruatiue against this Leaprosie, remember euer once in the foure and twentie houres, either in the night, or when yee are at greatest quiet, to call your selfe to account of all your last dayes actions, either wherein ye haue committed things yee should not, or omitted the things ye should doe, either in your Christian or Kingly calling: and in that account, let not your selfe be smoothed ouer with that flattering φιλαυτία, which is ouerkindly a sicknesse to all mankind: but censure your selfe as sharply, as if ye were your owne enemie: *For if ye iudge your selfe, ye shall not be iudged*, as the Apostle saith: and then according to your censure, reforme your actions as farre as yee may, eschewing euer wilfully and wittingly to contrare your conscience: For a small sinne wilfully committed, with a deliberate resolution to breake the bridle of conscience therein, is farre more grieuous before God, then a greater sinne committed in a suddaine passion, when conscience is asleepe. Remember therefore in all your actions, of the great account that yee are one day to make: in all the dayes of your life, euer learning to die, and liuing euery day as it were your last;

Omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum.

And therefore, I would not haue you to pray with the Papists, to be preserued from suddaine death, but that God would giue you grace so to liue, as ye may euery houre of your life be ready for death: so shall ye attaine to the vertue of trew fortitude, neuer being afraid for the horrour of death, come when he list: And especially, beware to offend your conscience with vse of swearing or lying, suppose but in iest; for othes are but an vse, and a sinne cloathed with no delight nor gaine, and therefore the more inexcusable euen in the sight of men: and lying commeth also much of a vile vse, which banisheth shame: Therfore beware euen to deny the trewth, which is a sort of lie, that may best be eschewed by a person of your ranke. For if any thing be asked at you that yee thinke not meete to reueale, if yee say, that question is not pertinent for them to aske, who dare examine you further? and vsing sometimes this answere both in trew and false things that shall be asked at you, such vnmanerly people will neuer be the wiser thereof.

And for keeping your conscience sound from that sickenesse of superstition, yee must neither lay the safetie of your conscience vpon the credit of your owne conceits, nor yet of other mens humors, how great doctors of Diuinitie that euer they be; but yee must onely ground it vpon the expresse Scripture: for conscience not grounded vpon sure knowledge, is either an ignorant fantasie, or an arrogant vanitie. Beware therefore in this case with two extremities: the one, to beleeue with the Papists, the Churches authority, better then your owne knowledge; the other, to leane with the Anabaptists, to your owne conceits and dreamed reuelations.

But learne wisely to discerne betwixt points of saluation and indifferent things,

Preseruatiue against leprosie of conscience.

1.Cor.11.31.

Last account.

Horat. lib. 1. Epist.

Trew fortitude.

Foolish vse of oathes.

Against superstition.

Difference of internall and externall things.

things, betwixt ſubſtance and ceremonies; and betwixt the expreſſe commandement and will of God in his word, and the inuention or ordinance of man; ſince all that is neceſſarie for ſaluation is contained in the Scripture: For in any thing that is expreſſely commanded or prohibited in the booke of God, ye cannot be ouer preciſe, euen in the leaſt thing; counting euery ſinne, not according to the light eſtimation and common vſe of it in the world, but as the booke of God counteth of it. But as for all other things not contained in the Scripture, ſpare not to vſe or alter them, as the neceſſitie of the time ſhall require. And when any of the ſpirituall office-bearers in the Church, ſpeake vnto you any thing that is well warranted by the word, reuerence and obey them as the heraulds of the moſt high God: but, if paſſing that bounds, they vrge you to embrace any of their fantaſies in the place of Gods word, or would colour their particulars with a pretended zeale, acknowledge them for no other then vaine men, exceeding the bounds of their calling; and according to your office, grauely and with authoritie redact them in order againe.

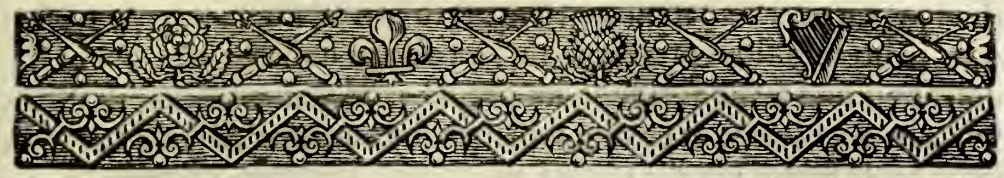
Account of things externall.

Conclusion.

To conclude then, both this purpoſe of conſcience, and the firſt part of this booke, keepe God more ſparingly in your mouth, but abundantly in your heart: be preciſe in effect, but ſociall in ſhew: kythe more by your deedes then by your wordes, the loue of vertue and hatred of vice: and delight more to be godly and vertuous indeed, then to be thought and called ſo; expecting more for your praiſe and reward in heauen, then heere: and apply to all your outward actions Chriſts command, to pray and giue your almes ſecretly: So ſhal ye on the one part be inwardly garniſhed with trew Chriſtian humilitie, not outwardly (with the proud Phariſie) glorying in your godlineſſe; but ſaying, as Chriſt commandeth vs all, when we haue done all that we can, *Inutiles ſerui ſumus*: And on the other part, yee ſhall eſchew outwardly before the world, the ſuſpition of filthie proude hypocriſie, and deceitfull diſſimulation.

Luke 10.17.

OF



OF A KINGS DVETIE IN HIS OFFICE.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

VT as ye are clothed with two callings, ſo muſt ye be alike careful for the diſcharge of them both: that as yee are a good Chriſtian, ſo yee may be a good King, diſcharging your Office (as I ſhewed before) in the points of Iuſtice and Equitie: which in two ſundrie waies ye muſt doe: the one, in eſtabliſhing and executing, (which is the life of the Law) good Lawes among your people: the other, by your behauiour in your owne perſon, and with your ſeruants, to teach your people by your example: for people are naturally inclined to counterfaite (like apes) their Princes maners, according to the notable ſaying of *Plato*, expreſſed by the Poet ——

The Office of a King.

Plato in Polit.

Iſocr. in Sym.

Plato in Polit.

——— *Componitur orbis*
Regis ad exemplum, nec ſic inflectere ſenſus
Humanos edicta valent, quàm vita regentis.

Claudian. in 4. conſ. Hon.

For the part of making, and executing of Lawes, conſider firſt the trew difference betwixt a lawfull good King, and an vſurping Tyran, and yee ſhall the more eaſily vnderſtand your duetie herein: for *contraria iuxta ſe poſita magis eluceſcunt.* The one acknowledgeth himſelfe ordained for his people, hauing receiued from God a burthen of gouernment, whereof he muſt be countable: the other thinketh his people ordeined for him, a prey to his paſſions and inordinate appetites, as the fruites of his magnanimitie: And therefore, as their ends are directly contrarie, ſo are their whole actions, as meanes, whereby they preaſſe to attaine to their endes. A good King, thinking his higheſt honour to conſiſt in the due diſcharge of his calling, emploieth all his ſtudie and paines, to procure and maintaine, by the making and execution of good Lawes, the well-fare and peace of his people; and as their naturall father and kindly Maſter, thinketh his greateſt contentment ſtandeth in their proſperitie, and his greateſt ſuretie in hauing their hearts, ſubiecting his owne priuate affections and appetites to the weale and ſtanding of his Subiects, euer thinking the common intereſſe his chiefeſt particular: where by the contrarie, an vſurping Tyran, thinking

Difference of a King and a Tyran.

Plato in Polit.

Ariſt. 5. Polit.

Xen. 8. Cyr.

Cic. lib. 5. de Rep.

Arist.5.Polit. Tacit.4.hist.

thinking his greatest honour and felicitie to consist in attaining *per fas, vel nefas*, to his ambitious pretences, thinketh neuer himselfe sure, but by the dissention and factions among his people, and counterfaiting the Saint while he once creepe in credite, will then (by inuerting all good Lawes to serue onely for his vnrulie priuate affections) frame the common-weale euer to aduance his particular: building his suretie vpon his peoples miserie: and in the end (as a step-father and an vncouth hireling) make vp his owne hand vpon the ruines of the Republicke. And according to their actions, so receiue they their reward: For a good King (after a happie and famous reigne) dieth in peace, lamented by his subiects, and admired by his neighbours; and leauing a reuerent renowne behinde him in earth, obtaineth the Crowne of eternall felicitie in heauen. And although some of them (which falleth out very rarelie) may be cut off by the treason of some vnnaturall subiects, yet liueth their fame after them, and some notable plague faileth neuer to ouertake the committers in this life, besides their infamie to all posterities hereafter: Where by the contrarie, a Tyrannes miserable and infamous life, armeth in end his owne Subiects to become his burreaux: and although that rebellion be euer vnlawfull on their part, yet is the world so wearied of him, that his fall is little meaned by the rest of his Subiects, and but smiled at by his neighbours. And besides the infamous memorie he leaueth behind him here, and the endlesse paine hee sustaineth hereafter, it oft falleth out, that the committers not onely escape vnpunished, but farther, the fact will remaine as allowed by the Law in diuers aages thereafter. It is easie then for you (my Sonne) to make a choise of one of these two sorts of rulers, by following the way of vertue to establish your standing; yea, incase ye fell in the high way, yet should it be with the honourable report, and iust regrate of all honest men.

The issue and rewards of a good King.

Cic.6.de Rep.

The issue of Tyrans, *Arist.5.Polit.*

Isocr.in Sym.

Anent the making of Lawes.

And therefore to returne to my purpose anent the gouernement of your Subiects, by making and putting good Lawes to execution; I remit the making of them to your owne discretion, as ye shall finde the necessitie of new-rising corruptions to require them: for, *ex malis moribus bonæ leges natæ sunt*: besides, that in this countrey, wee haue alreadie moe good Lawes then are well execute, and am onely to insist in your forme of gouernment anent their execution. Onely remember, that as Parliaments haue bene ordained for making of Lawes, so ye abuse not their institution, in holding them for any mens particulars: For as a Parliament is the honourablest and highest iudgement in the land (as being the Kings head Court) if it be well vsed, which is by making of good Lawes in it; so is it the in-iustest Iudgement-seat that may be, being abused to mens particulars: irreuocable decreits against particular parties, being giuen therein vnder colour of generall Lawes, and oft-times th'Estates not knowing themselues whom thereby they hurt. And therefore hold no Parliaments, but for necessitie of new Lawes, which would be but seldome: for few Lawes and well put in execution, are best in a well ruled common-weale. As for the

The authoritie and trew vse of Parliaments.

L.12.Tab.

the matter of fore-faltures, which alſo are done in Parliament, it is not good tigging with theſe things; but my aduice is, ye fore-fault none but for ſuch odious crimes as may make them vnworthie euer to be reſtored againe: And for ſmaller offences, ye haue other penalties ſharpe enough to be vſed againſt them.

Cic. 3 de leg. pro D.ſ. & pro Seſt.

And as for the execution of good Lawes, whereat I left, remember that among the differences that I put betwixt the formes of the gouernment of a good King, and an vſurping Tyran; I ſhew how a Tyran would enter like a Saint while he found himſelfe faſt vnder-foot, and then would ſuffer his vnrulie affections to burſt foorth. Therefore be yee contrare at your firſt entrie to your Kingdome, to that *Quinquennium Neronis*, with his tender hearted wiſh, *Vellem neſcirem literas*, in giuing the Law full execution againſt all breakers thereof but exception. For ſince ye come not to your reigne *precariò*, nor by conqueſt, but by right and due diſcent; feare no vproares for doing of iuſtice, ſince ye may aſſure your ſelfe, the moſt part of your people will euer naturally fauour Iuſtice: prouiding alwaies, that ye doe it onely for loue to Iuſtice, and not for ſatisfying any particular paſſions of yours, vnder colour thereof: otherwiſe, how iuſtly that euer the offender deſerue it, ye are guiltie of murther before God: For ye muſt conſider, that God euer looketh to your inward intention in all your actions.

Anent the execution of Lawes.

A iuſt ſeueritie to be vſed at the firſt. *Sen. de cl. Ar. 7. pol.*

Plato 2. & 10 de Repub. Cic. ad Q. fr.

And when yee haue by the ſeueritie of Iuſtice once ſetled your countries, and made them know that ye can ſtrike, then may ye thereafter all the daies of your life mixe Iuſtice with Mercie, puniſhing or ſparing, as ye ſhall finde the crime to haue bene wilfully or raſhly committed, and according to the by-paſt behauiour of the committer. For if otherwiſe ye kyth your clemencie at the firſt, the offences would ſoone come to ſuch heapes, and the contempt of you grow ſo great, that when ye would fall to puniſh, the number of them to be puniſhed, would exceed the innocent; and yee would be troubled to reſolue whom-at to begin: and againſt your nature would be compelled then to wracke many, whom the chaſtiſement of few in the beginning might haue preſerued. But in this, my ouer-deare bought experience may ſerue you for a ſufficient leſſon: For I confeſſe, where I thought (by being gracious at the beginning) to win all mens hearts to a louing and willing obedience, I by the contrary found, the diſorder of the countrie, and the loſſe of my thankes to be all my reward.

A good mixture. *Plato in Pol. & 9. de L. Sal. orat. ad Cæſar.*

A deare preſident.

But as this ſeuere Iuſtice of yours vpon all offences would bee but for a time, (as I haue alreadie ſaid) ſo is there ſome horrible crimes that yee are bound in conſcience neuer to forgiue: ſuch as Witch-craft, wilfull murther, Inceſt, (eſpecially within the degrees of conſanguinitie) Sodomie, poiſoning, and falſe coine. As for offences againſt your owne perſon and authoritie, ſince the fault concerneth your ſelfe, I remit to your owne choiſe to puniſh or pardon therein, as your heart ſerueth you, and according to the circumſtances of the turne, and the qualitie of the committer.

Crimes vnpardonable.

Treaſon againſt the Prince his perſon, or authoritie.

Here would I alſo eike another crime to bee vnpardonable, if I ſhould

not be thought partiall: but the fatherly loue I beare you, will make mee breake the bounds of ſhame in opening it vnto you. It is then, the falſe and vnreuerent writing or ſpeaking of malicious men againſt your Parents and Predeceſſors: ye know the command in Gods lawe, *Honour your Father and Mother*: and conſequently, ſen ye are the lawful magiſtrate, ſuffer not both your Princes and your Parents to be diſhonoured by any; eſpecially, ſith the example alſo toucheth your ſelfe, in leauing thereby to your ſucceſſors, the meaſure of that which they ſhal mete out againe to you in your like behalfe. I graunt wee haue all our faults, which, priuately betwixt you and God, ſhould ſerue you for examples to meditate vpon, and mend in your perſon; but ſhould not be a matter of diſcourſe to others whatſoeuer. And ſith ye are come of as honourable Predeceſſours as any Prince liuing, repreſſe the inſolence of ſuch, as vnder pretence to taxe a vice in the perſon, ſeeke craftily to ſtaine the race, and to ſteale the affection of the people from their poſteritie: For how can they loue you, that hated them whom of ye are come? Wherefore deſtroy men innocent young ſucking Wolues and Foxes, but for the hatred they beare to their race? and why wil a coult of a Courſer of Naples, giue a greater price in a market, then an Aſſe-colt, but for loue of the race? It is therefore a thing monſtrous, to ſee a man loue the childe, and hate the Parents: as on the other part, the infaming and making odious of the parent, is the readieſt way to bring the ſonne in contempt. And for concluſion of this point, I may alſo alledge my owne experience: For beſides the iudgments of God, that with my eyes I haue ſeene fall vpon all them that were chiefe traitours to my parents, I may iuſtly affirme, I neuer found yet a conſtant biding by me in all my ſtraites, by any that were of perfite aage in my parents dayes, but onely by ſuch as conſtantly bode by them; I meane ſpecially by them that ſerued the Queene my mother: for ſo that I diſcharge my conſcience to you, my Sonne, in reuealing to you the trewth, I care not, what any traitour or treaſon-allower thinke of it.

Stayning of the blood.

Exod. 20. 12.

Plat. 4. de Legib.

And although the crime of oppreſſion be not in this ranke of vnpardonable crimes, yet the ouer-common vſe of it in this nation, as if it were a vertue, eſpecially by the greateſt ranke of ſubiects in the land, requireth the King to be a ſharpe cenſurer thereof. Be diligent therefore to trie, and awfull to beate downe the hornes of proud oppreſſours: embrace the quarrell of the poore and diſtreſſed, as your owne particular, thinking it your greateſt honour to repreſſe the oppreſſours: care for the pleaſure of none, neither ſpare ye anie paines in your owne perſon, to ſee their wrongs redreſſed: and remember of the honourable ſtile giuen to my grand-father of worthie memorie, in being called *the poore mans King*. And as the moſt part of a Kings office, ſtandeth in deciding that queſtion of *Meum* and *Tuum*, among his ſubiects; ſo remember when ye ſit in iudgement, that the Throne ye ſit on is Gods, as *Moyſes* ſaith, and ſway neither to the right hand nor to the left; either louing the rich, or pittying the poore. Iuſtice ſhould bee

Of oppreſſion.

Ariſt. 5. polit. Iſocr. de reg. Cic. in Of. & ad Q. fr.

The trew glorie of Kings.

A memorable and worthie patterne.

Deut. 1.

be blinde and friendlesse: it is not there ye should reward your friends, or seeke to crosse your enemies.

Plat. in polit. Cic. ad Q. frat. Arist. 1. Ret. Plat. in If.

Here now speaking of oppressours and of iustice, the purpose leadeth me to speake of Hie-land and Border oppressions. As for the Hie-lands, I shortly comprehend them all in two sorts of people: the one, that dwelleth in our maine land, that are barbarous for the most part, and yet mixed with some shewe of ciuilitie: the other, that dwelleth in the Iles, and are alluterly barbares, without any sort or shew of ciuilitie. For the first sort, put straitly to execution the Lawes made alreadie by me against their Ouer-lords, and the chiefes of their Clannes, and it will be no difficultie to danton them. As for the other sort, follow forth the course that I haue intended, in planting Colonies among them of answerable In-lands subiects, that within short time may reforme and ciuilize the best inclined among them; rooting out or transporting the barbarous and stubborne sort, and planting ciuilitie in their roomes.

Of the Hie-lands.

But as for the Borders, because I know, if ye enioy not this whole Ile, according to Gods right and your lineall discent, yee will neuer get leaue to brooke this North and barrennest part thereof; no, not your owne head whereon the Crowne should stand; I neede not in that case trouble you with them: for then they will be the middest of the Ile, and so as easily ruled as any part thereof.

Of the Borders.

And that yee may the readier with wisedome and Iustice gouerne your subiects, by knowing what vices they are naturallie most inclined to, as a good Physician, who must first know what peccant humours his Patient naturallie is most subiect vnto, before he can begin his cure: I shall therefore shortly note vnto you, the principall faults that euery ranke of the people of this countrey is most affected vnto. And as for *England*, I will not speake be-gesse of them, neuer hauing been among them, although I hope in that God, who euer fauoureth the right, before I die, to be as well acquainted with their fashions.

A necessarie point in a good gouernment. *Plato in polit.*

As the whole Subiects of our countrey (by the ancient and fundamentall policie of our Kingdome) are diuided into three estates, so is euerie estate hereof generally subiect to some speciall vices; which in a maner by long habitude, are thought rather vertue then vice among them: not that euerie particular man in any of these rankes of men, is subiect vnto them, for there is good and euill of all sorts; but that I meane, I haue found by experience, these vices to haue taken greatest holde with these rankes of men.

A consideration of the three estates.

And first, that I prejudge not the Church of her ancient priuiledges, reason would shee should haue the first place for orders sake, in this catalogue.

The naturall sickenesse that hath euer troubled, and beene the decay of all the Churches, since the beginning of the world, changing the candlesticke from one to another, as *Iohn* saith, hath beene Pride, Ambition, and

The diseases of the church.

Auarice: and now last, these same infirmities wrought the ouerthrow of the Popish Church, in this countrey and diuers others. But the reformation of Religion in *Scotland*, being extraordinarily wrought by God, wherein many things were inordinately done by a popular tumult and rebellion, of such as blindly were doing the worke of God, but clogged with their owne passions and particular respects, as well appeared by the destruction of our policie, and not proceeding from the Princes order, as it did in our neighbour countrey of *England*, as likewise in *Denmarke*, and sundry parts of *Germanie*; some fierie spirited men in the ministerie, got such a guiding of the people at that time of confusion, as finding the gust of gouernment sweete, they begouth to fantasie to themselues a Democraticke forme of gouernment: and hauing (by the iniquitie of time) beene ouerwell baited vpon the wracke, first of my Grandmother, and next of mine owne mother, and after vsurping the libertie of the time in my long minoritie, setled themselues so fast vpon that imagined Democracie, as they fed themselues with the hope to become *Tribuni plebis*: and so in a popular gouernment by leading the people by the nose, to beare the sway of all the rule. And for this cause, there neuer rose faction in the time of my minoritie, nor trouble sen-syne, but they that were vpon that factious part, were euer carefull to perswade and allure these vnruly spirits among the ministerie, to spoule that quarrell as their owne: where-through I was oftimes calumniated in their populare Sermons, not for any euill or vice in me, but because I was a King, which they thought the highest euill. And because they were ashamed to professe this quarrel, they were busie to look narrowly in all my actions; and I warrant you a mote in my eye, yea a false report, was matter enough for them to worke vpon: and yet for all their cunning, whereby they pretended to distinguish the lawfulnesse of the office, from the vice of the person, some of them would sometimes snapper out well grossely with the trewth of their intentions, informing the people, that all Kings and Princes were naturally enemies to the libertie of the Church, and could neuer patiently beare the yoke of Christ: with such sound doctrine fed they their flockes. And because the learned, graue, and honest men of the ministerie, were euer ashamed and offended with their temeritie and presumption, preassing by all good meanes by their authoritie and example, to reduce them to a greater moderation; there could be no way found out so meete in their conceit, that were turbulent spirits among them, for maintaining their plots, as paritie in the Church: whereby the ignorants were emboldened (as bairdes) to crie the learned, godly, and modest out of it: paritie the mother of confusion, and enemie to Vnitie, which is the mother of order: For if by the example thereof, once established in the Ecclesiasticall gouernment, the Politicke and ciuill estate should be drawen to the like, the great confusion that thereupon would arise may easily be discerned. Take heede therefore (my Sonne) to such Puritanes, verie pestes in the Church and Common-weale, whom no deserts

The occasion of the Tribunat of some Puritanes.

Such were the Demagogi at Athens.

Their formes in the State.

Their razing the ground of the princely rule.

Their pretence of paritie.

ſerts can oblige, neither oathes or promiſes binde, breathing nothing but ſedition and calumnies, aſpiring without meaſure, railing without reaſon, and making their owne imaginations (without any warrant of the word) the ſquare of their conſcience. I proteſt before the great God, and ſince I am here as vpon my Teſtament, it is no place for me to lie in, that ye ſhall neuer finde with any Hie-land or Border-theeues greater ingratitude, and moe lies and vile periuries, then with theſe phanaticke ſpirits: And ſuffer not the principals of them to brooke your land, if ye like to ſit at reſt; except yee would keepe them for trying your patience, as *Socrates* did an euill wife.

An euill ſort of feed-men in the State.

Xantippe.

And for preſeruatiue againſt their poiſon, entertaine and aduance the godly, learned and modeſt men of the miniſterie, whom-of (God be praiſed) there lacketh not a ſufficient number: and by their prouiſion to Biſhoprickes and Benefices (annulling that vile acte of Annexation, if ye finde it not done to your hand) yee ſhall not onely baniſh their conceited paritie, whereof I haue ſpoken, and their other imaginarie grounds; which can neither ſtand with the order of the Church, nor the peace of a Commonweale and well ruled Monarchie: but ye ſhall alſo re-eſtabliſh the olde inſtitution of three Eſtates in Parliament, which can no otherwiſe be done. But in this I hope (if God ſpare me dayes) to make you a faire entrie; alwayes where I leaue, follow ye my ſteps.

Preſeruatiue againſt ſuch poiſon.

Parity incompatible with a Monarchie.

And to end my aduice anent the Church eſtate, cheriſh no man more then a good Paſtor, hate no man more then a proude Puritane; thinking it one of your faireſt ſtyles, to be called a louing nouriſh-father to the Church, ſeeing all the Churches within your dominions planted with good Paſtors, the Schooles (the ſeminarie of the Church) maintained, the doctrine and diſcipline preſerued in puritie, according to Gods word, a ſufficient prouiſion for their ſuſtentation, a comely order in their policie, pride puniſhed, humilitie aduanced, and they ſo to reuerence their ſuperiours, and their flockes them, as the flouriſhing of your Church in pietie, peace, and learning, may be one of the chiefe points of your earthly glory, being euer alike ware with both the extremities; as well as yee repreſſe the vaine Puritane, ſo not to ſuffer proude Papall Biſhops: but as ſome for their qualities will deſerue to bee preferred before others, ſo chaine them with ſuch bondes as may preſerue that eſtate from creeping to corruption.

Generall aduice in behalfe of the Church.

The next eſtate now that by order commeth in purpoſe, according to their rankes in Parliament, is the Nobilitie, although ſecond in ranke, yet ouer farre firſt in greatneſſe and power, either to doe good or euill, as they are inclined.

Of the Nobilitie and their formes.

The naturall ſickeneſſe that I haue perceiued this eſtate ſubiect to in my time, hath beene, a fectleſſe arrogant conceit of their greatnes and power; drinking in with their very nouriſh-milke, that their honor ſtood in committing three points of iniquitie: to thrall by oppreſſion, the meaner ſort

that dwelleth neere them, to their ſeruice and following, although they holde nothing of them: to maintaine their ſeruants and dependers in any wrong, although they be not anſwerable to the lawes (for any body will maintaine his man in a right cauſe) and for anie diſpleaſure, that they apprehend to be done vnto them by their neighbour, to take vp a plaine feide againſt him; and (without reſpect to God, King, or common-weale) to bang it out brauely, hee and all his kinne, againſt him and all his: yea they will thinke the King farre in their common, in-caſe they agree to grant an aſſurance to a ſhort day, for keeping of the peace: where, by their naturall dewtie, they are obliſhed to obey the lawe, and keepe the peace all the daies of their life, vpon the perill of their verie craigges.

Remedie of ſuch euils. *Ariſt. 5. Polit.*

For remeid to theſe euils in their eſtate, teach your Nobilitie to keepe your lawes as preciſely as the meaneſt: feare not their orping or beeing diſcontented, as long as yee rule well; for their pretended reformation of Princes taketh neuer effect, but where euill gouernement precedeth. Acquaint your ſelfe ſo with all the honeſt men of your Barrons and Gentlemen, and be in your giuing acceſſe ſo open and affable to euery ranke of honeſt perſons, as may make them peart without ſcarring at you, to make their owne ſuites to you themſelues, and not to employ the great Lordes their interceſſours; for interceſſion to Saints is Papiſtrie: ſo ſhall ye bring to a meaſure their monſtrous backes. And for their barbarous feides, put the lawes to due execution made by mee there-anent; beginning euer ratheſt at him that yee loue beſt, and is moſt obliſhed vnto you; to make him an example to the reſt. For yee ſhall make all your reformations to beginne at your elbow, and ſo by degrees to flow to the extremities of the land. And reſt not, vntill yee roote out theſe barbarous feides; that their effects may bee as well ſmoared downe, as their barbarous name is vnknowen to anie other nation: For if this Treatiſe were written either in French or Latine, I could not get them named vnto you but by circumlocution. And for your eaſier aboliſhing of them, put ſharpelie to execution my lawes made againſt Gunnes and traiterous Piſtolets; thinking in your heart, tearming in your ſpeech, and vſing by your puniſhments, all ſuch as weare and vſe them, as brigands and cut-throates.

Zeno in Cyr. Iſo. in Eu. Cic. ad Q. fra.

On the other part, eſchew the other extremitie, in lightlying and contemning your Nobilitie. Remember howe that errour brake the King my grand-fathers heart. But conſider that vertue followeth ofteſt noble blood: the worthineſſe of their anteceſſors craueth a reuerent regard to be had vnto them: honour them therfore that are obedient to the law among them, as Peeres and Fathers of your land: the more frequently that your Court can bee garniſhed with them; thinke it the more your honour; acquainting and employing them in all your greateſt affaires; ſen it is, they muſt be your armes and executers of your lawes: and ſo vſe your ſelfe louinglie to the obedient, and rigorouſly to the ſtubborne, as may make the greateſt of them to thinke, that the chiefeſt point of their honour, ſtandeth

Plat. in 1. Al. in pol. & 5. de l. Ariſt. 2. œcon.

Zeno in Cyr.

deth in ſtriuing with the meaneſt of the land in humilitie towards you, and obedience to your Lawes: beating euer in their eares, that one of the principall points of ſeruice that ye craue of them, is, in their perſons to practiſe, and by their power to procure due obedience to the Law; without the which, no ſeruice they can make, can be agreeable vnto you.

But the greateſt hinderance to the execution of our Lawes in this countrie, are theſe heritable Shirefdomes and Regalities, which being in the hands of the great men, do wracke the whole countrie: For which I know no preſent remedie, but by taking the ſharper account of them in their Offices; vſing all puniſhment againſt the ſlouthfull, that the Law will permit: and euer as they vaike, for any offences committed by them, diſpone them neuer heritably againe: preaſſing, with time, to draw it to the laudable cuſtome of England: which ye may the eaſilier doe, being King of both, as I hope in God ye ſhall.

Of Shirefdomes and Regalities.

Ar. 2. pol.

Laudable cuſtome of England.

And as to the third and laſt eſtate, which is our Burghes (for the ſmall Barrones are but an inferiour part of the Nobilitie and of their eſtate) they are compoſed of two ſorts of men; Merchants and Craftes-men: either of theſe ſorts being ſubiect to their owne infirmities.

The third eſtate.

The Merchants thinke the whole common-weale ordeined for making them vp; and accounting it their lawfull gaine and trade, to enrich themſelues vpon the loſſe of all the reſt of the people, they tranſport from vs things neceſſarie; bringing backe ſometimes vnneceſſary things, and at other times nothing at all. They buy for vs the worſt wares, and ſell them at the dearest prices: and albeit the victuals fall or riſe of their prices, according to the aboundance or skantneſſe thereof; yet the prices of their wares euer riſe, but neuer fall: being as conſtant in that their euill cuſtome, as if it were a ſetled Law for them. They are alſo the ſpeciall cauſe of the corruption of the coyne, tranſporting all our owne, and bringing in forraine, vpon what price they pleaſe to ſet on it: For order putting to them, put the good Lawes in execution that are already made anent theſe abuſes; but eſpecially doe three things: Eſtabliſh honeſt, diligent, but few Searchers, for many hands make ſlight worke; and haue an honeſt and diligent Theſaurer to take count of them: Permit and allure forraine Merchants to trade here: ſo ſhall ye haue beſt and beſt cheape wares, not buying them at the third hand: And ſet euery yeere downe a certaine price of all things; conſidering firſt, how it is in other countries: and the price being ſet reaſonably downe, if the Merchants will not bring them home on the price, cry forrainers free to bring them.

The formes of Merchants.

Pl. 2. de Rep. 8. & 12. de leg.

And becauſe I haue made mention here of the coyne, make your money of fine Gold and Siluer; cauſing the people be payed with ſubſtance, and not abuſed with number: ſo ſhall ye enrich the common-weale, and haue a great treaſure laid vp in ſtore, if ye fall in warres or in any ſtraites: For the making it baſer, will breed your commoditie; but it is not to bee vſed, but at a great neceſſitie.

A duice anent the coyne.

And

Of craftsmen. Plat. 11. de leg.

And the Craftes-men thinke, we should be content with their worke, how bad and deare soeuer it be: and if they in any thing be controlled, vp goeth the blew-blanket: But for their part, take example by ENGLAND, how it hath flourished both in wealth and policie, since the strangers Craftes-men came in among them: Therefore not onely permit, but allure strangers to come heere also; taking as strait order for repressing the mutining of ours at them, as was done in ENGLAND, at their first in-bringing there.

A good policie of England. Plat. 9. de leg.

A generall fault in the people. Sal. in Iug.

But vnto one fault is all the common people of this Kingdome subiect, as well burgh as land; which is, to iudge and speake rashly of their Prince, setting the Common-weale vpon foure props, as wee call it; euer wearying of the present estate, and desirous of nouelties. For remedie whereof (besides the execution of Lawes that are to be vsed against vnreuerent speakers) I know no better meane, then so to rule, as may iustly stop their mouthes from all such idle and vnreuerent speeches; and so to prop the weale of your people, with prouident care for their good gouernment, that iustly, *Momus* himselfe may haue no ground to grudge at: and yet so to temper and mixe your seueritie with mildnes, that as the vniust railers may be restrained with a reuerent awe; so the good and louing Subiects, may not onely liue in suretie and wealth, but be stirred vp and inuited by your benigne courtesies, to open their mouthes in the iust praise of your so well moderated regiment. In respect whereof, and therewith also the more to allure them to a common amitie among themselues, certaine dayes in the yeere would be appointed, for delighting the people with publicke spectacles of all honest games, and exercise of armes: as also for conueening of neighbours, for entertaining friendship and heartlinesse, by honest feasting and merrinesse: For I cannot see what greater superstition can be in making playes and lawfull games in Maie, and good cheere at Christmas, then in eating fish in Lent, and vpon Fridayes, the Papists as well vsing the one as the other: so that alwayes the Sabboths be kept holy, and no vnlawfull pastime be vsed: And as this forme of contenting the peoples mindes, hath beene vsed in all well gouerned Republicks: so will it make you to performe in your gouernment that olde good sentence,

Arist. 5. pol. Isoc. in paneg.

Hor. de art. poet.

Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit vtile dulci.

Ye see now (my Sonne) how for the zeale I beare to acquaint you with the plaine and single veritie of all things, I haue not spared to be something Satyricke, in touching well quickly the faults in all the estates of my kingdome: But I protest before God, I doe it with the fatherly loue that I owe to them all; onely hating their vices, whereof there is a good number of honest men free in euery estate.

And because, for the better reformation of all these abuses among your estates, it will be a great helpe vnto you, to be well acquainted with the nature and humours of all your Subiects, and to know particularly the estate

estate of euery part of your dominions; I would therefore counsell you, once in the yeere to visite the principall parts of the countrey, ye shal be in for the time: and because I hope ye shall be King of moe countries then this; once in the three yeeres to visite all your Kingdomes; not lipening to Vice-royes, but hearing your selfe their complaints; and hauing ordinarie Councels and iustice-seates in euerie Kingdome, of their owne countriemen: and the principall matters euer to be decided by your selfe when ye come in those parts.

Iat. in pol. & Min. Tacit. 7. an. Mart.

Ye haue also to consider, that yee must not onely bee carefull to keepe your subiects from receiuing anie wrong of others within; but also yee must be careful to keepe them from the wrong of any forraine Prince without: sen the sword is giuen you by God not onely to reuenge vpon your owne subiects, the wrongs committed amongst themselues; but further, to reuenge and free them of forraine iniuries done vnto them: And therefore warres vpon iust quarrels are lawful: but aboue all, let not the wrong cause be on your side.

Protection from forraine iniuries. *Xeno. 8. Cyr. Arist. 5 pol. Polib. 6. Dion. Hal. de Romul.*

Vse all other Princes, as your brethren, honestly and kindely: Keepe precisely your promise vnto them, although to your hurt: Striue with euerie one of them in courtesie and thankefulnesse: and as with all men, so especially with them, bee plaine and trewthfull; keeping euer that Christian rule, *to doe as yee would be done to*: especially in counting rebellion against any other Prince, a crime against your owne selfe, because of the preparatiue. Supplie not therefore, nor trust not other Princes rebels; but pittie and succour all lawfull Princes in their troubles. But if any of them will not abstaine, notwithstanding what-soeuer your good deserts, to wrong you or your subiects, craue redresse at leasure; heare and doe all reason: and if no offer that is lawfull or honourable, can make him to abstaine, nor repaire his wrong doing; then for last refuge, commit the iustnesse of your cause to God, giuing first honestly vp with him, and in a publicke and honourable forme.

What formes to be vsed with other Princes. *Isoc. in Plat. & Parag.*

Arist. ad A. Varr. 11. de V. P. R. Cic. 2. Of. Liu. lib. 4.

Liu. lib. 1. Cic. eod.

But omitting now to teach you the forme of making warres, because that arte is largely treated of by many, and is better learned by practise then speculation; I will onely set downe to you heere a few precepts therein. Let first the iustnesse of your cause be your greatest strength; and then omitte not to vse all lawfull meanes for backing of the same. Consult therefore with no Necromancier nor false Prophet, vpon the successe of your warres, remembring on king *Saules* miserable end: but keepe your land cleane of all South-sayers, according to the commaund in the Law of God, dilated by *Ieremie*. Neither commit your quarrell to bee tried by a Duell: for beside that generally all Duell appeareth to bee vnlawful, committing the quarrell, as it were, to a lot; whereof there is no warrant in the Scripture, since the abrogating of the olde Lawe: it is specially moste vn-lawfull in the person of a King; who being a publicke person hath no power therefore to dispose of himselfe, in respect, that to his preseruation

Of warre.

Prop. 4. Eleg. Lucan. 7. Varro 11. de V. P. R.

1. Sam. 31.

Deut. 18.

Plutar. in Sert. & Ant.

seruation or fall, the safetie or wracke of the whole common-weale is necessarily coupled, as the body is to the head.

Luke 14.

Before ye take on warre, play the wise Kings part described by Christ; fore-seeing how ye may beare it out with all necessarie prouision: especially remember, that money is *Neruus belli.* Choose old experimented Captaines, and yong able souldiers. Be extreamely strait and seuere in martiall Discipline, as well for keeping of order, which is as requisite as hardinesse in the warres, and punishing of slouth, which at a time may put the whole armie in hazard; as likewise for repressing of mutinies, which in warres are wonderfull dangerous. And looke to the *Spaniard*, whose great successe in all his warres, hath onely come through straitnesse of Discipline and order: for such errours may be committed in the warres, as cannot be gotten mended againe.

Thuc. 2 Sal in Iug. Cic. pro l. Man. Demost. olyn. 2. Liu. li. 30. Veget 1. Cæs. 1. & 3. de bel. ciuil. Prob. in Thras.

Be in your owne person walkrife, diligent and painefull; vsing the aduice of such as are skilfullest in the craft, as ye must also doe in all other. Be homely with your souldiers as your companions, for winning their hearts; and extreamly liberall, for then is no time of sparing. Be cold and foreseeing in deuising, constant in your resolutions, and forward and quicke in your executions. Fortifie well your Campe, and assaile not rashly without an aduantage: neither feare not lightly your enemie. Be curious in deuising stratagems, but alwayes honestly: for of any thing they worke greatest effects in the warres, if secrecie be ioyned to inuention. And once or twise in your owne person hazard your selfe fairely; but, hauing acquired so the fame of courage and magnanimitie, make not a daily souldier of your selfe, exposing rashly your person to euery perill: but conserue your selfe thereafter for the weale of your people, for whose sake yee must more care for your selfe, then for your owne.

Cæs. 1. de bello ciu. Liu. l. 7. Xen. 1. & 5. Cyr. & de disc. pm. Xen. in Ages. Pol. l. 5. Xen. 1. Cyr. Thuc. 5. Isoc. ad Phil. Pla 9. de leg. Liu. l. 22. & 31. Tac. 2. his. Plut. de fort.

Of Peace.

And as I haue counselled you to be slow in taking on a warre, so aduise I you to be slow in peace-making. Before ye agree, looke that the ground of your warres be satisfied in your peace; and that ye see a good suretie for you and your people: otherwaies a honourable and iust warre is more tollerable, then a dishonourable and dis-aduantageous peace.

Isocr. in Arch. Polib. 3. Cic. 1. Of. & 7. Phil. Tac. 4. his.

But it is not enough to a good King, by the scepter of good Lawes well execute to gouerne, and by force of armes to protect his people; if he ioyne not therewith his vertuous life in his owne person, and in the person of his Court and company; by good example alluring his Subiects to the loue of vertue, and hatred of vice. And therefore (my Sonne) sith all people are naturally inclined to follow their Princes example (as I shewed you before) let it not be said, that ye command others to keepe the contrary course to that, which in your owne person ye practise, making so your wordes and deedes to fight together: but by the contrary, let your owne life be a lawbooke and a mirrour to your people; that therein they may read the practise of their owne Lawes; and therein they may see, by your image, what life they should leade.

A Kings life must be exemplare.

Pl. in pol. & 4. de leg.

And

And this example in your owne life and perſon, I likewiſe diuide in two parts: The firſt, in the gouernment of your Court and followers, in all godlineſſe and vertue: the next, in hauing your owne minde decked and enriched ſo with all vertuous qualities, that therewith yee may worthily rule your people: For it is not ynough that ye haue and retaine (as priſoners) within your ſelfe neuer ſo many good qualities and vertues, except ye employ them, and ſet them on worke, for the weale of them that are committed to your charge: *Virtutis enim laus omnis in actione conſiſtit.*

Plat. in Thek. & Euth.

Ariſt. 1. Eth. Cic. in Offic.

Firſt then, as to the gouernment of your Court and followers, King *Dauid* ſets downe the beſt precepts, that any wiſe and Chriſtian King can practiſe in that point: For as yee ought to haue a great care for the ruling well of all your Subiects, ſo ought yee to haue a double care for the ruling well of your owne ſeruants; ſince vnto them yee are both a Politicke and Oeconomicke gouernour. And as euery one of the people will delite to follow the example of any of the Courteours, as well in euill as in good: ſo what crime ſo horrible can there be committed and ouer-ſeene in a Courteour, that will not be an exemplare excuſe for any other boldly to commit the like? And therfore in two points haue ye to take good heed anent your Court and houſhold: firſt, in chooſing them wiſely; next, in carefully ruling them whom ye haue choſen.

Of the Court. Pſal. 101.

Cic. ad Q. frat.

It is an olde and trew ſaying, That a kindly Auer will neuer become a good horſe: for albeit good education and company be great helpes to Nature, and education be therefore moſt iuſtly called *altera natura*, yet is it euill to get out of the fleſh, that is bred in the bone, as the olde prouerbe ſayth. Be very ware then in making choice of your ſeruants and companie; —— *Nam*

Plat. 5. de Leg.

Ariſt. 2. œcon.

Turpius eiicitur, quàm non admittitur hoſpes:

Ouid. 5. de Triſt.

and many reſpects may lawfully let an admiſſion, that will not be ſufficient cauſes of depriuation.

All your ſeruants and Court muſt be compoſed partly of minors, ſuch as young Lords, to be brought vp in your company, or Pages and ſuch like; and partly of men of perfit aage, for ſeruing you in ſuch roumes, as ought to be filled with men of wiſedome and diſcretion. For the firſt ſort, ye can doe no more, but chooſe them within aage, that are come of a good and vertuous kinde, *In fide parentum*, as Baptiſme is vſed: For though *anima non venit ex traduce*, but is immediatly created by God, and infuſed from aboue; yet it is moſt certaine, that vertue or vice will oftentimes, with the heritage, be transferred from the parents to the poſteritie, and runne on a blood (as the Prouerbe is) the ſickeneſſe of the minde becomming as kindly to ſome races, as theſe ſickeneſſes of the body, that infect in the ſeede: Eſpecially chooſe ſuch minors as are come of a trew and honeſt race, and haue not had the houſe whereof they are deſcended, infected with falſhood.

Of the choiſe of ſeruants.

Ariſt. 1. & 5. polit.

Cic. ad Q. frat.

Witneſſe the experience of the late houſe of *Gowrie*. *Plat. 6. de Leg. Ariſt. 2. œcon. & 1. pol.*

And as for the other ſort of your companie and ſeruants, that ought to

Plat.6.de leg. Isocr. in pan. Arist 5.pol.

to be of perfit aage; first see that they be of a good fame and without blemish; otherwise, what can the people thinke, but that yee haue chosen a company vnto you, according to your owne humour, and so haue preferred these men, for the loue of their vices and crimes, that ye knew them to be guiltie of? For the people that see you not within, cannot iudge of you, but according to the outward appearance of your actions and companie, which onely is subiect to their sight: And next, see that they be indued with such honest qualities, as are meete for such offices, as ye ordaine them to serue in; that your iudgement may be knowen in imploying euery man according to his giftes: And shortly, follow good king *Dauids* counsell in the choise of your seruants, by setting your eyes vpon the faithfull and vpright of the land to dwell with you.

Dem.2. ph.

Plat.7. de Rep. 3. et 12. de Leg. Arist. 5. et 6. polit.

Psal.101.

A transmission of hereditarie kindnes.

But here I must not forget to remember, and according to my fatherly authoritie, to charge you to preferre specially to your seruice, so many as haue trewly serued me, and are able for it: the rest, honourably to reward them, preferring their posteritie before others, as kindliest: so shall ye not onely be best serued, (for if the haters of your parents cannot loue you, as I shewed before, it followeth of necessitie their louers must loue you) but further, ye shall kyth your thankefull memorie of your father, and procure the blessing of these olde seruants, in not missing their olde master in you; which otherwise would be turned in a prayer for me, and a curse for you. Vse them therefore when God shall call me, as the testimonies of your affection towards me; trusting and aduancing those fartheſt, whom I found faithfullest: which ye must not discerne by their rewards at my hand (for rewards, as they are called *Bona fortunæ*, so are they subiect vnto fortune) but according to the trust I gaue them; hauing oft-times had better heart then hap to the rewarding of sundry: And on the other part, as I wish you to kyth your constant loue towards them that I loued, so desire I you to kyth in the same measure, your constant hatred to them that I hated: I meane, bring not home, nor restore not such, as ye finde standing banished or fore-faulted by me. The contrary would kyth in you ouer great a contempt of me, and lightnesse in your owne nature: for how can they be trew to the Sonne, that were false to the Father?

But to returne to the purpose anent the choise of your seruants, yee shall by this wise forme of doing, eschew the inconuenients, that in my minoritie I fell in, anent the choise of my seruants: For by them that had the command where I was brought vp, were my seruants put vnto mee; not choosing them that were meetest to serue me, but whom they thought meetest to serue their turne about me, as kythed well in many of them at the first rebellion raised against mee, which compelled mee to make a great alteration among my seruants. And yet the example of that corruption made mee to be long troubled there-after with solliciters, recommending seruants vnto me, more for seruing in effect, their friends that put them in, then their master that admitted them. Let my example then teach

A domesticke and neere example.

teach you to follow the rules here set downe, choosing your seruants for your owne vse, and not for the vse of others: And since ye must bee *communis parens* to all your people, so choose your seruants indifferently out of all quarters; not respecting other mens appetites, but their owne qualities: For as ye must command all, so reason would, ye should be serued out of all, as ye please to make choice.

Arist. 2. pol.

But specially take good heed to the choice of your seruants, that ye preferre to the offices of the Crowne and estate: for in other offices yee haue onely to take heede to your owne weale; but these concerne likewise the weale of your people; for the which yee must bee answerable to God. Choose then for all these Offices, men of knowen wisedome, honestie, and good conscience; well practised in the points of the craft, that yee ordaine them for, and free of all factions and partialities; but specially free of that filthie vice of Flatterie, the pest of all Princes, and wracke of Republicks: For since in the first part of this Treatise, I fore-warned you to be at warre with your owne inward flatterer εὐκαιρία, how much more should ye be at war with outward flatterers, who are nothing so sib to you, as your selfe is; by the selling of such counterfeit wares, onely preassing to ground their greatnesse vpon your ruines? And therefore bee carefull to preferre none, as yee will bee answerable to God, but onely for their worthinesse: But specially choose honest, diligent, meane, but responsall men, to bee your receiuers in money matters: meane I say, that ye may when yee please, take a sharpe account of their intromission, without perill of their breeding any trouble to your estate: for this ouersight hath beene the greatest cause of my mis-thriuing in money matters. Especially, put neuer a forrainer, in any principall office of estate: for that will neuer faile to stirre vp sedition and enuie in the countrey-mens hearts, both against you and him: But (as I saide before) if God prouide you with moe countries then this; choose the borne-men of euery countrey, to bee your chiefe counsellers therein.

Of the officers of the Crowne.
Plat. de repub. Cic. ad Q. frat. Isoc. in Panath. ad Nic. & de pace. Thuc 6. Plutar. in pol.

Plat. in Phedr. & Menex. Arist. 5 pol. Isoc. in Sym. Tacit. 3. hist. Curt. 8.

Of publicke receiuers.

A speciall principle in policie.
Arist. 5. pol. Cic. ad Q. frat.

And for conclusion of my aduice anent the choice of your seruants, delight to be serued with men of the noblest blood that may bee had: for besides that their seruice shall breed you great good-will and least enuie, contrarie to that of start-vps; ye shall oft finde vertue follow noble races, as I haue said before speaking of the Nobilitie.

Plat. in 1. Al. in pol. & 5. de legib. Arist. 2. œcon.

Gouernment of the Court.
Isocr. in Areop.

Now, as to the other point, anent your gouerning of your seruants when yee haue chosen them; make your Court and companie to bee a patterne of godlinesse and all honest vertues, to all the rest of the people. Bee a daily watch-man ouer your seruants, that they obey your lawes precisely: For how can your lawes bee kept in the countrey, if they be broken at your eare? Punishing the breach thereof in a Courteour, more seuerely, then in the person of any other of your subiects: and aboue all, suffer none of them (by abusing their credite with you) to oppresse or wrong any of your subiects. Be homely or strange with them, as ye thinke

Idem in Panath.

Arist. 2. pol.

Tacit. 1. hist.

Val. lib. 2. Curt. 4.

Demost. 8 phil. Sal. in Cat. Liu. 22.

Tacit. eod. & 1. An.

The ground-stone of good gouernment. *Ar. 5. polit. Tacit. in Ag. Dion li. 52. Xeno. in Ages. Isoc. in Sym. et ad Ph. Id. de permutat. Cic. ad Q. frat.*

1. King. 10.

Of Mariage.

Gen. 2. 23.

Preparation to mariage.

their behauiour deserueth, and their nature may beare with. Thinke a quarrellous man a pest in your companie. Bee carefull euer to preferre the gentilest natured and trustiest, to the inwardest Offices about you, especially in your chalmer. Suffer none about you to meddle in any mens particulars, but like the Turkes Ianisares, let them know no father but you, nor particular but yours. And if any wil meddle in their kinne or friends quarrels, giue them their leaue: for since ye must be of no surname nor kinne, but equall to all honest men; it becommeth you not to bee followed with partiall or factious seruants. Teach obedience to your seruants, and not to thinke themselues ouer-wise: and, as when any of them deserueth it, ye must not spare to put them away, so, without a seene cause, change none of them. Pay them, as all others your subiects, with *præmium* or *pœna* as they deserue, which is the very ground-stone of good gouernement. Employ euery man as ye thinke him qualified, but vse not one in all things, lest he waxe proude, and be enuied of his fellowes. Loue them best, that are plainnest with you, and disguise not the trewth for all their kinne: suffer none to be euill tongued, nor backbiters of them they hate: command a hartly and brotherly loue among all them that serue you. And shortly, maintaine peace in your Court, bannish enuie, cherish modestie, bannish deboshed insolence, foster humilitie, and represse pride: setting downe such a comely and honourable order in all the points of your seruice; that when strangers shall visite your Court, they may with the Queene of *Sheba*, admire your wisedome in the glorie of your house, and comely order among your seruants.

But the principall blessing that yee can get of good companie, will stand in your marrying of a godly and vertuous wife: for shee must bee nearer vnto you, then any other companie, being *Flesh of your flesh, and bone of your bone*, as *Adam* saide of *Heuah*. And because I know not but God may call mee, before ye be readie for Mariage; I will shortly set downe to you heere my aduice therein.

First of all consider, that Mariage is the greatest earthly felicitie or miserie, that can come to a man, according as it pleaseth God to blesse or curse the same. Since then without the blessing of GOD, yee cannot looke for a happie successe in Mariage, yee must bee carefull both in your preparation for it, and in the choice and vsage of your wife, to procure the same. By your preparation, I meane, that yee must keepe your bodie cleane and vnpolluted, till yee giue it to your wife, whom-to onely it belongeth. For how can ye iustly craue to bee ioyned with a pure virgine, if your bodie be polluted? why should the one halfe bee cleane, and the other defiled? And although I know, fornication is thought but a light and a veniall sinne, by the most part of the world, yet remember well what I said to you in my first Booke anent conscience, and count euery sinne and breach of Gods law, not according as the vaine world esteemeth of it, but as God the Iudge and maker of the lawe accounteth of the same

Heare

Heare God commanding by the mouth of *Paul*, to *abstaine from fornication*, declaring that the *fornicator shall not inherite the Kingdome of heauen*: and by the mouth of *Iohn*, reckoning out fornication amongst other grieuous sinnes, that debarre the committers amongst *dogs and swine*, *from entry in that spirituall and heauenly Ierusalem*. And consider, if a man shall once take vpon him, to count that light, which God calleth heauie; and veniall that, which God calleth grieuous; beginning first to measure any one sinne by the rule of his lust and appetites, and not of his conscience; what shall let him to doe so with the next, that his affections shall stirre him to, the like reason seruing for all: and so to goe forward till he place his whole corrupted affections in Gods roome? And then what shall come of him; but, as a man giuen ouer to his owne filthy affections, shall perish into them? And because wee are all of that nature, that sibbest examples touch vs neerest, consider the difference of successe that God granted in the Mariages of the King my grand-father, and me your owne father: the reward of his incontinencie, (proceeding from his euill education) being the suddaine death at one time of two pleasant yong Princes; and a daughter onely borne to succeed to him, whom hee had neuer the hap, so much as once to see or blesse before his death: leauing a double curse behinde him to the land, both a Woman of sexe, and a new borne babe of aage to raigne ouer them. And as for the blessing God hath bestowed on mee, in granting me both a greater continencie, and the fruits following there-upon, your selfe, and sib folkes to you, are (praise be to God) sufficient witnesses: which, I hope the same God of his infinite mercie, shall continue and increase, without repentance to me and my posteritie. Be not ashamed then, to keepe cleane your body, which is the Temple of the holy Spirit, notwithstanding all vaine allurements to the contrary, discerning trewly and wisely of euery vertue and vice, according to the trew qualities therof, and not according to the vaine conceits of men.

1.Cor.6.10.

Reuel.22.15.

The dangerous effects of lust.

A domesticke example.

1.Cor.6.19.

As for your choise in Mariage, respect chiefly the three causes, wherefore Mariage was first ordeined by God; and then ioyne three accessories, so farre as they may be obtained, not derogating to the principalles.

The three causes it was ordeined for, are, for staying of lust, for procreation of children, and that man should by his Wife, get a helper like himselfe. Deferre not then to Marie till your aage: for it is ordeined for quenching the lust of your youth: Especially a King must tymouslie Marie for the weale of his people. Neither Marie yee, for any accessory cause or worldly respects, a woman vnable, either through aage, nature, or accident, for procreation of children: for in a King that were a double fault, aswell against his owne weale, as against the weale of his people. Neither also Marie one of knowne euill conditions, or vicious education: for the woman is ordeined to be a helper, and not a hinderer to man.

Mariage ordained for three causes. *Arist.7.pol.*

Id. eod.

The three accessories, which as I haue said, ought also to be respected, without derogating to the principall causes, are beautie, riches, and friendship

Accessory causes of mariage. *AEg.Ro.2.de reg.pr.*

ſhip by alliance, which are all bleſſings of God. For beautie increaſeth your loue to your Wife, contenting you the better with her, without caring for others: and riches and great alliance, doe both make her the abler to be a helper vnto you. But if ouer great reſpect being had to theſe acceſſories, the principall cauſes bee ouer-ſeene (which is ouer oft practiſed in the world) as of themſelues they are a bleſſing being well vſed; ſo the abuſe of them will turne them in a curſe. For what can all theſe worldly reſpects auaile, when a man ſhall finde himſelfe coupled with a diuel, to be one fleſh with him, and the halfe marrow in his bed? Then (though too late) ſhall he finde that beautie without bountie, wealth without wiſdome, and great friendſhip without grace and honeſtie; are but faire ſhewes, and the deceitfull maſques of infinite miſeries.

Matth. 13. A ſpecial caution in mariage.

But haue ye reſpect, my Sonne, to theſe three ſpeciall cauſes in your Mariage, which flow from the firſt inſtitution thereof, *& cætera omnia adijcientur vobis.* And therefore I would ratheſt haue you to Marie one that were fully of your owne Religion; her ranke and other qualities being agreeable to your eſtate. For although that to my great regrate, the number of any Princes of power and account, profeſſing our Religion, bee but very ſmall; and that therefore this aduice ſeemes to be the more ſtrait and difficile: yet ye haue deeply to weigh, and conſider vpon theſe doubts, how ye and your wife can bee of one fleſh, and keepe vnitie betwixt you, being members of two oppoſite Churches: diſagreement in Religion bringeth euer with it, diſagreement in maners; and the diſſention betwixt your Preachers and hers, wil breed and foſter a diſſention among your ſubiects, taking their example from your family; beſides the perill of the euill education of your children. Neither pride you that ye wil be able to frame and make her as ye pleaſe: that deceiued *Salomon* the wiſeſt King that euer was; the grace of Perſeuerance, not being a flowre that groweth in our garden.

For keeping the blood pure. *Pla. 5. de Rep. Cic. 2. de Diu. Ariſt. de gen. An. Lucr. 4.*

Remember alſo that Mariage is one of the greateſt actions that a man doeth in all his time, eſpecially in taking of his firſt Wife: and if hee Marie firſt baſely beneath his ranke, he will euer be the leſſe accounted of thereafter. And laſtly, remember to chooſe your Wife as I aduiſed you to chooſe your ſeruants: that ſhe be of a whole and cleane race, not ſubiect to the hereditary ſicknesſes, either of the ſoule or the body: For if a man wil be careful to breed horſes and dogs of good kinds, how much more careful ſhould he be, for the breed of his owne loines? So ſhal ye in your Mariage haue reſpect to your conſcience, honour, and naturall weale in your ſucceſſours.

Pl. 11. de leg. Iſ. in Sym.

When yee are Maried, keepe inuiolably your promiſe made to God in your Mariage; which ſtandeth all in doing of one thing, and abſtayning from another: to treat her in all things as your wife, and the halfe of your ſelfe; and to make your body (which then is no more yours, but properly hers) common with none other. I truſt I need not to inſiſt here to diſſwade you from the filthy vice of adulterie: remember onely what ſolemne promiſe yee make to God at your Mariage: and ſince it is onely by the

the force of that promise that your children succeed to you, which otherwayes they could not doe; æquitie and reason would, ye should keepe your part thereof. God is euer a seuere auenger of all periuries; and it is no oath made in iest, that giueth power to children to succeed to great kingdomes. Haue the King my grand-fathers example before your eyes, who by his adulterie, bred the wracke of his lawfull daughter and heire; in begetting that bastard, who vnnaturally rebelled, and procured the ruine of his owne Souerane and sister. And what good her posteritie hath gotten sensyne, of some of that vnlawfull generation, *Bothuell* his treacherous attempts can beare witnesse. Keepe præcisely then your promise made at Mariage, as ye would wish to be partaker of the blessing therein.

Cic. 2. de leg.

And for your behauiour to your Wife, the Scripture can best giue you counsell therein: Treat her as your owne flesh, command her as her Lord, cherish her as your helper, rule her as your pupill, and please her in all things reasonable; but teach her not to be curious in things that belong her not: Ye are the head, shee is your body; It is your office to command, and hers to obey; but yet with such a sweet harmonie, as shee should be as ready to obey, as ye to command; as willing to follow, as ye to go before; your loue being wholly knit vnto her, and all her affections louingly bent to follow your will.

Arist. 8. AEth. & 1. Pol. Xen. & Arist. in œco.

And to conclude, keepe specially three rules with your Wife: first, suffer her neuer to meddle with the Politicke gouernment of the Common-weale, but holde her at the Oeconomicke rule of the house; and yet all to be subiect to your direction: keepe carefully good and chaste company about her, for women are the frailest sexe; and be neuer both angry at once, but when ye see her in passion, ye should with reason danton yours: for both when yee are setled, ye are meetest to iudge of her errours; and when she is come to her selfe, she may be best made to apprehend her offence, and reuerence your rebuke.

Arist. 1. rhet. Plu. in Menon. AEgid R. de reg pr. Plu. 5. de Rep & 7. de leg.

If God send you succession, be carefull for their vertuous education: loue them as ye ought, but let them know as much of it, as the gentlenesse of their nature will deserue; contayning them euer in a reuerent loue and feare of you. And in case it please God to prouide you to all these three Kingdomes, make your eldest sonne *Isaac*, leauing him all your kingdomes; and prouide the rest with priuate possessions: Otherwayes by deuiding your kingdomes, yee shall leaue the seed of diuision and discord among your posteritie; as befell to this Ile, by the diuision and assignement thereof, to the three sonnes of *Brutus*, *Locrine*, *Albanact*, and *Camber*. But if God giue you not succession, defraud neuer the neareſt by right, what-soeuer conceit yee haue of the person: For Kingdomes are euer at Gods disposition, and in that case we are but liue-rentars, lying no more in the Kings, nor peoples hands to dispossesse the righteous heire.

A Kings behauiour towards his children. *Plu. in Thes. 4. & 5. de Rep. & 6. & 7. de l. Arist. 7. pol.*

A caution foreshewing future diuision.

Polid. 1. Crownes come not in commerce.

And as your company should be a paterne to the rest of the people, so should your person be a lampe and mirrour to your company: giuing light

Plu. in Pol. Cic. ad Q. frat.

to your ſeruants to walke in the path of vertue, and repreſenting vnto them ſuch worthie qualities, as they ſhould preaſſe to imitate.

The right vſe of temperance. *Ariſt. 5. pol. Pol. 6. Cic. 1. off. 2. de inuen. & in Par.*

I need not to trouble you with the particular diſcourſe of the foure Cardinall vertues, it is ſo troden a path: but I will ſhortly ſay vnto you; make one of them, which is Temperance, Queene of all the reſt within you. I meane not by the vulgar interpretation of Temperance, which onely conſiſts in *guſtu & tactu*, by the moderating of theſe two ſenſes: but, I meane of that wiſe moderation, that firſt commaunding your ſelfe, ſhall as a Queene, command all the affections and paſſions of your minde, and as a Phiſician, wiſely mixe all your actions according thereto. Therefore, not onely in all your affections and paſſions, but euen in your moſt vertuous actions, make euer moderation to be the chiefe ruler: For although holineſſe be the firſt and moſt requiſite qualitie of a Chriſtian, as proceeding from a feeling feare and trew knowledge of God: yet yee remember how in the concluſion of my firſt booke, I aduiſed you to moderate al your outward actions flowing there-fra. The like ſay I now of Iuſtice, which is the greateſt vertue that properly belongeth to a Kings office.

In holineſſe.

In iuſtice. *Pla. 4. de Leg. Ariſt. 1. mag. mor. Cic. 1. off. pro Rab. & ad Q. frat. Seneca de cl.*

Vſe Iuſtice, but with ſuch moderation, as it turne not in Tyrannie: otherwaies *ſummum Ius*, is *ſumma iniuria.* As for example: if a man of a knowen honeſt life, be inuaded by brigands or theeues for his purſe, and in his owne defence ſlay one of them, they beeing both moe in number, and alſo knowen to bee deboſhed and inſolent liuers; where by the contrarie, hee was ſingle alone, beeing a man of ſound reputation: yet becauſe they were not at the horne, or there was no eye-witneſſe preſent that could verifie their firſt inuading of him, ſhall hee therefore loſe his head? And likewiſe, by the law-burrowes in our lawes, men are prohibited vnder great pecuniall paines, from any wayes inuading or moleſting their neighbours perſon or bounds: if then his horſe breake the halter, and paſtour in his neighbours medow, ſhall he pay two or three thouſand pounds for the wantonneſſe of his horſe, or the weakneſſe of his halter? Surely no: for lawes are ordained as rules of vertuous and ſociall liuing, and not to bee ſnares to trap your good ſubiects: and therefore the lawe muſt be interpreted according to the meaning, and not to the literall ſenſe thereof: *Nam ratio eſt animæ legis.*

Ariſt. 5. eth. & 1. rhet. Cicer. pro Cæc.

And as I ſaid of Iuſtice, ſo ſay I of Clemencie, Magnanimitie, Liberalitie, Conſtancie, Humilitie, and all other Princely vertues; *Nam in medio ſtat virtus.* And it is but the craft of the Diuell that falſly coloureth the two vices that are on either ſide thereof, with the borrowed titles of it, albeit in very deede they haue no affinitie therewith and the two extremities themſelues, although they ſeeme contrarie, yet growing to the height, runne euer both in one: For *in infinitis omnia concurrunt*; and what difference is betwixt extreame tyrannie, delighting to deſtroy all mankinde; and extreame ſlackeneſſe of puniſhment, permitting euery man to tyrannize ouer his companion? Or what differeth extreame prodiga-

The falſe ſemblance of extremities.

Their coincidence.

prodigalitie, by wasting of all to possesse nothing; from extreame niggardnesse, by hoarding vp all to enioy nothing; like the Asse that carying victuall on her backe, is like to starue for hunger, and will bee glad of thrissels for her part? And what is betwixt the pride of a glorious *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the preposterous humilitie of one of the proud Puritanes, claiming to their Paritie, and crying, Wee are all but vile wormes, and yet will iudge and giue Law to their King, but will be iudged nor controlled by none? Surely there is more pride vnder such a ones blacke bonnet, then vnder *Alexander* the great his Diademe, as was said of *Diogenes* in the like case.

But aboue all vertues, study to know well your owne craft, which is to rule your people. And when I say this, I bid you know all crafts: For except ye know euery one, how can yee controll euery one, which is your proper office? Therefore besides your education, it is necessarie yee delight in reading, and seeking the knowledge of all lawfull things; but with these two restrictions: first, that yee choose idle houres for it, not interrupting therewith the discharge of your office: and next, that yee studie not for knowledge nakedly, but that your principall ende be, to make you able thereby to vse your office; practising according to your knowledge in all the points of your calling: not like these vaine Astrologians, that studie night and day on the course of the starres, onely that they may, for satisfying their curiositie, know their course. But since all Artes and sciences are linked euery one with other, their greatest principles agreeing in one (which mooued the Poets to faine the nine Muses to be all sisters) studie them, that out of their harmonie, ye may sucke the knowledge of all faculties; and consequently be on the counsell of all crafts, that yee may be able to containe them all in order, as I haue alreadie said: For knowledge and learning is a light burthen, the weight whereof will neuer presse your shoulders.

The right extention of a kings craft.

Plat. in pol. 5. de Rep. & Epist. 7. Cic. ad Q. frat. & de or.

Id. 1. de fin.

Id. 1. Offic.

First of all then, study to be well seene in the Scriptures, as I remembred you in the first booke; as well for the knowledge of your owne saluation, as that ye may be able to containe your Church in their calling, as *Custos vtriusque Tabulæ*. For the ruling them well, is no small point of your office; taking specially heede, that they vague not from their text in the Pulpit: and if euer ye would haue peace in your land, suffer them not to meddle in that place with the estate or policie; but punish seuerely the first that presumeth to it. Doe nothing towards them without a good ground and warrant, but reason not much with them: for I haue ouermuch surfeited them with that, and it is not their fashion to yeeld. And suffer no conuentions nor meetings among Church-men, but by your knowledge and permission.

The Scripture. Deut. 17.

Next the Scriptures, studie well your owne Lawes: for how can ye discerne by the thing yee know not? But preasse to draw all your Lawes and processes, to be as short and plaine as ye can: assure your selfe the long-somnesse

Of the Lawes municipall.

Plat. 4. de Rep. & 6. de Leg. Arist. 1. rhet.

Cic 1. de Orat. Sen in Lud

Resort to the Session.

somnesse both of rights and processes, breedeth their vnsure loosenesse and obscuritie, the shortest being euer both the surest and plainest forme, and the longsomnesse seruing onely for the enriching of the Aduocates and Clerkes, with the spoile of the whole countrey: And therefore delite to haunt your Session, and spie carefully their proceedings; taking good heede, if any briberie may be tried among them, which cannot ouer seuerely be punished. Spare not to goe there, for gracing that farre any that yee fauour, by your presence to procure them expedition of Iustice; although that should be specially done, for the poore that cannot waite on, or are debarred by mightier parties. But when yee are there, remember the throne is Gods and not yours, that ye sit in, and let no fauour, nor whatsoeuer respects mooue you from the right. Ye sit not there, as I shewe before, for rewarding of friends or seruants, nor for crossing of contemners, but onely for doing of Iustice. Learne also wisely to discerne betwixt Iustice and equitie; and for pitie of the poore, rob not the rich, because he may better spare it, but giue the little man the larger coat if it be his; eschewing the errour of young *Cyrus* therein: For Iustice, by the Law, giueth euery man his owne; and equitie in things arbitrall, giueth euery one that which is meetest for him.

Plat. in pol. Arist. 1. Rhet. Cic. ad Q. frat. Plut. in Is.

Xen. 1. Cyr.

But specially to the secret Counsell.

Be an ordinarie sitter in your secret Counsell: that iudicature is onely ordained for matters of estate, and repressing of insolent oppressions. Make that iudgement as compendious and plaine as ye can; and suffer no Aduocates to be heard there with their dilatours, but let euery partie tell his owne tale himselfe: and wearie not to heare the complaints of the oppressed, *aut ne Rex sis*. Remit euery thing to the ordinary iudicature, for eschewing of confusion: but let it be your owne craft, to take a sharpe account of euery man in his office.

Cic. ad Q. frat. Tac. 1. hist. Plut. in Demet.

Reading of histories.

And next the Lawes, I would haue you to be well versed in authentick histories, and in the Chronicles of all nations, but specially in our owne histories (*Ne sis peregrinus domi*) the example whereof most neerely concernes you: I meane not of such infamous inuectiues, as *Buchanans* or *Knoxes* Chronicles: and if any of these infamous libels remaine vntill your dayes, vse the Law vpon the keepers thereof: For in that point I would haue you a Pythagorist, to thinke that the very spirits of these archibellouses of rebellion, haue made transition in them that hoardes their bookes, or maintaines their opinions; punishing them, euen as it were their authours risen againe. But by reading of authenticke histories and Chronicles, yee shall learne experience by Theoricke, applying the bypast things to the present estate, *quia nihil nouum sub sole*: such is the continuall volubilitie of things earthly, according to the roundnesse of the world, and reuolution of the heauenly circles: which is expressed by the wheeles in *Ezechiels* visions, and counterfeited by the Poets *in rota Fortunæ*. And likewise by the knowledge of histories, yee shall knowe how to behaue your selfe to all Embassadours and strangers; being able to

Plat. in Menon.

Arist. 1 Rhet. Polit. 1. Plut. in Timo. Cic. 2. de Or.

Eccles. 1.

Ezech. 1.

to discourse with them vpon the estate of their owne countrey. And among al prophane histories, I must not omit most specially to recommend vnto you, the Commentaries of *Cæsar*; both for the sweete flowing of the stile, as also for the worthinesse of the matter it selfe: For I haue euer beene of that opinion, that of all the Ethnick Emperors, or great Captaines that euer were, he hath farthest excelled, both in his practise, and in his precepts in martiall affaires.

As for the studie of other liberall artes and sciences, I would haue you reasonably versed in them, but not preassing to bee a passe-master in any of them: for that cannot but distract you from the points of your calling, as I shewed you before: and when, by the enemie winning the towne, yee shall bee interrupted in your demonstration, as *Archimedes* was; your people (I thinke) will looke very bluntly vpon it. I graunt it is meete yee haue some entrance, specially in the Mathematickes; for the knowledge of the arte militarie, in situation of Campes, ordering of battels, making Fortifications, placing of batteries, or such like. And let not this your knowledge be dead without fruites, as Saint *Iames* speaketh of Faith: but let it appeare in your daily conuersation, and in all the actions of your life.

Of the arts liberall. *Sen. ep. 84.*

Liu. l. 24. Plut. in Marc.

Of Mathematickes. *Pl. 7. de leg. Arist. 2. Meta.* Iam. 2. 17.

Embrace trew magnanimitie, not in beeing vindictiue, which the corrupted iudgements of the world thinke to be trew Magnanimitie; but by the contrarie, in thinking your offendour not worthie of your wrath, empyring ouer your owne passion, and triumphing in the commaunding your selfe to forgiue: husbanding the effects of your courage and wrath, to be rightly employed vpon repelling of iniuries within, by reuenge taking vpon the oppressours; and in reuenging iniuries without, by iust warres vpon forraine enemies. And so, where ye finde a notable iniurie, spare not to giue course to the torrents of your wrath. *The wrath of a King, is like to the roaring of a Lyon.*

Of magnanimitie. *Arist. 4. eth. Sen. de cl.*

Cic. 1. off. Virg. 6. AEn.

Prou. 20.

Foster trew Humilitie, in bannishing pride, not onely towards God (considering yee differ not in stuffe, but in vse, and that onely by his ordinance, from the basest of your people) but also towards your Parents. And if it fall out that my Wife shall out-liue me, as euer ye thinke to purchase my blessing, honour your mother: set *Beersheba* in a throne on your right hand: offend her for nothing, much lesse wrong her: remember her

Of humilitie.

Plat. 4. de Leg. Xen. 2. de dict. & fact. Soc.

Quæ longa decem tulerit fastidia menses;

and that your flesh and blood is made of hers: and beginne not, like the young lordes and lairdes, your first warres vpon your Mother; but preasse earnestly to deserue her blessing. Neither deceiue your selfe with many that say, they care not for their Parents curse, so they deserue it not. O inuert not the order of nature, by iudging your superiours, chiefly in your owne particular! But assure your selfe, the blessing or curse of the Parents, hath almost euer a Propheticke power ioyned with it: and if there were no more, honour your Parents, for the lengthning of your owne dayes,

Exod. 20.

Exod.20. Xen.1.& 3. Cyr.

dayes, as GOD in his Law promiseth. Honour also them that are *in loco Parentum* vnto you, such as your gouernours, vp-bringers, and Præceptours: be thankefull vnto them and reward them, which is your dewtie and honour.

Cic.ad Q.fra.

But on the other part, let not this trew humilitie stay your high indignation to appeare, when any great oppressours shall præsume to come in your presence; then frowne as ye ought: And in-case they vse a colour of Law in oppressing their poore ones, as ouer-many doe; that which ye cannot mend by Law, mend by the withdrawing of your countenance from them: and once in the yeere crosse them, when their erands come in your way, recompencing the oppressour, according to Christs parable of the two debtours.

Arist. 5. pol.

Matth.18.

Of Constancie. Arist.4.eth. Thuc.3.6. Cic. 1. Of.& ad Q.f. Brut.ad Cic.

Keepe trew Constancie, not onely in your kindenesse towards honest men; but being also *inuicti animi* against all aduersities: not with that Stoicke insensible stupiditie, wherewith many in our dayes, preassing to winne honour, in imitating that ancient sect, by their inconstant behauiour in their owne liues, belie their profession. But although ye are not a stocke, not to feele calamities; yet let not the feeling of them, so ouer-rule and doazen your reason, as may stay you from taking and vsing the best resolution for remedie, that can be found out.

Of Liberalitie. Cic.1.& 2.Of. Sal. in Iug. Sen.4.de ben.

Vse trew Liberalitie in rewarding the good, and bestowing frankly for your honour and weale: but with that proportionall discretion, that euery man may be serued according to his measure, wherein respect must be had to his ranke, deserts, and necessitie: And prouide how to haue, but cast not away without cause. In speciall, empaire not by your Liberalitie the ordinarie rents of your crowne; whereby the estate Royall of you, and your successours, must be maintained, *ne exhaurias fontem liberalitatis*: for that would euer be kept *sacrosanctum & extra commercium*: otherwaies, your Liberalitie would decline to Prodigalitie, in helping others with your, and your successours hurt. And aboue all, enrich not your selfe with exactions vpon your subiects; but thinke the riches of your people your best treasure, by the sinnes of offenders, where no præuention can auaile, making iustly your commoditie. And in-case necessitie of warres, or other extraordinaries compell you to lift Subsidies, doe it as rarely as ye can: employing it onely to the vse it was ordained for; and vsing your selfe in that case, as *fidus depositarius* to your people.

Isoc.epist.7. Xen.8.Cyr. Phil.Com.10.

Arist.5.pol.

Anent reporters. Isocr.ad Ph.in Panath.& de per. Cic.ad Q.fr. Plut.de curios.

And principally, exercise trew Wisedome; in discerning wisely betwixt trew and false reports: First, considering the nature of the person reporter; Next, what entresse he can haue in the weale or euill of him, of whom hee maketh the report; Thirdly, the likely-hood of the purpose it selfe; And last, the nature and by-past life of the dilated person: and where yee finde a tratler, away with him. And although it bee true, that a Prince can neuer without secrecie doe great things, yet it is better oftimes to try reports, then by credulitie to foster suspicion vpon an honest man.

man. For ſince ſuſpition is the Tyrants ſickeneſſe, as the fruites of an euill Conſcience, *potiùs in alteram partem peccato*: I meane, in not miſtruſting one, whom-to no ſuch vnhoneſtie was knowne before. But as for ſuch as haue ſlipped before, former experience may iuſtly breed præuention by fore-ſight. *Iſos. de pac. Cic. 3. Of.*

And to conclude my aduice anent your behauiour in your perſon; conſider that GOD is the authour of all vertue, hauing imprinted in mens mindes by the very light of nature, the loue of all morall vertues; as was ſeene by the vertuous liues of the old *Romanes*: and preaſſe then to ſhine as farre before your people, in all vertue and honeſtie; as in greatneſſe of ranke: that the vſe therof in all your actions, may turne, with time, to a naturall habitude in you; and as by their hearing of your Lawes, ſo by their ſight of your perſon, both their eyes and their eares, may leade and allure them to the loue of vertue, and hatred of vice. *Cicer. 3. Tuſc.*

OF

OF A KINGS BEHAVIOVR IN INDIFFERENT THINGS.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

C.ph.8.3. de leg.Ouid.ad Liu. Quin.4.decl.

IT is a trew old ſaying, That a King is as one ſet on a ſtage, whoſe ſmalleſt actions and geſtures, all the people gazingly doe behold: and therefore although a King be neuer ſo præciſe in the diſcharging of his Office, the people, who ſeeth but the outward part, will euer iudge of the ſubſtance, by the circumſtances; and according to the outward appearance, if his behauiour bee light or diſſolute, will conceiue præ-occupied conceits of the Kings inward intention: which although with time, (the trier of all trewth,) it will euaniſh, by the euidence of the contrary effects, yet *interim patitur iuſtus*; and præiudged conceits will, in the meane time, breed contempt, the mother of rebellion and diſorder. And beſides that, it is certaine, that all the indifferent actions and behauiour of a man, haue a certaine holding and dependance, either vpon vertue or vice, according as they are vſed or ruled: for there is not a middes betwixt them, no more then betwixt their rewards, heauen and hell.

Ariſt.5.pol. Indifferent actions and their dependancie. *Plato in Phil. & 9.de leg.*

Be carefull then, my Sonne, ſo to frame all your indifferent actions and outward behauiour, as they may ſerue for the furtherance and forth-ſetting of your inward vertuous diſpoſition.

Two ſorts of them.

The whole indifferent actions of a man, I deuide in two ſorts: in his behauiour in things neceſſary, as food, ſleeping, raiment, ſpeaking, writing, and geſture; and in things not neceſſary, though conuenient and lawfull, as paſtimes or exerciſes, and vſing of company for recreation.

First ſort, and how they be indifferent.

As to the indifferent things neceſſary, although that of themſelues they cannot bee wanted, and ſo in that caſe are not indifferent; as likewiſe incaſe they bee not vſed with moderation, declining ſo to the extremitie, which is vice; yet the qualitie and forme of vſing them, may ſmell of vertue or vice, and be great furtherers to any of them.

To beginne then at the things neceſſarie; one of the publickeſt indifferent actions of a King, and that manieſt, eſpecially ſtrangers, will narrowly

rowly take heed to; is his maner of refection at his Table, and his behauiour thereat. Therefore, as Kings vse oft to eate publickly, it is meete and honourable that ye also doe so, as well to eschew the opinion that yee loue not to haunt companie, which is one of the markes of a Tyrant; as likewise, that your delight to eate priuatlie, be not thought to be for priuate satisfying of your gluttonie; which ye would be ashamed should bee publicklie seene. Let your Table bee honourably serued; but serue your appetite with few dishes, as yong *Cyrus* did: which both is holesommest, and freest from the vice of delicacie, which is a degree of gluttonie. And vse most to eate of reasonablie-groffe, and common-meates; aswell for making your bodie strong and durable for trauell at all occasions, either in peace or in warre: as that yee may bee the heartlier receiued by your meane Subiects in their houses, when their cheare may suffice you: which otherwayes would be imputed to you for pride and daintinesse, and breed coldnesse and disdaine in them. Let all your food bee simple, without composition or sauces; which are more like medecines then meate. The vsing of them was counted amongst the ancient *Romanes* a filthie vice of delicacie; because they serue onely for pleasing of the taste, and not for satisfying of the necessitie of nature; abhorring *Apicius* their owne citizen, for his vice of delicacie and monsterous gluttonie. Like as both the *Grecians* and *Romanes* had in detestation the very name of *Philoxenus*, for his filthie wish of a Crane-craig. And therefore was that sentence vsed amongst them, against these artificiall false appetites, *optimum condimentum fames.* But beware with vsing excesse of meat and drinke; and chiefly, beware of drunkennesse, which is a beastlie vice, namely in a King: but specially beware with it, because it is one of those vices that increaseth with aage. In the forme of your meate-eating, bee neither vnciuill, like a grosse Cynicke; nor affectatlie mignarde, like a daintie dame; but eate in a manlie, round, and honest fashion. It is no wayes comely to dispatch affaires, or to be pensiue at meate: but keepe then an open and cheerefull countenance, causing to reade pleasant histories vnto you, that profite may be mixed with pleasure: and when ye are not disposed, entertaine pleasant, quicke, but honest discourses.

Formes at the Table. *Xen. in Cyr.*

Xen. 1. Cyr.

Plut. in Apoth.

Sen. ep. 96.

Sen. de consol. ad Alb.

Iuuen. sat. 2.

Arist. 4 eth.

Xen. de dict. & fact. Socr.

Laert. in Socr.

Cic. 5. Tus.

Plat. 6. de Leg.

Plin. l. 14.

Cic. 1. Off.

And because meat prouoketh sleeping, be also moderate in your sleepe; for it goeth much by vse: and remember that if your whole life were deuided in foure parts, three of them would be found to be consumed on meat, drinke, sleepe, and vnnecessarie occupations.

Of sleepe. *Pla. 7. de leg.*

But albeit ordinarie times would commonly bee kept in meate and sleepe; yet vse your selfe some-times so, that any time in the foure and twentie houres may bee alike to you for any of them; that thereby your diet may be accommodate to your affaires, and not your affaires to your diet: not therefore vsing your selfe to ouer great softnesse and delicacie in your sleepe, more then in your meate; and specially in-case yee haue adoe with the warres.

Best forme of diet. *Pla. 6. de leg.*

Formes in the Chalmer.

Let not your Chalmer be throng and common in the time of your rest, aswell for comelinesse as for eschewing of carrying reports out of the same. Let them that haue the credite to serue in your Chalmer, be trustie and secret; for a King will haue need to vse secrecie in many things: but yet behaue your selfe so in your greatest secrets, as yee neede not bee ashamed, suppose they were all proclaimed at the mercate crosse: But specially see that those of your Chalmer be of a sound fame, and without blemish.

Val. 2. Cur. 4.

Pla. 6. de leg.

Dreames not to be taken heede to.

Take no heede to any of your dreames, for all prophecies, visions, and propheticke dreames are accomplished and ceased in Christ: And therefore take no heede to freets either in dreames, or any other things; for that errour proceedeth of ignorance, and is vnworthy of a Christian, who should be assured, *Omnia esse pura puris*, as *Paul* sayth; all dayes and meates being alike to Christians.

Rom. 14. Titus 1.

Of apparell.

Next followeth to speake of raiment, the on-putting whereof is the ordinarie action that followeth next to sleepe. Be also moderate in your raiment, neither ouer superfluous, like a deboshed waster; nor yet ouer base, like a miserable wretch; not artificially trimmed and decked, like a Courtizane, nor yet ouer sluggishly clothed, like a countrey clowne; not ouer lightly like a Candie souldier, or a vaine young Courtier; nor yet ouer grauely, like a Minister: but in your garments be proper, cleanely, comely and honest, wearing your clothes in a carelesse, yet comely forme: keeping in them a midde forme, *inter Togatos & Paludatos*, betwixt the grauitie of the one, and lightnesse of the other: thereby to signifie, that by your calling yee are mixed of both the professions; *Togatus*, as a Iudge making and pronouncing the Law; *Paludatus*, by the power of the sword: as your office is likewise mixed, betwixt the Ecclesiasticall and ciuill estate: For a King is not *merè laicus*, as both the Papists and Anabaptists would haue him, to the which error also the Puritanes incline ouer farre. But to returne to the purpose of garments, they ought to be vsed according to their first institution by God, which was for three causes: first to hide our nakednesse and shame; next and consequently, to make vs more comely, and thirdly, to preserue vs from the iniuries of heate and colde. If to hide our nakednesse and shamefull parts, then these naturall parts ordained to be hid, should not be represented by any vndecent formes in the cloathes: and if they should helpe our comelinesse, they should not then by their painted preened fashion, serue for baites to filthie lecherie, as false haire and fairding does amongst vnchast women: and if they should preserue vs from the iniuries of heat and colde, men should not, like senseless stones, contemne God, in lightlying the seasons, glorying to conquere honour on heate and colde. And although it be praise-worthy and necessarie in a Prince, to be *patiens algoris & æstus*, when he shall haue adoe with warres vpon the fields; yet I thinke it meeter that ye goe both cloathed and armed, then naked to the battell, except you would make you light for away-running: and yet for cowards, *metus addit alas*. And shortly, in

Isocr. de reg.

Cic. 1. Offic.

Plat. de rege.

in your cloathes keepe a proportion, aſwell with the ſeaſons of the yeere, as of your aage: in the faſhions of them being careleſſe, vſing them according to the common forme of the time, ſome-times richlier, ſome-times meanlier cloathed, as occaſion ſerueth, without keeping any preciſe rule therein: For if your mind be found occupied vpon them, it wil be thought idle otherwaies, and ye ſhall bee accounted in the number of one of theſe *compti iuuenes*; which wil make your ſpirit and iudgment to be leſſe thought of. But ſpecially eſchew to be effeminate in your cloathes, in perfuming, preening, or ſuch like: and faile neuer in time of warres to bee galliardeſt and braueſt, both in cloathes and countenance. And make not a foole of your ſelfe in diſguiſing or wearing long haire or nailes, which are but excrements of nature, and bewray ſuch miſuſers of them, to bee either of a vindictiue, or a vaine light naturall. Eſpecially, make no vowes in ſuch vaine and outward things, as concerne either meate or cloathes.

Cic. 1. Off.

Ar. ad Alex.

Let your ſelfe and all your Court weare no ordinarie armour with your cloathes, but ſuch as is knightly and honourable; I meane rapier-ſwordes, and daggers: For tuilyeſome weapons in the Court, betokens confuſion in the countrey. And therefore banniſh not onely from your Court, all traiterous offenſiue weapons, forbidden by the Lawes, as guns and ſuch like (whereof I ſpake alreadie) but alſo all traiterous defenſiue armes, as ſecrets, plate-ſleeues, and ſuch like vnſeene armour: For, beſides that the wearers thereof, may be preſuppoſed to haue a ſecret euill intention, they want both the vſes that defenſiue armour is ordained for; which is, to be able to holde out violence, and by their outward glaunſing in their enemies eyes, to ſtrike a terrour in their hearts: Where by the contrary, they can ſerue for neither, being not onely vnable to reſiſt, but dangerous for ſhots, and giuing no outward ſhowe againſt the enemie; beeing onely ordained, for betraying vnder truſt, whereof honeſt men ſhould be aſhamed to beare the outward badge, not reſembling the thing they are not. And for anſwere againſt theſe arguments, I know none but the olde Scots faſhion; which if it be wrong, is no more to be allowed for ancientneſſe, then the olde Maſſe is, which alſo our forefathers vſed.

What ordinarie armour to be worne at Court.

The next thing that yee haue to take heed to, is your ſpeaking and language; whereunto I ioyne your geſture, ſince action is one of the chiefeſt qualities, that is required in an oratour: for as the tongue ſpeaketh to the eares, ſo doeth the geſture ſpeake to the eyes of the auditour. In both your ſpeaking and your geſture, vſe a naturall and plaine forme, not fairded with artifice. for (as the French-men ſay) *Rien contre-faict fin*: but eſchew all affectate formes in both.

Of language and geſture. *Ariſt. 3. ad Theod.* *Cic. in orat. ad Q. frat. & ad Bren.*

Cic. 1. Offic.

In your language be plaine, honeſt, naturall, comely, cleane, ſhort, and ſententious, eſchewing both the extremities, aſwell in not vſing any ruſticall corrupt leide, as booke-language, and pen and inke-horne termes:

Id. eod.

and leaſt of all mignard and effœminate tearmes. But let the greateſt part of your eloquence conſiſt in a naturall, cleare, and ſenſible forme of the deliuerie of your minde, builded euer vpon certaine and good grounds; tempering it with grauitie, quickeneſſe, or merineſſe, according to the ſubiect, and occaſion of the time; not taunting in Theologie, nor alleadging and prophaning the Scripture in drinking purpoſes, as ouer many doe.

Cic. ad Q. frat. & ad Brut.

Vſe alſo the like forme in your geſture; neither looking ſillily, like a ſtupide pedant; nor vnſetledly, with an vncouth morgue, like a new-come-ouer Cavalier: but let your behauiour be naturall, graue, and according to the faſhion of the countrey. Be not ouer-ſparing in your courteſies, for that will be imputed to inciuilitie and arrogancie: nor yet ouer prodigall in iowking or nodding at euery ſtep: for that forme of being popular, becommeth better aſpiring *Abſalons*, then lawfull Kings: framing euer your geſture according to your preſent actions: looking grauely and with a maieſtie when yee ſit in iudgement, or giue audience to Embaſſadours, homely, when ye are in priuate with your owne ſeruants; merily, when ye are at any paſtime or merrie diſcourſe; and let your countenance ſmell of courage and magnanimitie when ye are at the warres. And remember (I ſay ouer againe) to be plaine and ſenſible in your language: for beſides that it is the tongues office, to be the meſſenger of the mind, it may be thought a point of imbecillitie of ſpirit in a King, to ſpeake obſcurely, much more vntrewly; as if he ſtood in awe of any in vttering his thoughts.

Idem. 1. Off.

Phil. ad Alex. Cic. 2. Off.

Ariſt. 4. eth. Cic. ad At.

Iſoc. de reg & in Euagr.

Remember alſo, to put a difference betwixt your forme of language in reaſoning, and your pronouncing of ſentences, or declaratour of your wil in iudgement, or any other waies in the points of your office: For in the former caſe, yee muſt reaſon pleaſantly and patiently, not like a king, but like a priuate man and a ſcholer; otherwaies, your impatience of contradiction will be interpreted to be for lacke of reaſon on your part. Where in the points of your office, ye ſhould ripely aduiſe indeede, before yee giue foorth your ſentence: but fra it be giuen foorth, the ſuffering of any contradiction diminiſheth the maieſtie of your authoritie, and maketh the proceſſes endleſſe. The like forme would alſo bee obſerued by all your inferiour Iudges and Magiſtrates.

Cic. 3. Off.

Id. 1. Off.

Formes in reaſoning.

In iudgment.

Iſoc. ad Nic. Cic. ad Q. frat.

Now as to your writing, which is nothing elſe, but a forme of en-regiſtrate ſpeech; vſe a plaine, ſhort, but ſtately ſtile, both in your Proclamations and miſſiues, eſpecially to forraine Princes. And if your engine ſpur you to write any workes, either in verſe or in proſe, I cannot but allow you to practiſe it: but take no longſome workes in hand, for diſtracting you from your calling.

Of writing, and what ſtile fitteth a Prince.

Flatter not your ſelfe in your labours, but before they bee ſet foorth, let them firſt bee priuily cenſured by ſome of the beſt skilled men in that craft, that in theſe workes yee meddle with. And becauſe your writes will remaine as true pictures of your minde, to all poſterities; let them bee free of

Cic. 1. Off.

of all vncomelineſſe and vn-honeſtie: and according to *Horace* his counſell

——— *Nonumq; premantur in annum.* *De arte Poetica.*

I meane both your verſe and your proſe; letting firſt that furie and heate, wherewith they were written, coole at leaſure; and then as an vncouth iudge and cenſour, reuiſing them ouer againe, before they bee publiſhed,

——— *quia neſcit vox miſſa reuerti.* *Idem eod.*

If yee would write worthily, chooſe ſubiects worthie of you, that bee not full of vanitie, but of vertue; eſchewing obſcuritie, and delighting euer to bee plaine and ſenſible. And if yee write in verſe, remember that it is not the principall part of a Poeme to rime right, and flowe well with many pretie wordes: but the chiefe commendation of a Poeme is, that when the verſe ſhall bee ſhaken ſundrie in proſe, it ſhall bee found ſo rich in quicke inuentions, and poeticke flowers, and in faire and pertinent compariſons; as it ſhall retaine the luſtre of a Poeme, although in proſe. And I would alſo aduiſe you to write in your owne language: for there is nothing left to be ſaide in Greeke and Latine alreadie; and ynew of poore ſchollers would match you in theſe languages; and beſides that, it beſt becommeth a King to purifie and make famous his owne tongue; wherein he may goe before all his ſubiects; as it ſetteth him well to doe in all honeſt and lawfull things. *Ar. de art. Poet.*

And amongſt all vnneceſſarie things that are lawfull and expedient, I thinke exerciſes of the bodie moſt commendable to be vſed by a young Prince, in ſuch honeſt games or paſtimes, as may further abilitie and maintaine health: For albeit I graunt it to be moſt requiſite for a King to exerciſe his engine, which ſurely with idleneſſe will ruſte and become blunt; yet certainely bodily exerciſes and games are very commendable; as well for banniſhing of idleneſſe (the mother of all vice) as for making his bodie able and durable for trauell, which is very neceſſarie for a King. But from this count I debarre all rough and violent exerciſes, as the foote-ball; meeter for laming, then making able the vſers thereof: as likewiſe ſuch tumbling trickes as only ſerue for Comœdians and Balladines, to win their bread with. But the exerciſes that I would haue you to vſe (although but moderately, not making a craft of them) are running, leaping, wraſtling, fencing, dancing, and playing at the caitch or tenniſe, archerie, palle maillé, and ſuch like other faire and pleaſant field-games. And the honourableſt and moſt commendable games that yee can vſe, are on horſe-backe: for it becommeth a Prince beſt of any man, to be a faire and good horſe-man. Vſe therefore to ride and danton great and couragious horſes; that I may ſay of you, as *Philip* ſaid of great *Alexander* his ſonne, Μακεδονία σε χωρεῖ. And ſpecially vſe ſuch games on horſe-backe, as may teach you to handle your armes thereon; ſuch as the tilt, the ring, and low-riding for handling of your ſword.

Of the exerciſe of the bodie. Xen. 1. Cyr. *Plat. 6. de leg. Ar. 7. & 8. pol. Cic. 1. Off.* *Pl. eod.* *Xen. in Cyr. Iſ. de ing.* *Plut. in Alex.*

I cannot omit heere the hunting, namely with running hounds; which is the moſt honourable and nobleſt ſorte thereof: for it is a theeuiſh forme *Of hunting.*

of hunting to ſhoote with gunnes and bowes; and greyhound hunting is not ſo martiall a game: But becauſe I would not be thought a partiall praiſer of this ſport, I remit you to *Xenophon*, an olde and famous writer, who had no minde of flattering you or me in this purpoſe: and who alſo ſetteth downe a faire paterne, for the education of a yong king, vnder the ſuppoſed name of *Cyrus*.

In Cyn.1.Cyr. & de rep.Lac. Cic.1.Offic.

Cyropædia.

Of hawking.

As for hawking I condemne it not, but I muſt praiſe it more ſparingly, becauſe it neither reſembleth the warres ſo neere as hunting doeth, in making a man hardie, and skilfully ridden in all grounds, and is more vncertaine and ſubiect to miſchances; and (which is worſt of all) is therethrough an extreme ſtirrer vp of paſſions: But in vſing either of theſe games, obſerue that moderation, that ye ſlip not therewith the houres appointed for your affaires, which ye ought euer preciſely to keepe; remembring that theſe games are but ordained for you, in enabling you for your office, for the which ye are ordained.

Ariſt.10.Eth.

Of houſe-games.

And as for ſitting houſe-paſtimes, wherewith men by driuing time, ſpurre a free and faſt ynough running horſe (as the prouerbe is) although they are not profitable for the exerciſe either of minde or body, yet can I not vtterly condemne them; ſince they may at times ſupply the roome, which being emptie, would be patent to pernicious idleneſſe, *quia nihil poteſt eſſe vacuum.* I will not therefore agree with the curioſitie of ſome learned men in our aage, in forbidding cardes, dice, and other ſuch like games of hazard; although otherwayes ſurely I reuerence them as notable and godly men: For they are deceiued therein, in founding their argument vpon a miſtaken ground, which is, that the playing at ſuch games, is a kind of caſting of lot, and therefore vnlawfull; wherein they deceiue themſelues: For the caſting of lot was vſed for triall of the trewth in any obſcure thing, that otherwayes could not be gotten cleared; and therefore was a ſort of prophecie: where by the contrary, no man goeth to any of theſe playes, to cleare any obſcure trewth, but onely to gage ſo much of his owne money, as hee pleaſeth, vpon the hazard of the running of the cardes or dice, aſwell as he would doe vpon the ſpeede of a horſe or a dog, or any ſuch like gaigeour: And ſo, if they be vnlawfull, all gaigeours vpon vncertainties muſt likewayes be condemned: Not that thereby I take the defence of vaine carders and dicers, that waſte their moyen, and their time (whereof fewe conſider the pretiouſneſſe) vpon prodigall and continuall playing: no, I would rather allow it to be diſcharged, where ſuch corruption cannot be eſchewed. But only I cannot condemne you at ſome times, when ye haue no other thing adoe (as a good King will be ſeldome) and are wearie of reading, or euill diſpoſed in your perſon, and when it is foule and ſtormie weather; then, I ſay, may ye lawfully play at the cardes or tables: For as to dicing, I thinke it becommeth beſt deboſhed ſouldiers to play at, on the head of their drums, being onely ruled by hazard, and ſubiect to knauiſh cogging. And as for the cheſſe, I thinke it ouer fond, becauſe

Ariſt.8.pol.

Dan. de luſ.al.

Cic.1.Offic.

because it is ouer-wise and Philosophicke a folly: For where all such light playes, are ordained to free mens heades for a time, from the fashious thoughts on their affaires; it by the contrarie filleth and troubleth mens heades, with as many fashious toyes of the play, as before it was filled with thoughts on his affaires.

But in your playing, I would haue you to keepe three rules: first, or ye play, consider yee doe it onely for your recreation, and resolue to hazard the losse of all that ye play: and next, for that cause play no more then yee care to cast among Pages: and last, play alwaies faire play precisely, that ye come not in vse of tricking and lying in ieast: otherwise, if yee cannot keepe these rules, my counsell is that yee allutterly abstaine from these playes: For neither a madde passion for losse, nor falshood vsed for desire of gaine, can be called a play. Rules in playing.

Now, it is not onely lawfull, but necessarie, that yee haue companie meete for euery thing yee take on hand, aswell in your games and exercises, as in your graue and earnest affaires: But learne to distinguish time according to the occasion, choosing your companie accordingly. Conferre not with hunters at your counsell, nor in your counsell affaires: nor dispatch not affaires at hunting or other games. And haue the like respect to the seasons of your aage, vsing your sortes of recreation and companie therefore, agreeing thereunto: For it becommeth best, as kindliest, euery aage to smell of their owne qualitie, insolence and vnlawful things beeing alwaies eschewed: and not that a colt should draw the plough, and an olde horse run away with the harrowes. But take heede specially, that your companie for recreation, be chosen of honest persons, not defamed or vicious, mixing filthie talke with merrinesse, What choise of companie. *Isoc. de reg. Cic. 1. Off.* *Ar. 2. ad Theod.*

Corrumpunt bonos mores colloquia praua.

And chiefly abstaine from haunting before your mariage, the idle companie of dames, which are nothing else, but *irritamenta libidinis*. Bee warre likewaies to abuse your selfe, in making your sporters your counsellers: and delight not to keepe ordinarily in your companie, Comœdians or Balladines: for the Tyrans delighted most in them, glorying to bee both authors and actors of Comœdies and Tragedies themselues: Wherupon the answere that the poet *Philoxenus* disdainefully gaue to the Tyran of *Syracuse* there-anent, is now come in a prouerbe, *reduc me in latomias*. And all the ruse that *Nero* made of himselfe when he died, was *Qualis artifex pereo?* meaning of his skill in menstrally, and playing of Tragœdies: as indeede his whole life and death, was all but one Tragœdie. Men. *Pl. 3. de rep. Ar. 7. & 8. pol. Sen. 1. ep. Dyon.* *Suidas.* *Suet. in Ner.*

Delight not also to bee in your owne person a player vpon instruments; especially on such as commonly men winne their liuing with: nor yet to be fine of any mechanicke craft: *Leur esprit s'en fuit au bout des doigts*, saith *Du Bartas*: whose workes, as they are all most worthie to bee read by any Prince, or other good Christian; so would I especially wish you to bee well versed in them. But spare not some-times by merie company, *1. Sep.*

to

to be free from importunitie; for ye ſhould be euer mooued with reaſon, which is the onely qualitie whereby men differ from beaſts; and not with importunitie: For the which cauſe (as alſo for augmenting your Maieſtie) ye ſhall not be ſo facile of acceſſe-giuing at all times, as I haue beene; and yet not altogether retired or locked vp, like the Kings of *Perſia*: appointing alſo certaine houres for publicke audience.

Curt.8.

Liu.35. Xen.in Ageſ. Cic. ad Q.frat.

And ſince my truſt is, that God hath ordained you for moe Kingdomes then this (as I haue oft alreadie ſaid) preaſſe by the outward behauiour as well of your owne perſon, as of your court, in all indifferent things, to allure piece and piece, the reſt of your kingdomes, to follow the faſhions of that kingdome of yours, that yee finde moſt ciuill, eaſieſt to be ruled, and moſt obedient to the Lawes: for theſe outward and indifferent things will ſerue greatly for allurements to the people, to embrace and follow vertue. But beware of thrawing or conſtraining them thereto; letting it bee brought on with time, and at leiſure; ſpecially by ſo mixing through alliance and daily conuerſation, the inhabitants of euery kingdom with other, as may with time make them to grow and welde all in one: Which may eaſily be done betwixt theſe two nations, being both but one Ile of *Britaine*, and alreadie ioyned in vnitie of Religion and language. So that euen as in the times of our anceſtours, the long warres and many bloodie battels betwixt theſe two countreys, bred a naturall and hereditarie hatred in euery of them, againſt the other: the vniting and welding of them hereafter in one, by all ſort of friendſhip, commerce, and alliance, will by the contrary produce and maintaine a naturall and inſeparable vnitie of loue amongſt them. As we haue already (praiſe be to God) a great experience of the good beginning hereof, and of the quenching of the olde hate in the hearts of both the people; procured by the meanes of this long and happy amitie, betweene the Queene my dearest ſiſter and me; which during the whole time of both our Reignes, hath euer beene inuiolably obſerued.

A ſpeciall good rule in gouernment.

The fruitfull effects of the vnion.

Alreadie kything in the happy amitie.

And for concluſion of this my whole Treatiſe, remember my Sonne, by your trew and conſtant depending vpon God, to looke for a bleſſing to all your actions in your office: by the outward vſing thereof, to teſtifie the inward vprightneſſe of your heart; and by your behauiour in all indifferent things, to ſet foorth the viue image of your vertuous diſpoſition; and in reſpect of the greatneſſe and weight of your burthen, to be patient in hearing, keeping your heart free from præoccupation, ripe in concluding, and conſtant in your reſolution: For better it is to bide at your reſolution, although there were ſome defect in it, then by daily changing, to effectuate nothing: taking the paterne thereof from the microcoſme of your owne body; wherein ye haue two eyes, ſignifying great foreſight and prouidence, with a narrow looking in all things; and alſo two eares, ſignifying patient hearing, and that of both the parties: but ye haue but one tongue, for pronouncing a plaine, ſenſible, and vniforme ſentence; and but one head, and one heart, for keeping a conſtant & vniforme reſolution, according

Concluſion in forme of abridge of the whole Treatiſe.

Thuc.6. Dion.52.

according to your apprehenſion: hauing two hands and two feete, with many fingers and toes for quicke execution, in employing all inſtruments meet for effectuating your deliberations.

But forget not to digeſt euer your paſſion, before ye determine vpon any thing, ſince *Ira furor breuis eſt*: vttering onely your anger according to the Apoſtles rule, *Iraſcimini, ſed ne peccetis*: taking pleaſure, not only to reward, but to aduance the good, which is a chiefe point of a Kings glory (but make none ouer-great, but according as the power of the countrey may beare) and puniſhing the euill; but euery man according to his owne offence: not puniſhing nor blaming the father for the ſonne, nor the brother for the brother; much leſſe generally to hate a whole race for the fault of one: for *noxa caput ſequitur*.

Hor. lib. 1. epiſt.
Epheſ. 4.
Ariſt. 5. pol.
Dion. 52.
Plat. 9. de leg.

And aboue all, let the meaſure of your loue to euery one, be according to the meaſure of his vertue; letting your fauour to be no longer tyed to any, then the continuance of his vertuous diſpoſition ſhall deſerue: not admitting the excuſe vpon a iuſt reuenge, to procure ouerſight to an iniurie: For the firſt iniurie is committed againſt the partie; but the parties reuenging thereof at his owne hand, is a wrong committed againſt you, in vſurping your office, whom to onely the ſword belongeth, for reuenging of all the iniuries committed againſt any of your people.

Thus hoping in the goodnes of God, that your naturall inclination ſhall haue a happy ſympathie with theſe precepts, making the wiſe-mans ſcholemaſter, which is the example of others, to bee your teacher, according to that old verſe, *Fœlix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum*; eſchewing ſo the ouer-late repentance by your owne experience, which is the ſchoole-maſter of fooles; I wil for end of all, require you my Sonne, as euer ye thinke to deſerue my fatherly bleſſing, to keepe continually before the eyes of your minde, the greatneſſe of your charge: making the faithfull and due diſcharge thereof, the principal butt ye ſhoot at in all your actions: counting it euer the principall, and all your other actions but as acceſſories, to be emploied as middeſſes for the furthering of that principall. And being content to let others excell in other things, let it be your chiefeſt earthly glory, to excell in your owne craft: according to the worthy counſel and charge of *Anchiſes* to his poſteritie, in that ſublime and heroicall Poet, wherein alſo my dicton is included;

Plat. in pol.
Cic. 5. de rep.

Excudent alij ſpirantia molliùs æra,
Credo equidem, & viuos ducent de marmore vultus,
Orabunt cauſas meliùs, cœlique meatus
Deſcribent radio, & ſurgentia ſydera dicent.
Tu, regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
(Hæ tibi erunt artes) pacique imponere morem,
" Parcere ſubiectis, & debellare ſuperbos.

Virg. 6. AEn.

THE TREW LAW OF FREE MONARCHIES:

OR

THE RECIPROCK AND MVTVALL DVETIE BETWIXT A FREE KING, AND HIS naturall Subiects.

AN ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

ACcept, I pray you (my deare countreymen) as thankefully this Pamphlet that I offer vnto you, as louingly it is written for your weale. I would be loath both to be faschious, and fectlesse: And therefore, if it be not sententious, at least it is short. It may be yee misse many things that yee looke for in it: But for excuse thereof, consider rightly that I onely lay downe herein the trew grounds, to teach you the right-way, without wasting time vpon refuting the aduersaries. And yet I trust, if ye will take narrow tent, ye shall finde most of their great gunnes payed home againe, either with contrary conclusions, or tacite obiections, suppose in a dairned forme, and indirectly: For my intention

tention is to instruct, and not irritat, if I may eschew it. The profite I would wish you to make of it, is, as well so to frame all your actions according to these grounds, as may confirme you in the course of honest and obedient Subiects to your King in all times comming, as also, when ye shall fall in purpose with any that shall praise or excuse the by-past rebellions that brake foorth either in this countrey, or in any other, ye shall herewith bee armed against their Sirene songs, laying their particular examples to the square of these grounds. Whereby yee shall soundly keepe the course of righteous Iudgement, decerning wisely of euery action onely according to the qualitie thereof, and not according to your preiudged conceits of the committers: So shall ye, by reaping profit to your selues, turne my paine into pleasure. But least the whole Pamphlet runne out at the gaping mouth of this Preface, if it were any more enlarged; I end, with committing you to God, and me to your charitable censures.

C. Φιλόπατρις.

THE

THE TREW LAW OF FREE MONARCHIES:

OR

The Reciprock and mutuall duetie betwixt a free King and his naturall Subiects.

AS there is not a thing ſo neceſſarie to be knowne by the people of any land, next the knowledge of their God, as the right knowledge of their alleageance, according to the forme of gouernement eſtabliſhed among them, eſpecially in a *Monarchie* (which forme of gouernment, as reſembling the Diuinitie, approcheth neareſt to perfection, as all the learned and wiſe men from the beginning haue agreed vpon; Vnitie being the perfection of all things,) So hath the ignorance, and (which is worſe) the ſeduced opinion of the multitude blinded by them, who thinke themſelues able to teach and inſtruct the ignorants, procured the wracke and ouerthrow of ſundry flouriſhing Common-wealths; and heaped heauy calamities, threatning vtter deſtruction vpon others. And the ſmiling ſucceſſe, that vnlawfull rebellions haue oftentimes had againſt Princes in aages paſt (ſuch hath bene the miſery, and iniquitie of the time) hath by way of practiſe ſtrengthned many in their errour: albeit there cannot be a more deceiueable argument; then to iudge ay the iuſtneſſe of the cauſe by the euent thereof; as hereafter ſhalbe proued more at length. And among others, no Common-wealth, that euer hath bene ſince the beginning, hath had greater need of the trew knowledge of this ground, then this our ſo long diſordered, and diſtracted Common-wealth hath: the misknowledge hereof being the onely ſpring, from whence haue flowed ſo many endleſſe calamities, miſeries, and confuſions, as is better felt by many, then the cauſe thereof well knowne, and deepely conſidered. The naturall zeale therefore, that I beare to this my natiue countrie, with the great pittie I haue to ſee the ſo-long diſturbance thereof for lacke of the trew knowledge of this ground (as I haue ſaid before) hath compelled me at laſt to breake ſilence, to diſcharge my

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conſcience to you my deare country men herein, that knowing the ground from whence theſe your many endleſſe troubles haue proceeded, as well as ye haue already too-long taſted the bitter fruites thereof, ye may by knowledge, and eſchewing of the cauſe eſcape, and diuert the lamentable effects that euer neceſſarily follow thereupon. I haue choſen then onely to ſet downe in this ſhort Treatiſe, the trew grounds of the mutuall duetie, and alleageance betwixt a free and abſolute *Monarche*, and his people; not to trouble your patience with anſwering the contrary propoſitions, which ſome haue not bene aſhamed to ſet downe in writ, to the poyſoning of infinite number of ſimple ſoules, and their owne perpetuall, and well deſerued infamie: For by anſwering them, I could not haue eſchewed whiles to pick, and byte wel ſaltly their perſons; which would rather haue bred contentiouſneſſe among the readers (as they had liked or miſliked) then ſound inſtruction of the trewth: Which I proteſt to him that is the ſearcher of all hearts, is the onely marke that I ſhoot at herein.

Firſt then, I will ſet downe the trew grounds, whereupon I am to build, out of the Scriptures, ſince *Monarchie* is the trew paterne of Diuinitie, as I haue already ſaid: next, from the fundamental Lawes of our owne Kingdome, which neareſt muſt concerne vs: thirdly, from the law of Nature, by diuers ſimilitudes drawne out of the ſame: and will conclude ſyne by anſwering the moſt waighty and appearing incommodities that can be obiected.

The Princes duetie to his Subiects is ſo clearely ſet downe in many places of the Scriptures, and ſo openly confeſſed by all the good Princes, according to their oath in their Coronation, as not needing to be long therein, I ſhall as ſhortly as I can runne through it.

Pſal. 82. 6. Kings are called Gods by the propheticall King *Dauid*, becauſe they ſit vpon GOD his Throne in the earth, and haue the count of their adminiſtration to giue vnto him. Their office is, *To miniſter Iuſtice and Iudgement to the people*, as the ſame *Dauid* ſaith: *To aduance the good, and puniſh the euill*, as he likewiſe ſaith: *To eſtabliſh good Lawes to his people, and procure obedience to the ſame*, as diuers good Kings of *Iudah* did: *To procure the peace of the people*, as the ſame *Dauid* ſaith: *To decide all controuerſies that can ariſe among them*, as *Salomon* did: *To be the Miniſter of God for the weale of them that doe well, and as the miniſter of God, to take vengeance vpon them that doe euill*, as S. *Paul* ſaith. And finally, *As a good Paſtour, to goe out and in before his people* as is ſaid in the firſt of *Samuel*: *That through the Princes proſperitie, the peoples peace may be procured*, as *Ieremie* ſaith.

Pſal. 101. Pſal. 101. 2. King. 18. 2. Chron. 29. 2. King. 22. and 23. 2. chro. 34. & 35. Pſal. 72. 1. King 3. Rom. 13. 1. Sam. 8. Ierem. 29.

And therefore in the Coronation of our owne Kings, as well as of euery Chriſtian *Monarche* they giue their Oath, firſt to maintaine the Religion preſently profeſſed within their countrie, according to their lawes, whereby it is eſtabliſhed, and to puniſh all thoſe that ſhould preſſe to alter, or diſturbe the profeſſion thereof; And next to maintaine all the lowable and good Lawes made by their predeceſſours: to ſee them put in execution, and

and the breakers and violaters thereof, to be punished, according to the tenour of the same: And lastly, to maintaine the whole countrey, and euery state therein, in all their ancient Priuiledges and Liberties, as well against all forreine enemies, as among themselues: And shortly to procure the weale and flourishing of his people, not onely in maintaining and putting to execution the olde lowable lawes of the countrey, and by establishing of new (as necessitie and euill maners will require) but by all other meanes possible to fore-see and preuent all dangers, that are likely to fall vpon them, and to maintaine concord, wealth, and ciuilitie among them, as a louing Father, and careful watchman, caring for them more then for himselfe, knowing himselfe to be ordained for them, and they not for him; and therefore countable to that great God, who placed him as his lieutenant ouer them, vpon the perill of his soule to procure the weale of both soules and bodies, as farre as in him lieth, of all them that are committed to his charge. And this oath in the Coronation is the cleareſt, ciuill, and fundamentall Law, whereby the Kings office is properly defined.

By the Law of Nature the King becomes a naturall Father to all his Lieges at his Coronation: And as the Father of his fatherly duty is bound to care for the nourishing, education, and vertuous gouernment of his children; euen so is the king bound to care for all his subiects. As all the toile and paine that the father can take for his children, will be thought light and well bestowed by him, so that the effect thereof redound to their profite and weale; so ought the Prince to doe towards his people. As the kindly father ought to foresee all inconuenients and dangers that may arise towards his children, and though with the hazard of his owne person presse to preuent the same; so ought the King towards his people. As the fathers wrath and correction vpon any of his children that offendeth, ought to be by a fatherly chastisement seasoned with pitie, as long as there is any hope of amendment in them; so ought the King towards any of his Lieges that offend in that measure. And shortly, as the Fathers chiefe ioy ought to be in procuring his childrens welfare, reioycing at their weale, sorrowing and pitying at their euill, to hazard for their safetie, trauell for their rest, wake for their sleepe; and in a word, to thinke that his earthly felicitie and life standeth and liueth more in them, nor in himselfe; so ought a good Prince thinke of his people.

As to the other branch of this mutuall and reciprock band, is the duety and alleageance that the Lieges owe to their King: the ground whereof, I take out of the words of *Samuel*, dited by Gods Spirit, when God had giuen him commandement to heare the peoples voice in choosing and annointing them a King. And because that place of Scripture being well vnderstood, is so pertinent for our purpose, I haue insert herein the very words of the Text.

9 *NOw therefore hearken to their voice: howbeit yet testifie vnto them, and shew them the maner of the King, that shall raigne ouer them.*

10 *So* Samuel *tolde all the wordes of the Lord vnto the people that asked a King of him.*

11 *And he said, This shall be the maner of the King that shall raigne ouer you: he will take your sonnes, and appoint them to his Charets, and to be his horsemen, and some shall runne before his Charet.*

12 *Also, hee will make them his captaines ouer thousands, and captaines ouer fifties, and to eare his ground, and to reape his harueſt, and to make instruments of warre, and the things that serue for his charets:*

13 *Hee will also take your daughters, and make them Apothicaries, and Cookes, and Bakers.*

14 *And hee will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your beſt Oliue trees, and giue them to his seruants.*

15 *And he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your Vineyards, and giue it to his Eunuches, and to his seruants.*

16 *And he will take your men seruants, and your maid-seruants, and the chiefe of your yong men, and your asses, and put them to his worke.*

17 *He will take the tenth of your sheepe: and ye shall be his seruants.*

18 *And ye shall cry out at that day, because of your King, whom ye haue chosen you: and the Lord God will not heare you at that day.*

19 *But the people would not heare the voice of* Samuel, *but did say: Nay, but there shalbe a King ouer vs.*

20 *And we also will be like all other Nations, and our King shall iudge vs, and goe out before vs, and fight our battels.*

That these words, and discourses of *Samuel* were dited by Gods Spirit, it needs no further probation, but that it is a place of Scripture; since the whole Scripture is dited by that inspiration, as *Paul* saith: which ground no good Christian will, or dare denie. Whereupon it must necessarily follow, that these speeches proceeded not from any ambition in *Samuel*, as one loath to quite the reines that he so long had ruled, and therefore desirous, by making odious the gouernment of a King, to dissuade the people from their farther importunate crauing of one: For, as the text proueth it plainly, he then conueened them to giue them a resolute grant of their demand, as God by his owne mouth commanded him, saying,

Hearken to the voice of the people.

And to presse to dissuade them frō that, which he then came to grant vnto them, were a thing very impertinent in a wise man; much more in the Prophet of the most high God. And likewise, it well appeared in all the course of his life after, that his so long refusing of their sute before came not of any ambition in him: which he well proued in praying, & as it were importuning God for the weale of *Saul*. Yea, after God had declared his reprobation vnto him, yet he desisted not, while God himselfe was wrath at his praying,

ing, and discharged his fathers suit in that errand. And that these words of *Samuel* were not vttered as a prophecie of *Saul* their first Kings defection, it well appeareth, as well because we heare no mention made in the Scripture of any his tyrannie and oppression, (which, if it had beene, would not haue been left vnpainted out therein, as well as his other faults were, as in a trew mirrour of all the Kings behauiours, whom it describeth) as likewise in respect that *Saul* was chosen by God for his vertue, and meet qualities to gouerne his people: whereas his defection sprung after-hand from the corruption of his owne nature, & not through any default in God, whom they that thinke so, would make as a step-father to his people, in making wilfully a choise of the vnmeetest for gouerning them, since the election of that King lay absolutely and immediatly in Gods hand. But by the contrary it is plaine, and euident, that this speech of *Samuel* to the people, was to prepare their hearts before the hand to the due obedience of that King, which God was to giue vnto them; and therefore opened vp vnto them, what might be the intollerable qualities that might fall in some of their kings, thereby preparing them to patience, not to resist to Gods ordinance: but as he would haue said; Since God hath granted your importunate suit in giuing you a king, as yee haue else committed an errour in shaking off Gods yoke, and ouer-hastie seeking of a King; so beware yee fall not into the next, in casting off also rashly that yoke, which God at your earnest suite hath laid vpon you, how hard that euer it seeme to be: For as ye could not haue obtained one without the permission and ordinance of God, so may yee no more, fro hee be once set ouer you, shake him off without the same warrant. And therefore in time arme your selues with patience and humilitie, since he that hath the only power to make him, hath the onely power to vnmake him; and ye onely to obey, bearing with these straits that I now foreshew you, as with the finger of God, which lieth not in you to take off.

And will ye consider the very wordes of the text in order, as they are set downe, it shall plainely declare the obedience that the people owe to their King in all respects.

First, God commandeth *Samuel* to doe two things: the one, to grant the people their suit in giuing them a king; the other, to forewarne them, what some kings will doe vnto them, that they may not thereafter in their grudging and murmuring say, when they shal feele the snares here fore-spoken; We would neuer haue had a king of God, in case when we craued him, hee had let vs know how wee would haue beene vsed by him, as now we finde but ouer-late. And this is meant by these words:

Now therefore hearken vnto their voice: howbeit yet testifie vnto them, and shew them the maner of the King that shall rule ouer them.

And next, *Samuel* in execution of this commandement of God, hee likewise doeth two things.

First, hee declares vnto them, what points of iustice and equitie their king will breake in his behauiour vnto them: And next he putteth them

out of hope, that wearie as they will, they ſhall not haue leaue to ſhake off that yoke, which God through their importunitie hath laide vpon them. The points of equitie that the King ſhall breake vnto them, are expreſſed in theſe words:

11 *He will take your ſonnes, and appoint them to his Charets, and to be his horſemen, and ſome ſhall run before his Charet.*

12 *Alſo he will make them his captaines ouer thouſands, and captaines ouer fifties, and to eare his ground, and to reape his harueſt, and to make inſtruments of warre, and the things that ſerue for his charets.*

13 *He will alſo take your daughters, and make them Apothecaries, and Cookes, and Bakers.*

The points of Iuſtice, that hee ſhall breake vnto them, are expreſſed in theſe wordes:

14 *Hee will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your beſt Oliue trees, and giue them to his ſeruants.*

15 *And he will take the tenth of your ſeede, and of your vineyards, and giue it to his Eunuches and to his ſeruants: and alſo the tenth of your ſheepe.*

As if he would ſay; The beſt and nobleſt of your blood ſhall be compelled in ſlauiſh and ſeruile offices to ſerue him: And not content of his owne patrimonie, will make vp a rent to his owne vſe out of your beſt lands, vineyards, orchards, and ſtore of cattell: So as inuerting the Law of nature, and office of a King, your perſons and the perſons of your poſteritie, together with your lands, and all that ye poſſeſſe ſhal ſerue his priuate vſe, and inordinate appetite.

And as vnto the next point (which is his fore-warning them, that, weary as they will, they ſhall not haue leaue to ſhake off the yoke, which God thorow their importunity hath laid vpon them) it is expreſſed in theſe words:

18 *And yee ſhall crie out at that day, becauſe of your King whom yee haue choſen you: and the Lord will not heare you at that day.*

As he would ſay; When ye ſhall finde theſe things in proofe that now I fore-warne you of, although you ſhall grudge and murmure, yet it ſhal not be lawful to you to caſt it off, in reſpect it is not only the ordinance of God, but alſo your ſelues haue choſen him vnto you, thereby renouncing for euer all priuiledges, by your willing conſent out of your hands, whereby in any time hereafter ye would claime, and call backe vnto your ſelues againe that power, which God ſhall not permit you to doe. And for further taking away of all excuſe, and retraction of this their contract, after their conſent to vnder-lie this yoke with all the burthens that hee hath declared vnto them, he craues their anſwere, and conſent to his propoſition: which appeareth by their anſwere, as it is expreſſed in theſe words:

19 *Nay, but there ſhalbe a King ouer vs.* 20 *And we alſo will be like all other nations: and our king ſhall iudge vs, and goe out before vs and fight our battels.*

As if they would haue ſaid; All your ſpeeches and hard conditions ſhall not skarre vs, but we will take the good and euill of it vpon vs, and we will be

be content to beare whatſoeuer burthen it ſhal pleaſe our King to lay vpon vs, aſwell as other nations doe. And for the good we will get of him in ſighting our battels, we will more patiently beare any burthen that ſhall pleaſe him to lay on vs.

Now then, ſince the erection of this Kingdome and Monarchie among the Iewes, and the law thereof may, and ought to bee a paterne to all Chriſtian and well founded Monarchies, as beeing founded by God himſelfe, who by his Oracle, and out of his owne mouth gaue the law thereof: what liberty can broiling ſpirits, and rebellious minds claime iuſtly to againſt any Chriſtian Monarchie; ſince they can claime to no greater libertie on their part, nor the people of God might haue done, and no greater tyranny was euer executed by any Prince or tyrant, whom they can obiect, nor was here fore-warned to the people of God, (and yet all rebellion counterman-ded vnto them) if tyrannizing ouer mens perſons, ſonnes, daughters and ſeruants; redacting noble houſes, and men, and women of noble blood, to ſlauiſh and ſeruile offices; and extortion, and ſpoile of their lands and goods to the princes owne priuate vſe and commoditie, and of his courteours, and ſeruants, may be called a tyrannie?

And that this propoſition grounded vpon the Scripture, may the more clearely appeare to be trew by the practiſe oft prooued in the ſame booke, we neuer reade, that euer the Prophets perſwaded the people to rebell againſt the Prince, how wicked ſoeuer he was.

When *Samuel* by Gods command pronounced to the ſame king *Saul*, that his kingdome was rent from him, and giuen to another (which in effect was a degrading of him) yet his next action following that, was peaceably to turne home, and with floods of teares to pray to God to haue ſome compaſſion vpon him. 1.Sam.15.

And *Dauid*, notwithſtanding hee was inaugurate in that ſame degraded Kings roome, not onely (when he was cruelly perſecuted, for no offence; but good ſeruice done vnto him) would not preſume, hauing him in his power, skantly, but with great reuerence, to touch the garment of the annoynted of the Lord, and in his words bleſſed him: but likewiſe, when one came to him vanting himſelfe vntrewly to haue ſlaine *Saul*, hee, without forme of proces, or triall of his guilt, cauſed onely for guiltineſſe of his tongue, put him to ſodaine death. 1.Sam.24. 2.Sam.1.

And although there was neuer a more monſtrous perſecutor, and tyrant nor *Achab* was: yet all the rebellion, that *Elias* euer raiſed againſt him, was to flie to the wildernes: where for fault of ſuſtentation, he was fed with the Corbies. And I thinke no man will doubt but *Samuel*, *Dauid*, and *Elias*, had as great power to perſwade the people, if they had liked to haue employed their credite to vproares & rebellions againſt theſe wicked kings, as any of our ſeditious preachers in theſe daies of whatſoeuer religion, either in this countrey or in France, had, that buſied themſelues moſt to ſtir vp rebellion vnder cloake of religion. This farre the only loue of veritie, I proteſt, without

out hatred at their persons, haue mooued me to be somewhat satyricke.

And if any will leane to the extraordinarie examples of degrading or killing of kings in the Scriptures, thereby to cloake the peoples rebellion, as by the deed of *Iehu*, and such like extraordinaries: I answere, besides that they want the like warrant that they had, if extraordinarie examples of the Scripture shall bee drawne in daily practise; murther vnder traist as in the persons of *Ahud*, and *Iael*; theft, as in the persons of the *Israelites* comming out of *Egypt*; lying to their parents to the hurt of their brother, as in the person of *Iacob*, shall all be counted as lawfull and allowable vertues, as rebellion against Princes. And to conclude, the practise through the whole Scripture prooueth the peoples obedience giuen to that sentence in the law of God:

Thou shalt not rayle vpon the Iudges, neither speake euill of the ruler of thy people.

To end then the ground of my proposition taken out of the Scripture, let two speciall, and notable examples, one vnder the law, another vnder the Euangel, conclude this part of my alleageance. Vnder the lawe, *Ieremie* threatneth the people of God with vtter destruction for rebellion to *Nabuchadnezar* the king of Babel: who although he was an idolatrous persecuter, a forraine King, a Tyrant, and vsurper of their liberties; yet in respect they had once receiued and acknowledged him for their king, he not only commandeth them to obey him, but euen to pray for his prosperitie, adioyning the reason to it; because in his prosperitie stood their peace.

Ier. 27.

Iere. 29.

And vnder the Euangel, that king, whom *Paul* bids the *Romanes obey* and serue *for conscience sake*, was *Nero* that bloody tyrant, an infamie to his aage, and a monster to the world, being also an idolatrous persecuter, as the King of *Babel* was. If then Idolatrie and defection from God, tyranny ouer their people, and persecution of the Saints, for their profession sake, hindred not the Spirit of God to command his people vnder all highest paine to giue them all due and heartie obedience for conscience sake, giuing to *Cæsar* that which was *Cæsars*, and to God that which was Gods, as Christ saith; and that this practise throughout the booke of God agreeth with this lawe, which he made in the erection of that Monarchie (as is at length before deduced) what shamelesse presumption is it to any Christian people now adayes to claime to that vnlawfull libertie, which God refused to his owne peculiar and chosen people? Shortly then to take vp in two or three sentences, grounded vpon all these arguments, out of the lawe of God, the duetie, and alleageance of the people to their lawfull king, their obedience, I say, ought to be to him, as to Gods Lieutenant in earth, obeying his commands in all things, except directly against God, as the commands of Gods Minister, acknowledging him a Iudge set by GOD ouer them, hauing power to iudge them, but to be iudged onely by GOD, whom to onely hee must giue count of his iudgement; fearing him as their Iudge; louing him as their father; praying for him as their protectour; for his continuance, if hee

Iere. 13.

he be good; for his amendement, if he be wicked; following and obeying his lawfull commaunds, eschewing and flying his fury in his vnlawfull, without resistance, but by sobbes and teares to God, according to that sentence vsed in the primitiue Church in the time of the persecution.

Preces, & Lachrymæ sunt arma Ecclesiæ.

Now, as for the describing the alleageance, that the lieges owe to their natiue King, out of the fundamentall and ciuill Lawe, especially of this countrey, as I promised, the ground must first be set downe of the first maner of establishing the Lawes and forme of gouernement among vs; that the ground being first right laide, we may thereafter build rightly thereupon. Although it be trew (according to the affirmation of those that pryde themselues to be the scourges of Tyrants) that in the first beginning of Kings rising among Gentiles, in the time of the first aage, diuers commonwealths and societies of men choosed out one among themselues, who for his vertues and valour, being more eminent then the rest, was chosen out by them, and set vp in that roome, to maintaine the weakest in their right, to throw downe oppressours, and to foster and continue the societie among men; which could not otherwise, but by vertue of that vnitie be wel done: yet these examples are nothing pertinent to vs; because our Kingdome and diuers other Monarchies are not in that case, but had their beginning in a farre contrary fashion.

For as our Chronicles beare witnesse, this Ile, and especially our part of it, being scantly inhabited, but by very few, and they as barbarous and scant of ciuilitie, as number, there comes our first King *Fergus*, with a great number with him, out of *Ireland*, which was long inhabited before vs, and making himselfe master of the countrey, by his owne friendship, and force, as well of the *Ireland-men* that came with him, as of the countrey-men that willingly fell to him, hee made himselfe King and Lord, as well of the whole landes, as of the whole inhabitants within the same. Thereafter he and his successours, a long while after their being Kinges, made and established their lawes from time to time, and as the occasion required. So the trewth is directly contrarie in our state to the false affirmation of such seditious writers, as would perswade vs, that the Lawes and state of our countrey were established before the admitting of a king: where by the contrarie ye see it plainely prooued, that a wise king comming in among barbares, first established the estate and forme of gouernement, and thereafter made lawes by himselfe, and his successours according thereto.

The kings therefore in *Scotland* were before any estates or rankes of men within the same, before any Parliaments were holden, or lawes made: and by them was the land distributed (which at the first was whole theirs) states erected and decerned, and formes of gouernement deuised and established: And so it followes of necessitie, that the kings were the authors and makers of the Lawes, and not the Lawes of the kings. And to prooue this my assertion more clearly, it is euident by the rolles of our Chancellery (which

(which containe our eldest and fundamentall Lawes) that the King is *Dominus omnium bonorum*, and *Dominus directus totius Dominij*, the whole subiects being but his vassals, and from him holding all their lands as their ouer-lord, who according to good seruices done vnto him, chaungeth their holdings from tacke to few, from ward to blanch, erecteth new Baronies, and vniteth olde, without aduice or authoritie of either Parliament, or any other subalterin iudiciall seate: So as if wrong might bee admitted in play (albeit I grant wrong should be wrong in all persons) the King might haue a better colour for his pleasure, without further reason, to take the land from his lieges, as ouer-lord of the whole, and doe with it as pleaseth him, since all that they hold is of him, then, as foolish writers say, the people might vnmake the king, and put an other in his roome: But either of them as vnlawful, and against the ordinance of God, ought to be alike odious to be thought, much lesse put in practise.

And according to these fundamentall Lawes already alledged, we daily see that in the Parliament (which is nothing else but the head Court of the king and his vassals) the lawes are but craued by his subiects, and onely made by him at their rogation, and with their aduice: For albeit the king make daily statutes and ordinances, enioyning such paines thereto as hee thinkes meet, without any aduice of Parliament or estates; yet it lies in the power of no Parliament, to make any kinde of Lawe or Statute, without his Scepter be to it, for giuing it the force of a Law: And although diuers changes haue beene in other countries of the blood Royall, and kingly house, the kingdome being reft by conquest from one to another, as in our neighbour countrey in *England*, (which was neuer in ours) yet the same ground of the kings right ouer all the land, and subiects thereof remaineth alike in all other free Monarchies, as well as in this: For when the Bastard of *Normandie* came into *England*, and made himselfe king, was it not by force, and with a mighty army? Where he gaue the Law, and tooke none, changed the Lawes, inuerted the order of gouernement, set downe the strangers his followers in many of the old possessours roomes, as at this day well appeareth a great part of the Gentlemen in *England*, beeing come of the *Norman* blood, and their old Lawes, which to this day they are ruled by, are written in his language, and not in theirs: And yet his successours haue with great happinesse enioyed the Crowne to this day; Whereof the like was also done by all them that conquested them before.

And for conclusion of this point, that the king is ouer-lord ouer the whole lands, it is likewise daily proued by the Law of our hoordes, of want of Heires, and of Bastardies: For if a hoord be found vnder the earth, because it is no more in the keeping or vse of any person, it of the law pertains to the king. If a person, inheritour of any lands or goods, dye without any sort of heires, all his landes and goods returne to the king. And if a bastard die vnrehabled without heires of his bodie (which rehabling onely lyes in the kings hands) all that hee hath likewise returnes to the king.

And

And as ye ſee it manifeſt, that the King is ouer-Lord of the whole land: ſo is he Maſter ouer euery perſon that inhabiteth the ſame, hauing power ouer the life and death of euery one of them: For although a iuſt Prince will not take the life of any of his ſubiects without a cleare law; yet the ſame lawes whereby he taketh them, are made by himſelfe, or his predeceſſours; and ſo the power flowes alwaies from him ſelfe; as by daily experience we ſee, good and iuſt Princes will from time to time make new lawes and ſtatutes, adioyning the penalties to the breakers thereof, which before the law was made, had beene no crime to the ſubiect to haue committed. Not that I deny the old definition of a King, and of a law; which makes the king to bee a ſpeaking law, and the Law a dumbe king: for certainely a king that gouernes not by his lawe, can neither be countable to God for his adminiſtration, nor haue a happy and eſtabliſhed raigne: For albeit it be trew that I haue at length prooued, that the King is aboue the law, as both the author and giuer of ſtrength thereto; yet a good king will not onely delight to rule his ſubiects by the lawe, but euen will conforme himſelfe in his owne actions thereuneto, alwaies keeping that ground, that the health of the common-wealth be his chiefe lawe: And where he ſees the lawe doubtſome or rigorous, hee may interpret or mitigate the ſame, leſt otherwiſe *Summum ius* bee *ſumma iniuria*: And therefore generall lawes, made publikely in Parliament, may vpon knowen reſpects to the King by his authoritie bee mitigated, and ſuſpended vpon cauſes onely knowen to him.

As likewiſe, although I haue ſaid, a good king will frame all his actions to be according to the Law; yet is hee not bound thereto but of his good will, and for good example-giuing to his ſubiects: For as in the law of abſtaining from eating of fleſh in *Lenton*, the king will, for examples ſake, make his owne houſe to obſerue the Law; yet no man will thinke he needs to take a licence to eate fleſh. And although by our Lawes, the bearing and wearing of hag-buts, and piſtolets be forbidden, yet no man can find any fault in the King, for cauſing his traine vſe them in any raide vpon the Borderers, or other malefactours or rebellious ſubiects. So as I haue alreadie ſaid, a good King, although hee be aboue the Law, will ſubiect and frame his actions thereto, for examples ſake to his ſubiects, and of his owne free-will, but not as ſubiect or bound thereto.

Since I haue ſo clearely prooued then out of the fundamentall lawes and practiſe of this country, what right & power a king hath ouer his land and ſubiects, it is eaſie to be vnderſtood, what allegeance & obedience his lieges owe vnto him; I meane alwaies of ſuch free Monarchies as our king is, and not of electiue kings, and much leſſe of ſuch ſort of gouernors, as the dukes of *Venice* are, whoſe Ariſtocratick and limited gouernment, is nothing like to free Monarchies; although the malice of ſome writers hath not beene aſhamed to mis-know any difference to be betwixt them. And if it be not lawfull to any particular Lordes tenants or vaſſals, vpon whatſoeuer pretext,

pretext, to controll and displace their Master, and ouer-lord (as is clearer nor the Sunne by all Lawes of the world) how much lesse may the subiects and vassals of the great ouer-lord the KING controll or displace him? And since in all inferiour iudgements in the land, the people may not vpon any respects displace their Magistrates, although but subaltern: for the people of a borough, cannot displace their Prouost before the time of their election: nor in Ecclesiasticall policie the flocke can vpon any pretence displace the Pastor, nor iudge of him: yea euen the poore Schoolemaster cannot be displaced by his schollers: If these, I say (whereof some are but inferiour, subaltern, and temporall Magistrates, and none of them equall in any sort to the dignitie of a King) cannot be displaced for any occasion or pretext by them that are ruled by them: how much lesse is it lawfull vpon any pretext to controll or displace the great Prouost, and great Schoole-master of the whole land: except by inuerting the order of all Law and reason, the commanded may be made to command their commander, the iudged to iudge their Iudge, and they that are gouerned, to gouerne their time about their Lord and gouernour.

And the agreement of the Law of nature in this our ground with the Lawes and constitutions of God, and man, already alledged, will by two similitudes easily appeare. The King towards his people is rightly compared to a father of children, and to a head of a body composed of diuers members: For as fathers, the good Princes, and Magistrates of the people of God acknowledged themselues to their subiects. And for all other well ruled Common-wealths, the stile of *Pater patriæ* was euer, and is commonly vsed to Kings. And the proper office of a King towards his Subiects, agrees very wel with the office of the head towards the body, and all members thereof: For from the head, being the seate of Iudgement, proceedeth the care and foresight of guiding, and preuenting all euill that may come to the body, or any part thereof. The head cares for the body, so doeth the King for his people. As the discourse and direction flowes from the head, and the execution according thereunto belongs to the rest of the members, euery one according to their office: so is it betwixt a wise Prince, and his people. As the iudgement comming from the head may not onely imploy the members, euery one in their owne office, as long as they are able for it; but likewise in case any of them be affected with any infirmitie must care and prouide for their remedy, in-case it be curable, and if otherwise, gar cut them off for feare of infecting of the rest: euen so is it betwixt the Prince, and his people. And as there is euer hope of curing any diseased member by the direction of the head, as long as it is whole; but by the contrary, if it be troubled, all the members are partakers of that paine, so is it betwixt the Prince and his people.

And now first for the fathers part (whose naturall loue to his children I described in the first part of this my discourse, speaking of the dutie that Kings owe to their Subiects) consider, I pray you what duetie his children

owe

owe to him, & whether vpō any pretext whatſoeuer, it wil not be thought monſtrous and vnnaturall to his ſons, to riſe vp againſt him, to control him at their appetite, and when they thinke good to ſley him, or to cut him off, and adopt to themſelues any other they pleaſe in his roome: Or can any pretence of wickednes or rigor on his part be a iuſt excuſe for his children to put hand into him? And although wee ſee by the courſe of nature, that loue vſeth to deſcend more then to aſcend, in caſe it were trew, that the father hated and wronged the children neuer ſo much, will any man, endued with the leaſt ſponke of reaſon, thinke it lawfull for them to meet him with the line? Yea, ſuppoſe the father were furiouſly following his ſonnes with a drawen ſword, is it lawfull for them to turne and ſtrike againe, or make any reſiſtance but by flight? I thinke ſurely, if there were no more but the example of bruit beaſts & vnreaſonable creatures, it may ſerue well enough to qualifie and proue this my argnment. We reade often the pietie that the Storkes haue to their olde and decayed parents: And generally wee know, that there are many ſorts of beaſts and fowles, that with violence and many bloody ſtrokes will beat and baniſh their yong ones from them, how ſoone they perceiue them to be able to fend themſelues; but wee neuer read or heard of any reſiſtance on their part, except among the vipers; which prooues ſuch perſons, as ought to be reaſonable creatures, and yet vnnaturally follow this example, to be endued with their viperous nature.

And for the ſimilitude of the head and the body, it may very well fall out that the head will be forced to garre cut off ſome rotten member (as I haue already ſaid) to keepe the reſt of the body in integritie: but what ſtate the body can be in, if the head, for any infirmitie that can fall to it, be cut off, I leaue it to the readers iudgement.

So as (to conclude this part) if the children may vpon any pretext that can be imagined, lawfully riſe vp againſt their Father, cut him off, & chooſe any other whom they pleaſe in his roome; and if the body for the weale of it, may for any infirmitie that can be in the head, ſtrike it off, then I cannot deny that the people may rebell, controll, and diſplace, or cut off their king at their owne pleaſure, and vpon reſpects moouing them. And whether theſe ſimilitudes repreſent better the office of a King, or the offices of Maſters or Deacons of crafts, or Doctors in Phyſicke (which iolly compariſons are vſed by ſuch writers as maintaine the contrary propoſition) I leaue it alſo to the readers diſcretion.

And in caſe any doubts might ariſe in any part of this treatiſe, I wil (according to my promiſe) with the ſolution of foure principall and moſt weightie doubts, that the aduerſaries may obiect, conclude this diſcourſe. And firſt it is caſten vp by diuers, that employ their pennes vpon Apologies for rebellions and treaſons, that euery man is borne to carry ſuch a naturall zeale and duety to his common-wealth, as to his mother; that ſeeing it ſo rent and deadly wounded, as whiles it will be by wicked and tyrannous Kings, good Citizens will be forced, for the naturall zeale and duety

they owe to their owne natiue countrey, to put their hand to worke for freeing their common-wealth from ſuch a peſt.

Whereunto I giue two anſweres: Firſt, it is a ſure Axiome in *Theologie*, that euill ſhould not be done, that good may come of it: The wickedneſſe therefore of the King can neuer make them that are ordained to be iudged by him, to become his Iudges. And if it be not lawfull to a priuate man to reuenge his priuate iniury vpon his priuate aduerſary (ſince God hath onely giuen the ſword to the Magiſtrate) how much leſſe is it lawfull to the people, or any part of them (who all are but priuate men, the authoritie being alwayes with the Magiſtrate, as I haue already proued) to take vpon them the vſe of the ſword, whom to it belongs not, againſt the publicke Magiſtrate, whom to onely it belongeth.

Next, in place of relieuing the common-wealth out of diſtreſſe (which is their onely excuſe and colour) they ſhall heape double diſtreſſe and deſolation vpon it; and ſo their rebellion ſhall procure the contrary effects that they pretend it for: For a king cannot be imagined to be ſo vnruly and tyrannous, but the common-wealth will be kept in better order, notwithſtanding thereof, by him, then it can be by his way-taking. For firſt, all ſudden mutations are perillous in common-wealths, hope being thereby giuen to all bare men to ſet vp themſelues, and flie with other mens feathers, the reines being looſed to all the inſolencies that diſordered people can commit by hope of impunitie, becauſe of the looſeneſſe of all things.

And next, it is certaine that a king can neuer be ſo monſtrouſly vicious, but hee will generally fauour iuſtice, and maintaine ſome order, except in the particulars, wherein his inordinate luſtes and paſſions cary him away; where by the contrary, no King being, nothing is vnlawfull to none: And ſo the olde opinion of the Philoſophers prooues trew, That better it is to liue in a Common-wealth, where nothing is lawfull, then where all things are lawfull to all men; the Common-wealth at that time reſembling an vndanted young horſe that hath caſten his rider: For as the diuine Poet Du Bartas ſayth, *Better it were to ſuffer ſome diſorder in the eſtate, and ſome ſpots in the Common-wealth, then in pretending to reforme, vtterly to ouerthrow the Republicke.*

The ſecond obiection they ground vpon the curſe that hangs ouer the common-wealth, where a wicked king reigneth: and, ſay they, there cannot be a more acceptable deed in the ſight of God, nor more dutiful to their common-weale, then to free the countrey of ſuch a curſe, and vindicate to them their libertie, which is naturall to all creatures to craue.

Whereunto for anſwere, I grant indeed, that a wicked king is ſent by God for a curſe to his people, and a plague for their ſinnes: but that it is lawfull to them to ſhake off that curſe at their owne hand, which God hath laid on them, that I deny, and may ſo do iuſtly. Will any deny that the king of *Babel* was a curſe to the people of God, as was plainly fore-ſpoken and threatned vnto them in the prophecie of their captiuitie? And what was *Nero* to the

the Christian Church in his time? And yet *Ieremy* and *Paul* (as yee haue else heard) commanded them not onely to obey them, but heartily to pray for their welfare.

It is certaine then (as I haue already by the Law of God sufficiently proued) that patience, earnest prayers to God, and amendment of their liues, are the onely lawful meanes to moue God to relieue them of that heauie curse. As for vindicating to themselues their owne libertie, what lawfull power haue they to reuoke to themselues againe those priuiledges, which by their owne consent before were so fully put out of their hands? for if a Prince cannot iustly bring backe againe to himself the priuiledges once bestowed by him or his predecessors vpon any state or ranke of his subiects; how much lesse may the subiects reaue out of the princes hand that superioritie, which he and his Predecessors haue so long brooked ouer them?

But the vnhappy iniquitie of the time, which hath oft times giuen ouer good successe to their treasonable attempts, furnisheth them the ground of their third obiection: For, say they, the fortunate successe that God hath so oft giuen to such enterprises, prooueth plainely by the practise, that God fauoured the iustnesse of their quarrell.

To the which I answere, that it is trew indeed, that all the successe of battels, as well as other worldly things, lyeth onely in Gods hand: And therefore it is that in the Scripture he takes to himselfe the style of God of Hosts. But vpon that generall to conclude, that hee euer giues victory to the iust quarrell, would prooue the *Philistims*, and diuers other neighbour enemies of the people of God to haue oft times had the iust quarrel against the people of God, in respect of the many victories they obtained against them. And by that same argument they had also iust quarrell against the Arke of God: For they wan it in the field, and kept it long prisoner in their countrey. As likewise by all good Writers, as well Theologues, as other, the Duels and singular combats are disallowed; which are onely made vpon pretence, that GOD will kith thereby the iustice of the quarrell: For wee must consider that the innocent partie is not innocent before God: And therefore God will make oft times them that haue the wrong side reuenge iustly his quarrell; and when he hath done, cast his scourge in the fire; as he oft times did to his owne people, stirring vp and strengthening their enemies, while they were humbled in his sight, and then deliuered them in their hands. So God, as the great Iudge may iustly punish his Deputie, and for his rebellion against him, stir vp his rebels to meet him with the like: And when it is done, the part of the instrument is no better then the diuels part is in tempting and torturing such as God committeth to him as his hangman to doe: Therefore, as I said in the beginning, it is oft times a very deceiueable argument, to iudge of the cause by the euent.

And the last obiection is grounded vpon the mutuall paction and adstipulation (as they call it) betwixt the King and his people, at the time of his coronation: For there, say they, there is a mutuall paction, and contract

bound vp, and ſworne betwixt the king, and the people: Whereupon it followeth, that if the one part of the contract or the Indent bee broken vpon the Kings ſide, the people are no longer bound to keepe their part of it, but are thereby freed of their oath: For (ſay they) a contract betwixt two parties, of all Law frees the one partie, if the other breake vnto him.

As to this contract alledged made at the coronation of a King, although I deny any ſuch contract to bee made then, eſpecially containing ſuch a clauſe irritant as they alledge; yet I confeſſe, that a king at his coronation, or at the entry to his kingdome, willingly promiſeth to his people, to diſcharge honorably and trewly the office giuen him by God ouer them: But preſuming that thereafter he breake his promiſe vnto them neuer ſo inexcuſable; the queſtion is, who ſhould bee iudge of the breake, giuing vnto them, this contract were made vnto them neuer ſo ſicker, according to their alleageance. I thinke no man that hath but the ſmalleſt entrance into the ciuill Law, will doubt that of all Law, either ciuil or municipal of any nation, a contract cannot be thought broken by the one partie, and ſo the other likewiſe to be freed therefro, except that firſt a lawfull triall and cognition be had by the ordinary Iudge of the breakers thereof: Or elſe euery man may be both party and Iudge in his owne cauſe; which is abſurd once to be thought. Now in this contract (I ſay) betwixt the king and his people, God is doubtles the only Iudge, both becauſe to him onely the king muſt make count of his adminiſtration (as is oft ſaid before) as likewiſe by the oath in the coronation, God is made iudge and reuenger of the breakers: For in his preſence, as only iudge of oaths, all oaths ought to be made. Then ſince God is the onely Iudge betwixt the two parties contractors, the cognition and reuenge muſt onely appertaine to him: It followes therefore of neceſſitie, that God muſt firſt giue ſentence vpon the King that breaketh, before the people can thinke themſelues freed of their oath. What iuſtice then is it, that the partie ſhall be both iudge and partie, vſurping vpon himſelfe the office of God, may by this argument eaſily appeare: And ſhall it lie in the hands of headleſſe multitude, when they pleaſe to weary off ſubiection, to caſt off the yoake of gouernement that God hath laid vpon them, to iudge and puniſh him, whom-by they ſhould be iudged and puniſhed; and in that caſe, wherein by their violence they kythe themſelues to be moſt paſſionate parties, to vſe the office of an vngracious Iudge or Arbiter? Nay, to ſpeake trewly of that caſe, as it ſtands betwixt the king and his people, none of them ought to iudge of the others breake: For conſidering rightly the two parties at the time of their mutuall promiſe, the king is the one party, and the whole people in one body are the other party. And therfore ſince it is certaine, that a king, in caſe ſo it ſhould fal out, that his people in one body had rebelled againſt him, hee ſhould not in that caſe, as thinking himſelfe free of his promiſe and oath, become an vtter enemy, and practiſe the wreake of his whole people and natiue country: although he ought iuſtly to puniſh the principall authours and bellowes of that vniuerſall rebellion:

lion : how much lesse then ought the people (that are alwaies subiect vnto him, and naked of all authoritie on their part) presse to iudge and ouerthrow him ? otherwise the people, as the one partie contracters, shall no sooner challenge the king as breaker, but hee assoone shall iudge them as breakers : so as the victors making the tyners the traitors (as our prouerbe is) the partie shall aye become both iudge and partie in his owne particular, as I haue alreadie said.

And it is here likewise to be noted, that the duty and alleageance, which the people sweareth to their prince, is not only bound to themselues, but likewise to their lawfull heires and posterity, the lineall successiõ of crowns being begun among the people of God, and happily continued in diuers christian common-wealths : So as no obiection either of heresie, or whatsoeuer priuate statute or law may free the people from their oath-giuing to their king, and his succession, established by the old fundamentall lawes of the kingdome : For, as hee is their heritable ouer-lord, and so by birth, not by any right in the coronation, commeth to his crowne ; it is a like vnlawful (the crowne euer standing full) to displace him that succeedeth thereto, as to eiect the former : For at the very moment of the expiring of the king reigning, the nearest and lawful heire entreth in his place : And so to refuse him, or intrude another, is not to holde out vncommiug in, but to expell and put out their righteous King. And I trust at this time whole *France* acknowledgeth the superstitious rebellion of the liguers, who vpon pretence of heresie, by force of armes held so long out, to the great desolation of their whole countrey, their natiue and righteous king from possessing of his owne crowne and naturall kingdome.

Not that by all this former discourse of mine, and Apologie for kings, I meane that whatsoeuer errors and intollerable abominations a souereigne prince commit, hee ought to escape all punishment, as if thereby the world were only ordained for kings, & they without controlment to turne it vpside down at their pleasure : but by the contrary, by remitting them to God (who is their onely ordinary Iudge) I remit them to the sorest and sharpest schoolemaster that can be deuised for them : for the further a king is preferred by God aboue all other ranks & degrees of men, and the higher that his seat is aboue theirs, the greater is his obligation to his maker. And therfore in case he forget himselfe (his vnthankfulnes being in the same measure of height) the sadder and sharper will his correction be ; and according to the greatnes of the height he is in, the weight of his fall wil recõpense the same : for the further that any person is obliged to God, his offence becomes and growes so much the greater, then it would be in any other. *Ioues* thunderclaps light oftner and sorer vpon the high & stately oakes, then on the low and supple willow trees : and the highest bench is sliddriest to sit vpon. Neither is it euer heard that any king forgets himselfe towards God, or in his vocation ; but God with the greatnesse of the plague reuengeth the greatnes of his ingratitude : Neither thinke I by the force and argument

of this my discourse so to perswade the people, that none will hereafter be raised vp, and rebell against wicked Princes. But remitting to the iustice and prouidence of God to stirre vp such scourges as pleaseth him, for punishment of wicked kings (who made the very vermine and filthy dust of the earth to bridle the insolencie of proud *Pharaoh*) my onely purpose and intention in this treatise is to perswade, as farre as lieth in me, by these sure and infallible grounds all such good Christian readers, as beare not onely the naked name of a Christian, but kith the fruites thereof in their daily forme of life, to keepe their hearts and hands free from such monstrous and vnnaturall rebellions, whensoeuer the wickednesse of a Prince shall procure the same at Gods hands: that, when it shall please God to cast such scourges of princes, and instruments of his fury in the fire, ye may stand vp with cleane handes, and vnspotted consciences, hauing prooued your selues in all your actions trew Christians toward God, and dutifull subiects towards your King, hauing remitted the iudgement and punishment of all his wrongs to him, whom to onely of right it appertaineth.

But crauing at God, and hoping that God shall continue his blessing with vs, in not sending such fearefull desolation, I heartily wish our kings behauiour so to be, and continue among vs, as our God in earth, and louing Father, endued with such properties as I described a King in the first part of this Treatise. And that ye (my deare countreymen, and charitable readers) may presse by all meanes to procure the prosperitie and welfare of your King; that as hee must on the one part thinke all his earthly felicitie and happinesse grounded vpon your weale, caring more for himselfe for your sake then for his owne, thinking himselfe onely ordained for your weale; such holy and happy emulation may arise betwixt him and you, as his care for your quietnes, and your care for his honour and preseruation, may in all your actions daily striue together, that the Land may thinke themselues blessed with such a King, and the king may thinke himselfe most happy in ruling ouer so louing and obedient subiects.

FINIS.

A COVN-

A COVNTERBLASTE TO *TOBACCO.*

TO THE READER.

A Seuery humane body (deare Countrey men) how wholesome soeuer, is notwithstanding subiect, or at least naturally inclined to some sorts of diseases, or infirmities: so is there no Common-wealth, or Body-politicke, how well gouerned, or peaceable soeuer it be, that lackes the owne popular errors, and naturally inclined corruptions: and therefore is it no wonder, although this our Countrey and Common-wealth, though peaceable, though wealthy, though long flourishing in both, be amongst the rest, subiect to the owne naturall infirmities. We are of all Nations the people most louing, and most reuerently obedient to our Prince, yet are we (as time hath often borne witnesse) too easie to be seduced to make Rebellion vpon very slight grounds. Our fortunate and oft proued valour in warres abroad, our heartie and reuerent obedience to our Princes at home, hath bred vs a long, and a thrice happie peace: Our peace hath bred wealth: And peace and wealth hath brought forth a generall sluggishnesse, which makes vs wallow in all sorts of idle delights, and soft delicacies, the first seedes

seeds of the subuersion of all great Monarchies. Our Cleargie are become negligent and lazie, Our Nobilitie and Gentrie prodigall, and sold to their priuate delights, Our Lawyers couetous, Our Common people prodigall and curious; and generally all sorts of people more carefull for their priuate ends, then for their mother the Common-wealth.

For remedie whereof, it is the Kings part (as the proper Phisician of his Politicke-bodie) to purge it of all those diseases, by Medicines meete for the same: as by a certaine milde, and yet iust forme of gouernment, to maintaine the Publicke quietnesse, and preuent all occasions of Commotion: by the example of his owne Person and Court, to make vs all ashamed of our sluggish delicacie, and to stirre vs vp to the practise againe of all honest exercises, and Martiall shadowes of Warre; As likewise by his, and his Courts moderateneße in Apparell, to make vs ashamed of our prodigalitie: By his quicke admonitions and carefull ouerseeing of the Cleargie, to waken them vp againe, to be more diligent in their Offices: By the sharpe triall, and seuere punishment of the partiall, couetous and bribing Lawyers, to reforme their corruptions: And generally by the example of his owne Person, and by the due execution of good Lawes, to reforme and abolish, piece and piece, these olde and euill grounded abuses: For this will not be Opus vnius diei, *but as euery one of these diseases, must from the King receiue the owne cure proper for it, so are there some sorts of abuses in Common-wealths, that though they bee of so base and contemptible a condition, as they are too low for the Law to looke on, and to meane for a King to interpone his authoritie, or bend his eye vpon; yet are they corruptions, aswell as the greatest of them. So is an Ant an* Animal, *aswell as an Elephant: so is a Wrenne* Auis, *aswell as a Swanne, and so is a small dint of the Tooth-ake, a disease aswell as the fearefull Plague is. But for these base sorts of corruption in Common-wealths, not onely the King, or any inferiour Magistrate, but* Quilibet è populo *may serue to be a Phisician, by discouering and impugning the error, and by perswading reformation thereof.*

And

And surely in my opinion, there cannot bee a more base, and yet hurtfull, corruption in a Countrey, then is the vile vse (or rather abuse) of taking Tobacco *in this Kingdome, which hath mooued mee, shortly to discouer the abuses thereof in this following little Pamphlet.*

If any thinke it a light Argument, so is it but a toy that is bestowed vpon it. And since the Subiect is but of Smoke, I thinke the fume of an idle braine, may serue for a sufficient batterie against so fumous and feeble an enemie. If my grounds bee found trew, it is all I looke for; but if they cary the force of perswasion with them, it is all I can wish, and more then I can expect. My onely care is, that you, my deare Countrey-men, may rightly conceiue euen by this smallest trifle, of the sinceritie of my meaning in greater matters, neuer to spare any paine, that may tend to the procuring of your weale and prosperitie.

(·.·)

A COVN-

A COVNTERBLASTE TO TOBACCO.

THat the manifold abuſes of this vile cuſtome of *Tobacco* taking, may the better be eſpied, it is fit, that firſt you enter into conſideration both of the firſt originall thereof, and likewiſe of the reaſons of the firſt entry thereof into this Countrey. For certainely as ſuch cuſtomes, that haue their firſt inſtitution either from a godly, neceſſary, or honourable ground, and are firſt brought in, by the meanes of ſome worthy, vertuous, and great Perſonage, are euer, and moſt iuſtly, holden in great and reuerent eſtimation and account, by all wiſe, vertuous, and temperate ſpirits: So ſhould it by the contrary, iuſtly bring a great diſgrace into that ſort of cuſtomes, which hauing their originall from baſe corruption and barbaritie, doe in like ſort, make their firſt entry into a Countrey, by an inconſiderate and childiſh affectation of Noueltie, as is the trew caſe of the firſt inuention of *Tobacco* taking, and of the firſt entry thereof among vs. For *Tobacco* being a common herbe, which (though vnder diuers names) growes almoſt euery where, was firſt found out by ſome of the barbarous *Indians*, to be a Preſeruatiue or Antidote againſt the Pocks, a filthy diſeaſe, wherunto theſe barbarous people are (as all men know) very much ſubiect, what through the vncleanely and aduſt conſtitution of their bodies, and what through the intemperate heate of their Climate: ſo that as from them was firſt brought into Chriſtendome, that moſt deteſtable diſeaſe; ſo from them likewiſe was brought this vſe of *Tobacco*, as a ſtinking and vnſauourie Antidote, for ſo corrupted and execrable a maladie, the ſtinking ſuffumigation whereof they yet vſe againſt that diſeaſe, making ſo one canker or venime to eate out another.

And now good Countrey-men, let vs (I pray you) conſider, what honour or policy can mooue vs to imitate the barbarous and beaſtly maners of the wilde, godleſſe, and ſlauiſh *Indians*, eſpecially in ſo vile and ſtinking a cuſtome? Shall we that diſdaine to imitate the maners of our neighbour

France

France (hauing the ſtile of the firſt Chriſtian Kingdome) and that cannot endure the ſpirit of the *Spaniards* (their King being now comparable in largeneſſe of Dominions, to the great Emperour of *Turkie*) Shall wee, I ſay, that haue bene ſo long ciuill and wealthy in Peace, famous and inuincible in Warre, fortunate in both, we that haue bene euer able to aide any of our neighbours (but neuer deafed any of their eares with any of our ſupplications for aſſiſtance) ſhall wee, I ſay, without bluſhing abaſe our ſelues ſo farre, as to imitate theſe beaſtly *Indians*, ſlaues to the *Spaniards*, refuſe to the world, and as yet aliens from the holy Couenant of God ? Why doe we not as well imitate them in walking naked as they doe ? in preferring glaſſes, feathers, and ſuch toyes, to gold and precious ſtones, as they doe ? yea why doe we not denie God and adore the diuel, as they doe ?

Now to the corrupted baſeneſſe of the firſt vſe of this *Tobacco*, doeth very well agree the fooliſh and groundleſſe firſt entry thereof into this Kingdome. It is not ſo long ſince the firſt entry of this abuſe amongſt vs here, as this preſent aage cannot yet very well remember, both the firſt Authour, and the forme of the firſt introduction of it amongſt vs. It was neither brought in by King, great Conquerour, nor learned doctour of Phiſicke.

With the report of a great diſcouery for a Conqueſt, ſome two or three Sauage men, were brought in, together with this Sauage cuſtome. But the pitie is, the poore wilde barbarous men died, but that vile barbarous cuſtome is yet aliue, yea in freſh vigor : ſo as it ſeemes a miracle to me, how a cuſtome ſpringing from ſo vile a ground, and brought in by a father ſo generally hated, ſhould be welcomed vpon ſo ſlender a warrant. For if they that firſt put it in practiſe here, had remembred for what reſpect it was vſed by them from whence it came, I am ſure they would haue bene loath, to haue taken ſo farre the imputation of that diſeaſe vpon them as they did, by vſing the cure thereof: For *Sanis non eſt opus medico*, and counterpoiſons are neuer vſed, but where poiſon is thought to precede.

But ſince it is trew, that diuers cuſtomes ſlightly grounded, and with no better warrant entred in a Common-wealth, may yet in the vſe of them thereafter, prooue both neceſſary and profitable; it is therefore next to bee examined, if there be not a full Sympathie and true Proportion, betweene the baſe ground and fooliſh entrie, and the loathſome and hurtfull vſe of this ſtinking Antidote.

I am now therefore heartily to pray you to conſider, firſt vpon what falſe and erroneous grounds you haue firſt built the generall good liking thereof; and next, what ſinnes towards God, and fooliſh vanities before the world you commit, in the deteſtable vſe of it.

As for theſe deceitfull grounds, that haue ſpecially moued you to take a good and great conceit thereof, I ſhall content my ſelfe to examine here onely foure of the principals of them ; two founded vpon the Theoricke of a deceiueable apparance of reaſon, and two of them vpon the miſtaken practicke of generall experience.

Firſt,

First, it is thought by you a sure Aphorisme in the Physickes, That the braines of all men, beeing naturally cold and wet, all drie and hote things should be good for them; of which nature this stinking suffumigation is, and therefore of good vse to them. Of this argument, both the proposition and assumption are false, and so the conclusion cannot but be voyd of it selfe. For as to the Proposition, That because the braines are colde and moist, therefore things that are hote and dry are best for them, it is an inept consequence: For man beeing compounded of the foure Complexions, (whose fathers are the foure Elements) although there be a mixture of them all in all the parts of his body, yet must the diuers parts of our *Microcosme* or little world within our selues, be diuersly more inclined, some to one, some to another complexion, according to the diuersitie of their vses, that of these discords a perfect harmonie may be made vp for the maintenance of the whole body.

The application then of a thing of a contrary nature, to any of these parts, is to interrupt them of their due function, and by consequence hurtfull to the health of the whole bodie. As if a man, because the Liuer is hote (as the fountaine of blood) and as it were an ouen to the stomacke, would therefore apply and weare close vpon his Liuer and stomacke a cake of lead; he might within a very short time (I hope) bee susteined very good cheape at an Ordinarie, beside the clearing of his conscience from that deadly sinne of gluttonie. And as if, because the Heart is full of vitall spirits, and in perpetuall motion, a man would therefore lay a heauie pound stone on his breast, for staying and holding downe that wanton palpitation, I doubt not but his breast would be more bruised with the weight therof, then the heart would be comforted with such a disagreeable and contrarious cure. And euen so is it with the braines: For if a man, because the braines are cold and humide, would therefore vse inwardly by smells, or outwardly by application, things of hot and dry qualitie, all the gaine that he could make thereof would onely be to put himselfe in a great forwardnes for running mad, by ouerwatching himselfe, the coldnesse and moistnesse of our braine being the onely ordinary meanes that procure our sleepe and rest. Indeed I doe not deny, but when it falls out that any of these, or any part of our bodie growes to be distempered, and to tend to an extremitie, beyond the compasse of Natures temperate mixture, that in that case cures of contrary qualities, to the intemperate inclination of that part, being wisely prepared and discreetly ministred, may be both necessary and helpfull for strengthning and assisting Nature in the expulsion of her enemies: for this is the trew definition of all profitable Phisicke.

But first these Cures ought not to be vsed, but where there is need of them, the contrary whereof, is daily practised in this generall vse of *Tobacco* by all sorts and complexions of people.

And next, I denie the Minor of this argument, as I haue already said, in regard that this *Tobacco*, is not simply of a dry and hote qualitie; but rather hath

hath a certain venemous facultie ioyned with the heat therof, which makes it haue an Antipathy against nature, as by the hateful smel therof doth well appeare. For the nose being the proper Organ and conuoy of the sense of smelling to the braines, which are the only fountaine of that sense, doth euer serue vs for an infallible witnesse, whether that odour which we smell, be healthfull or hurtfull to the braine, (except when it fals out that the sense it selfe is corrupted and abused through some infirmitie, and distemper in the braine.) And that the suffumigation thereof cannot haue a drying quality, it needs no further probation, then that it is a smoke, all smoke and vapour, being of it selfe humide, as drawing neere to the nature of the aire, and easie to be resolued againe into water, whereof there needs no other proofe but the Meteors, which being bred of nothing else but of the vapors and exhalations sucked vp by the Sun out of the earth, the sea, and waters, yet are the same smoakie vapors turned and transformed into raines, snowes, deawes, hoare frosts, and such like waterie Meteors, as by the contrary the rainie cloudes are often transformed and euaporated in blustering windes.

The second Argument grounded on a shew of reason is, That this filthy smoake, aswell through the heat and strength thereof, as by a naturall force and quality, is able and fit to purge both the head and stomack of rhewmes and distillations, as experience teacheth, by the spitting & auoiding fleame, immediatly after the taking of it. But the fallacie of this Argument may easily appeare, by my late preceding description of the Meteors: For euen as the smoakie vapours sucked vp by the Sunne, and stayed in the lowest and cold Region of the aire, are there contracted into clouds, and turned into raine and such other watery Meteors: So this stinking smoake being sucked vp by the nose, & imprisoned in the cold and moyst braines, is by their cold and wet facultie, turned and cast forth againe in waterie distillations, and so are you made free and purged of nothing, but that wherewith you wilfully burdened your selues: and therefore are you no wiser in taking *Tobacco* for purging you of distillations, then if for preuenting the Cholicke you would take all kind of windie meats and drinkes; and for preuenting of the Stone, you would take all kinde of meates and drinkes that would breed grauell in the kidneys, and then when you were forced to auoide much winde out of your stomacke, and much grauell in your Vrine, that you should attribute the thanke therof to such nourishments, as bred those within you, that behooued either to be expelled by the force of Nature, or you to haue *burst at the broad side*, as the Prouerbe is.

As for the other two reasons founded vpon experience, the first of which is, That the whole people would not haue taken so generall a good liking thereof, if they had not by experience found it very soueraigne and good for them: For answere thereunto, how easily the mindes of any people, wherewith God hath replenished this world may be drawen to the foolish affectation of any noueltie, I leaue it to the discreet iudgement of any man that is reasonable.

Doe we not daily ſee, that a man can no ſooner bring ouer from beyond the ſeas any new forme of apparell, but that he cannot be thought a man of ſpirit, that would not preſently imitate the ſame? And ſo from hand to hand it ſpreads, till it be practiſed by all, not for any commodity that is in it, but only becauſe it is come to be the faſhion. For ſuch is the force of that naturall ſelfe loue in euery one of vs, and ſuch is the corruption of enuy bred in the breſt of euery one, as we cannot be content vnleſſe wee imitate euery thing that our fellowes doe, and ſo prooue our ſelues capable of euery thing whereof they are capable, like Apes, counterfeiting the maners of others, to our owne deſtruction. For let one or two of the greateſt Maſters of Mathematicks in any of the two famous Vniuerſities, but conſtantly affirme any cleare day, that they ſee ſome ſtrange apparition in the skies; they wil I warrant you be ſeconded by the greateſt part of the ſtudents in that profeſſion: So loth will they be, to be thought inferior to their fellowes, either in depth of knowledge or ſharpnes of ſight: And therfore the generall good liking and imbracing of this fooliſh cuſtome, doth but only proceed from that affectation of noueltie, and popular errour, whereof I haue already ſpoken.

The other argument drawn from a miſtaken experience, is but the more particular probation of this generall, becauſe it is alledged to be found trew by proofe, that by the taking of *Tobacco* diuers and very many doe finde themſelues cured of diuers diſeaſes; as on the other part, no man euer receiued harme thereby. In this argument there is firſt a great miſtaking, and next a monſtrous abſurditie: For is it not a very great miſtaking, to take *non cauſam pro cauſa*, as they ſay in the Logickes? becauſe peraduenture when a ſicke man hath had his diſeaſe at the height, hee hath at that inſtant taken *Tobacco*, and afterward his diſeaſe taking the naturall courſe of declining, and conſequently the Patient of recouering his health, O then the *Tobacco* forſooth, was the worker of that miracle. Beſide that, it is a thing wel known to all Phyſicians, that the apprehenſion and conceit of the patient, hath by wakening and vniting the vitall ſpirits, and ſo ſtrengthening nature, a great power and vertue to cure diuers diſeaſes. For an euident proofe of miſtaking in the like caſe, I pray you what fooliſh boy, what ſilly wench, what olde doting wife, or ignorant countrey clowne, is not a Phyſician for the toothach, for the cholicke, and diuers ſuch common diſeaſes? Yea, will not euery man you meet withall, teach you a ſundry cure for the ſame, & ſweare by that meane either himſelfe, or ſome of his neereſt kinſemen and friends was cured? And yet I hope no man is ſo fooliſh as to beleeue them. And all theſe toyes do only proceed fro the miſtaking *Non cauſam pro cauſa*, as I haue already ſaid, and ſo if a man chance to recouer one of any diſeaſe, after hee hath taken *Tobacco*, that muſt haue the thanks of all. But by the contrary, if a man ſmoke himſelfe to death with it (and many haue done) O then ſome other diſeaſe muſt beare the blame for that fault. So doe old harlots thanke their harlotrie for their many yeeres, that cuſtome being healthfull (ſay they) *ad purgandos Renes*, but neuer haue mind how many die of the Pockes

in

in the flower of their youth. And ſo doe olde drunkards thinke they prolong their dayes, by their ſwinelike diet, but neuer remember how many die drowned in drinke before they be halfe olde.

And what greater abſurditie can there be, then to ſay that one cure ſhall ſerue for diuers, nay, cõtrarious ſorts of diſeaſes? It is an vndoubted ground among all Phyſicians, that there is almoſt no ſort either of nouriſhment or medicine, that hath not ſome thing in it diſagreeable to ſome part of mans bodie, becauſe as I haue alreadie ſaid, the nature of the temperature of euery part, is ſo different from another, that according to the olde prouerbe, That which is good for the head, is euill for the necke and the ſhoulders: For euen as a ſtrong enemy, that inuades a town or fortreſſe, although in his ſiege thereof, he do belay and compaſſe it round about, yet he makes his breach and entry, at ſome one or fewe ſpeciall parts thereof, which hee hath tried and found to be weakeſt and leaſt able to reſiſt; ſo ſickenes doth make her particular aſſault, vpon ſuch part or parts of our body, as are weakeſt and eaſieſt to be ouercome by that ſort of diſeaſe, which then doth aſſaile vs, although all the reſt of the body by Sympathie feele it ſelfe to be as it were belayed, and beſieged by the affliction of that ſpeciall part, the griefe and ſmart thereof being by the ſenſe of feeling diſperſed through all the reſt of our members. And therefore the skilfull Phyſician preſſes by ſuch cures to purge and ſtrengthen that part which is afflicted, as are only fit for that ſort of diſeaſe, and doe beſt agree with the nature of that infirme part; which being abuſed to a diſeaſe of another nature, would proue as hurtfull for the one, as helpfull for the other. Yea, not onely will a skilfull and wary Phyſician be carefull to vſe no cure but that which is fit for that ſort of diſeaſe, but he will alſo conſider all other circumſtances, & make the remedies ſutable therunto; as the temperature of the clime where the Patient is, the conſtitution of the Planets, the time of the Moone, the ſeaſon of the yeere, the aage and complexion of the Patient, and the preſent ſtate of his body, in ſtrength or weaknes: For one cure muſt not euer be vſed for the ſelfeſame diſeaſe, but according to the varying of any of the foreſaid circumſtances, that ſort of remedy muſt be vſed which is fitteſt for the ſame. Where by the contrary in this caſe, ſuch is the miraculous omnipotencie of our ſtrong taſted *Tobacco*, as it cures al ſorts of diſeaſes (which neuer any drugge could do before) in all perſons, and at all times. It cures all maner of diſtillations, either in the head or ſtomacke (if you beleeue their Axiomes) although in very deed it doe both corrupt the braine, and by cauſing ouer quicke digeſtion, fill the ſtomacke full of crudities. It cures the gowt in the feet, and (which is miraculous) in that very inſtant when the ſmoke thereof, as light, flies vp into the head, the vertue therof, as heauy, runs down to the litle toe. It helps all ſorts of agues. It makes a man ſober that was drunk. It refreſhes a weary man, and yet makes a man hungry. Being taken when they goe to bed, it makes one ſleepe ſoundly, and yet being taken when a man is ſleepie and drowſie, it will, as they ſay, awake his braine, and quicken his vnder-

ſtanding. As for curing of the Pockes, it ſerues for that vſe but among the pockie Indian ſlaues. Here in *England* it is refined, and will not deigne to cure here any other then cleanly and gentlemanly diſeaſes. O omnipotent power of *Tobacco*! And if it could by the ſmoake thereof chaſe out deuils, as the ſmoake of *Tobias* fiſh did (which I am ſure could ſmell no ſtronglier) it would ſerue for a precious Relicke, both for the ſuperſtitious Prieſts, and the inſolent Puritanes, to caſt out deuils withall.

Admitting then, and not confeſſing, that the vſe thereof were healthful for ſome ſorts of diſeaſes; ſhould it be vſed for all ſickneſſes? ſhould it be vſed by all men? ſhould it be vſed at all times? yea ſhould it be vſed by able, yong, ſtrong, healthful men? Medicine hath that vertue, that it neuer leaues a man in that ſtate wherein it finds him: it makes a ſicke man whole, but a whole man ſicke: And as Medicine helps nature being taken at times of neceſſitie, ſo being euer and continually vſed, it doeth but weaken, weary, and weare nature. What ſpeake I of Medicine? Nay let a man euery houre of the day, or as oft as many in this countrey vſe to take *Tobacco*, let a man I ſay, but take as oft the beſt ſorts of nouriſhments in meate and drinke that can be deuiſed, he ſhall with the continuall vſe thereof weaken both his head and his ſtomacke: all his members ſhall become feeble, his ſpirits dull, and in the end, as a drowſie lazie belly-god, he ſhall euaniſh in a Lethargie.

And from this weakeneſſe it proceeds, that many in this kingdome haue had ſuch a continuall vſe of taking this vnſauorie ſmoake, as now they are not able to forbeare the ſame, no more then an old drunkard can abide to be long ſober, without falling into an incurable weakneſſe and euill conſtitution: for their continuall cuſtome hath made to them, *habitum, alteram naturam*: ſo to thoſe that from their birth haue beene continually nouriſhed vpon poiſon and things venemous, wholſome meats are only poiſonable.

Thus hauing, as I truſt, ſufficiently anſwered the moſt principall arguments that are vſed in defence of this vile cuſtome, it reſts only to informe you what ſinnes and vanities you commit in the filthy abuſe thereof. Firſt, are you not guiltie of ſinnefull and ſhamefull luſt? (for luſt may be as well in any of the ſenſes as in feeling) that although you be troubled with no diſeaſe, but in perfect health, yet can you neither be merry at an Ordinary, nor laſciuious in the Stewes, if you lacke *Tobacco* to prouoke your appetite to any of thoſe ſorts of recreation, luſting after it as the children of Iſrael did in the wilderneſſe after Quailes? Secondly it is, as you vſe or rather abuſe it, a branch of the ſinne of drunkennes, which is the root of all ſinnes: for as the only delight that drunkards take in wine is in the ſtrength of the taſte, and the force of the fume therof that mounts vp to the braine: for no drunkards loue any weake, or ſweet drinke: ſo are not thoſe (I meane the ſtrong heate and the fume) the onely qualities that make *Tobacco* ſo delectable to all the louers of it? And as no man likes ſtrong heady drinke the firſt day (becauſe *nemo repentè fit turpiſſimus*) but by cuſtome is piece and piece allured, while in the ende, a drunkard will haue as great a thirſt to be drunke, as a ſober man

man to quench his thirſt with a draught when he hath need of it: So is not this the very caſe of all the great takers of *Tobacco*? which therefore they themſelues doe attribute to a bewitching qualitie in it. Thirdly, is it not the greateſt ſinne of all, that you the people of all ſorts of this kingdome, who are created and ordeined by God, to beſtow both your perſons and goods, for the maintenance both of the honour and ſafety of your King and Common-wealth, ſhould diſable your ſelues in both? In your perſons hauing by this continuall vile cuſtome brought your ſelues to this ſhamefull imbecilitie, that you are not able to ride or walke the iourney of a Iewes Sabboth, but you muſt haue a reekie cole brought you from the next poore houſe to kindle your *Tobacco* with? whereas he cannot be thought able for any ſeruice in the warres, that cannot endure oftentimes the want of meat, drinke, and ſleepe, much more then muſt he endure the want of *Tobacco*. In the times of the many glorious and victorious battailes fought by this Nation, there was no word of *Tobacco*: but now if it were time of warres, and that you were to make ſome ſudden *Caualcado* vpon your enemies, if any of you ſhould ſeeke leiſure to ſtay behinde his fellow for taking of *Tobacco*, for my part I ſhould neuer be ſory for any euill chance that might befall him. To take a cuſtome in any thing that cannot be left againe, is moſt harmeful to the people of any land. *Mollicies* and delicacie were the wracke and ouerthrow, firſt of the *Perſian*, and next of the *Romane* Empire. And this very cuſtome of taking *Tobacco* (whereof our preſent purpoſe is) is euen at this day accounted ſo effeminate among the *Indians* themſelues, as in the market they will offer no price for a ſlaue to be ſold, whom they find to be a great *Tobacco* taker.

Now how you are by this cuſtome diſabled in your goods, let the Gentry of this land beare witneſſe, ſome of them beſtowing three, ſome foure hundred pounds a yeere vpon this precious ſtinke, which I am ſure might be beſtowed vpon many farre better vſes. I read indeed of a knauiſh Courtier, who for abuſing the fauour of the Emperor *Alexander Seuerus* his maſter, by taking bribes to intercede, for ſundry perſons in his maſters eare, (for whō he neuer once opened his mouth) was iuſtly choked with ſmoke, with this doome, *Fumo pereat, qui fumum vendidit*: but of ſo many ſmoke-buyers, as are at this preſent in this kingdome, I neuer read nor heard.

And for the vanities committed in this filthy cuſtome, is it not both great vanitie and vncleanneſſe, that at the table, a place of reſpect, of cleanlineſſe, of modeſtie, men ſhould not be aſhamed, to ſit toſſing of *Tobacco pipes*, and puffing of the ſmoke of *Tobacco* one to another, making the filthy ſmoke and ſtinke thereof, to exhale athwart the diſhes, and infect the aire, when very often, men that abhorre it are at their repaſt? Surely ſmoke becomes a kitchin farre better then a dining chamber, and yet it makes a kitchin alſo oftentimes in the inward parts of men, ſoyling and infecting them, with an vnctuous and oily kind of ſoote, as hath bene found in ſome great *Tobacco* takers, that after their death were opened. And not onely

meat time, but no other time nor action is exempted from the publike vse of this vnciuill tricke: so as if the wiues of *Diepe* list to contest with this Nation for good maners, their worst maners would in all reason be found at least not so dishonest (as ours are) in this point. The publike vse whereof, at all times, and in all places, hath now so farre preuailed, as diuers men very sound both in iudgement and complexion, haue beene at last forced to take it also without desire, partly because they were ashamed to seeme singular, (like the two Philosophers that were forced to ducke themselues in that raine water, and so become fooles as well as the rest of the people) and partly to be as one that was content to eate Garlick (which he did not loue) that he might not be troubled with the smell of it, in the breath of his fellowes. And is it not a great vanitie, that a man cannot heartily welcome his friend now, but straight they must be in hand with *Tobacco*: No it is become in place of a cure, a point of good fellowship, and hee that will refuse to take a pipe of *Tobacco* among his fellowes, (though by his owne election hee would rather feele the sauour of a Sinke) is accounted peeuish and no good company, euen as they doe with tipling in the colde Easterne countreys. Yea the Mistresse cannot in a more manerly kind, entertaine her seruant, then by giuing him out of her faire hand a pipe of *Tobacco*. But herein is not only a great vanity, but a great contempt of Gods good giftes, that the sweetnesse of mans breath, being a good gift of God, should be wilfully corrupted by this stinking smoke, wherin I must cōfesse, it hath too strong a vertue; and so that which is an ornament of nature, & can neither by any artifice be at the first acquired, nor once lost be recouered againe, shalbe filthily corrupted with an incurable stinke, which vile qualitie is as directly contrary to that wrong opinion which is holden of the wholesomnesse therof, as the venime of putrifaction is contrary to the vertue Preseruatiue.

Moreouer, which is a great iniquitie, and against all humanitie, the husband shal not be ashamed, to reduce therby his delicate, wholsom, & cleane complexioned wife to that extremity, that either she must also corrupt her sweet breath therwith, or els resolue to liue in a perpetual stinking torment.

Haue you not reason then to be ashamed, and to forbeare this filthie noueltie, so basely grounded, so foolishly receiued, and so grossely mistaken in the right vse thereof? In your abuse thereof sinning against God, harming your selues both in persons and goods, and raking also thereby the markes and notes of vanitie vpon you; by the custome thereof making your selues to be wondered at by all forreine ciuill Nations, and by all strangers that come among you, to be scorned and contemned: A custome loathsome to the eye, hatefull to the nose, harmefull to the braine, dangerous to the lungs, and in the blacke stinking fume thereof, neerest resembling the horrible Stigian smoake of the pit that is bottomlesse.

A DIS-

A DISCOVRSE OF THE MANER OF THE DISCOVERIE OF THE POWDER-TREASON,

JOYNED WITH THE EXAMINATION OF SOME OF THE PRISONERS.

There is a time when no man ought to keepe silence. For it hath euer bene held as a generall rule, and vndoubted Maxime, in all well gouerned Common-wealthes (whether Christian, and so guided by the diuine light of Gods word, or Ethnicke, and so led by the glimmering twi-light of Nature) yet howsoeuer their profession was, vpon this ground haue they all agreed, That when either their Religion, their King, or their countrey was in any extreme hazard, no good countreyman ought then to withhold either his tongue or his hand, according to his calling and facultie, from ayding to repell the iniurie, represse the violence, and auenge the guilt vpon the authors thereof. But if euer any people had such an occasion ministred vnto them, It is surely this people now, nay this whole Isle, and all the rest belonging to this great and glorious Monarchie. For if in any heathenish republique, no priuate man could thinke his life more happily and gloriously bestowed, then in the defence of any one of these three, That is, either *pro Aris, pro Focis*, or *pro Patre patriæ*; And that the endangering of any one of these, would at once stirre the whole body of the Common-wealth, not any more as diuided members, but as a solide and indiuiduall lumpe: How much more ought we the trewly Christian people that inhabite this vnited and trewly happie

Insula fortunata.

happy Isle, vnder the wings of our gracious and religious Monarch? Nay, how infinitely greater cause haue we to feele and ressent our selues of the smart of that wound, not onely intended and execrated (not consecrated) for the vtter extinguishing of our trew Christian profession, nor ioyntly therwith onely for the cutting off of our Head and father Politike, *Sed vt nefas istud & sacrilegiosum parricidium omnibus modis absolutum reddi possit?* And that nothing might be wanting for making this sacrilegious parricide a patterne of mischiefe, and a crime (nay, a mother or storehouse of all crimes) without example, they should haue ioyned the destruction of the bodie to the head, so as *Grex cum Rege, Aræ cum focis, Lares cum Penatibus*, should all at one thunderclap haue beene sent to heauen together: The King our head, the Queene our fertile mother, and those young and hopefull Oliue plants, not theirs but ours: Our reuerend Clergie, our honourable Nobilitie, the faithfull Councellors, the graue Iudges, the greatest part of the worthy Knights and Gentry, aswell as of the wisest Burgesses; The whole Clerkes of the Crowne, Counsaile, Signet, Seales, or of any other principall Iudgement seate. All the learned Lawyers, together with an infinite number of the Common people: Nay, their furious rage should not onely haue lighted vpon reasonable and sensible creatures without distinction either of degree, sexe or aage; But euen the insensible stockes and stones should not haue bin free of their fury. The hal of Iustice; The house of Parliament, The Church vsed for the Coronation of our Kings; The Monuments of our former Princes; The Crowne and other markes of Royaltie; Al the Records, aswell of Parliament, as of euery particular mans right, with a great number of Charters and such like, should all haue bene comprehended vnder that fearefull *Chaos*. And so the earth as it were opened, should haue sent foorth of the bottome of the *Stygian* lake such sulphured smoke, furious flames, and fearefull thunder, as should haue by their diabolicall *Domesday* destroyed and defaced, in the twinkling of an eye, not onely our present liuing Princes and people, but euen our insensible Monuments reserued for future aages. So as not only our selues that are mortall, but the immortall Monuments of our ancient Princes and Nobility, that haue beene so preciously preserued from aage to aage, as the remaining *Trophees* of their eternal glory, and haue so long triumphed ouer enuious time, should now haue beene all consumed together; and so not onely we, but the memory of vs and ours, should haue beene thus extinguished in an instant. The trew horror therefore of this detestable deuice, hath stirred mee vp to bethinke my selfe, wherein I may best discharge my conscience in a cause so generall and common, if it were to bring but one stone to the building, or rather with the Widow one mite to the common boxe. But since to so hatefull and vnheard-of inuention, there can be no greater enemy then the selfe, the simple trewth thereof being once publikely knowen; and that there needes no stronger argument to bring such a plot in vniuersal detestatiõ, then the certainty that so monstrous a thing could once be deuised, nay cõcluded vpon,

wrought

wrought in, in full readinesse, and within twelue houres of the execution: My threefold zeale to those blessings, whereof they would haue so violently made vs all widowes, hath made me resolue to set downe here the trew Narration of that monstrous and vnnaturall intended Tragedie, hauing better occasion by the meanes of my seruice and continuall attendance in Court, to know the trewth thereof, then others that peraduenture haue it onely by relation at the third or fourth hand. So that whereas those worse then *Catilines*, thought to haue extirped vs and our memories; Their infamous memory shall by these meanes remaine to the end of the world, vpon the one part: and vpon the other, Gods great and merciful deliuerance of his Anoynted and vs all, shall remaine in neuer-dying Records. And God graunt that it may be in marble tables of Thankefulnesse engrauen in our hearts.

WHile this Land and whole Monarchie flourished in a most happie and plentifull PEACE, as well at home as abroad, sustained and conducted by these two maine Pillars of all good Gouernement, PIETIE and IVSTICE, no forreine grudge, nor inward whispering of discontentment any way appearing; The King being vpon his returne from his hunting exercise at *Royston*, vpon occasion of the drawing neere of the Parliament time, which had beene twise prorogued already, partly in regard of the season of the yeere, and partly of the Terme; As the winds are euer stillest immediatly before a storme; and as the Sunne blenks often hottest to foretell a following showre: So at that time of greatest calme did this secretly-hatched thunder beginne to cast foorth the first flashes, and flaming lightnings of the approching tempest. For the Saturday of the weeke immediatly preceding the Kings returne, which was vpon a Thursday (being but tenne dayes before the Parliament) The Lord *Mountegle*, sonne and heire to the Lord *Morley*, being in his owne lodging ready to goe to supper at seuen of the clocke at night, one of his foot-men (whom he had sent of an errand ouer the street) was met by an vnknowen man of a reasonable tall personage, who deliuered him a Letter, charging him to put it in my Lord his masters hands: which my Lord no sooner receiued, but that hauing broken it vp, and perceiuing the same to bee of an vnknowen and somewhat vnlegible hand, and without either date or subscription; did call one of his men vnto him for helping him to reade it. But no sooner did he conceiue the strange contents thereof, although hee was somewhat perplexed what construction to make of it (as whether of a matter of consequence, as indeed it was, or whether some foolish deuised Pasquil by some of his enemies, to skarre him from his attendance at the Parliament) yet did he as a most dutifull and loyall Subiect, conclude not to conceale it, what euer might come of it. Whereupon, notwithstauding the lateness and darknesse of the night in that season of the yeere, he presently repaired to his Maiesties Pallace at *Whitehall*, and there deliuered the same to

A letter deliuered to the Lord *Mountegle*.

Reuealed to the Earle of *Salisbury*.

to the Earle of *Salisbury* his Maiesties principall Secretarie. Whereupon the said Earle of *Salisbury* hauing read the Letter, and heard the maner of the comming of it to his hands, did greatly encourage and commend my Lord for his discretion, telling him plainly, that whatsoeuer the purpose of the Letter might proue hereafter, yet did this accident put him in mind of diuers aduertisements he had receiued from beyond the Seas, wherewith he had acquainted aswell the King himselfe, as diuers of his Priuie Counsellors, concerning some businesse the Papists were in, both at home and abroad, making preparations for some combination amongst them against this Parliament time, for enabling them to deliuer at that time to the King some petition for toleration of Religion: which should bee deliuered in some such order and so well backed, as the King should be loth to refuse their requests; like the sturdie beggars crauing almes with one open hand, but carying a stone in the other, in case of refusall. And therefore did the Earle of *Salisbury* conclude with the Lord *Mountegle*, that he would in regard of the Kings absence impart the same Letter to some more of his Maiesties Councell; whereof my L. *Mountegle* liked well: onely adding this request by way of protestation, That whatsoeuer the euent hereof might proue, it should not be imputed to him, as proceeding from too light and too suddaine an apprehension, that he deliuered this Letter, being onely mooued thereunto for demonstration of his ready deuotion, and care for preseruation of his Maiestie and the State. And thus did the Earle of *Salisbury* presently acquaint the Lord *Chamberlaine* with the said letter: Whereupon they two in presence of the Lord *Mountegle*, calling to mind the former intelligence already mentioned, which seemed to haue some relation with this Letter; The tender care which they euer caried to the preseruation of his Maiesties person, made them apprehend, that some perillous attempt did thereby appeare to be intended against the same, which did the more neerly concerne the said L. *Chamberlaine* to haue a care of, in regard that it doth belong to the charge of his Office to ouersee as well all places of Assembly where his Maiesty is to repaire, as his Highnesse owne priuate houses. And therfore did the said two Counsailors conclude, That they should ioyne vnto themselues three more of the Councell, to wit, the Lord *Admiral*, the Earles of *Worcester* and *Northampton*, to be also particularly acquainted with this accident, who hauing all of them concurred together to the re-examination of the Contents of the said Letter, they did conclude, That how slight a matter it might at the first appeare to bee, yet was it not absolutely to be contemned, in respect of the care which it behooued them to haue of the preseruation of his Maiesties person: But yet resolued for two reasons, first to acquaint the King himselfe with the same before they proceeded to any further inquisition in the matter, aswell for the expectation and experience they had of his Maiesties fortunate Iudgement in clearing and soluing of obscure riddles and doubtful mysteries; as also because the more time would in the meane while be giuen for the Practise to ripen, if

Purpose of the Papists for deliuering a petition to his Maiestie, to craue toleration of Religion.

The Lord *Chamberlaine* made priuie to the Letter by the Earle of *Salisbury*.

Thought meet by the Councellors to acquaint the King with the Letter.

if any was, whereby the Discouery might be the more cleere and euident, and the ground of proceeding thereupon more safe, iust, and easie. And so according to their determination did the sayd Earle of *Salisbury* repaire to the King in his Gallery vpon Friday, being *Athallow* day, in the afternoone, which was the day after his Maiesties arriuall, and none but himselfe being present with his Highnesse at that time, where without any other speach or iudgement giuing of the Letter, but onely relating simply the forme of the deliuery thereof, he presented it to his Maiestie. The contents whereof follow.

Vpon Alhallow day the Earle of *Salisburie* shewed the Letter to the King.

MY Lord, Out of the loue I beare to some of your friends, I haue a care of your preseruation. Therefore I would aduise you, as you tender your life, to deuise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this Parliament. For God and man haue concurred to punish the wickednesse of this Time. And thinke not slightly of this Aduertisement, but retire your selfe into your Countrey, where you may expect the euent in safety. For though there be no apparance of any stirre, yet I say, they shal receiue a terrible Blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsell is not to be contemned, because it may doe you good, and can doe you no harme; for the danger is past so soone as you haue burnt the Letter. And I hope God will giue you the grace to make good vse of it: To whose holy protection I commend you.

His Maiesties iudgement of the Letter.

The King no sooner read the Letter, but after a little pause, and then reading it ouer againe, he deliuered his iudgement of it in such sort, as hee thought it was not to be contemned, for that the Style of it seemed to bee more quicke and pithie, then is vsuall to be in any Pasquil or libel (the superfluities of idle braines:) But the Earle of *Salisbury* perceiuing the King to apprehend it deepelier then he looked for, knowing his nature, told him that he thought by one sentence in it, that it was like to be written by some foole or madman, reading to him this sentence in it, *For the danger is past as soone as you haue burnt the Letter*; which hee said, was likely to bee the saying of a foole: for if the danger was past so soone as the Letter was burnt, then the warning behooued to bee of little auayle, when the burning of the Letter might make the danger to be eschewed. But the King by the contrary considering the former sentence in the Letter, *That they should receiue a terrible Blow at this Parliament, and yet should not see who hurt them*, Ioyning it to the sentence immediatly following, already alledged, did therupon coniecture, That the danger mentioned, should bee some suddaine danger by blowing vp of Powder: For no other Insurrection, Rebellion, or whatsoeuer other priuate and desperate Attempt could bee committed or attempted in time of Parliament, and the Authours thereof vnseene, except onely it were by a blowing vp of Powder, which might bee performed by one base knaue in a darke corner; whereupon he was moued to interprete and construe the latter Sentence in the Letter (alledged by the Earle of *Salisburie*) against all ordinarie sence and construction in Grammar,

as

as if by these words, *For the danger is past as soone as you haue burned the Letter*, should be closely vnderstood the suddaintie and quickenesse of the danger, which should be as quickly perfourmed and at an end, as that paper should be of bleasing vp in the fire; turning that word of *as soone*, to the sense of, *as quickly*: And therefore wished, that before his going to the Parliament, the vnder roumes of the Parliament house might be well and narrowly searched. But the Earle of *Salisbury* wondering at this his Maiesties Commentary, which he knew to be so farre contrary to his ordinary and naturall disposition, who did rather euer sinne vpon the other side; in not apprehending nor trusting due Aduertisements of Practises and Perils when hee was trewly enformed of them, whereby hee had many times drawen himselfe into many desperate dangers · and interpreting rightly this extraordinary Caution at this time to proceede from the vigilant care hee had of the whole State, more then of his owne Person, which could not but haue all perished together, if this designement had succeeded: Hee thought good to dissemble still vnto the King, that there had beene any iust cause of such apprehension · And ending the purpose with some merrie ieast vpon this Subiect, as his custome is, tooke his leaue for that time.

His Maiesties opinion for searching of the vnder roumes of the Parliament House.

But though he seemed so to neglect it to his Maiestie; yet his customable and watchfull care of the King and the State still boyling within him, And hauing with the blessed Virgine *Marie* laid vp in his heart the Kings so strange iudgement and construction of it; He could not be at rest til he acquainted the foresaid Lords what had passed betweene the King and him in priuat: Wherupon they were all so earnest to renew againe the memory of the same purpose to his Maiestie, as it was agreed that he should the next day, being Saturday, repaire to his Highnesse: which hee did in the same priuie Gallery, and renewed the memory thereof, the L. *Chamberlaine* then being present with the King. At what time it was determined, that the said Lord *Chamberlaine* should, according to his custome and Office, view all the Parliament Houses, both aboue and below, and consider what likelihood or appearance of any such danger might possibly be gathered by the sight of them: But yet, as well for staying of idle rumours, as for beeing the more able to discerne any mysterie, the nearer that things were in readinesse, his iourney thither was ordeined to bee deferred till the afternoone before the sitting downe of the Parliament, which was vpon the Munday following. At what time hee (according to this conclusion) went to the Parliament house accompanied with my Lord *Mountegle*, beeing in zeale to the Kings seruice earnest and curious to see the euent of that accident whereof hee had the fortune to be the first discouerer: where, hauing viewed all the lower roumes, hee found in the Vault vnder the vpper House great store and prouision of Billets, Faggots, and Coales: And enquiring of *Whyneard* Keeper of the Wardrobe, to what vse hee had put those lower roumes and cellars: he told him, That *Thomas Percie* had hired

The determination to search the Parliament house and the roumes vnder it.

Wood and Coale found by the Lord *Chamberlaine* in the Vault.

red both the House, and part of the Cellar or Vault vnder the same, and that the Wood and Coale therein was the said Gentlemans owne prouision: Whereupon the Lord *Chamberlaine*, casting his eye aside, perceiued a fellow standing in a corner there, calling himself the said *Percies* man, and keeper of that house for him, but indeed was *Guido Fawkes*, the owner of that hand which should haue acted that monstrous Tragedie.

Guido Fawkes bearing the name of *Percies* man.

The Lord *Chamberlaine* looking vpon all things with a heedfull indeed, yet in outward appearance with but a carelesse and rackless eye (as became so wise and diligent a minister) hee presently addressed himselfe to the King in the said priuie Gallery, where in the presence of the Lord *Treasurer*, the Lord *Admirall*, the Earles of *Worcester*, *Northampton*, and *Salisbury*, hee made his report, what hee had seene and obserued there; noting that *Mountegle* had told him, That he no sooner heard *Thomas Percy* named to be the possessour of that house, but considering both his backwardnes in Religion, and the old dearenesse in friendship betweene himselfe and the said *Percy*, hee did greatly suspect the matter, and that the Letter should come from him. The said Lord *Chamberlaine* also tolde, That he did not wonder a little at the extraordinary great prouision of wood and coale in that house, where *Thomas Percie* had so seldome occasion to remaine; As likewise it gaue him in his minde that his man looked like a very tall and desperate fellow.

The Lord *Chamberlaines* report and iudgement of what he had obserued in the search.

This could not but encrease the Kings former apprehension and iealousie: whereupon hee insisted (as before) that the House was narrowly to bee searched, and that those Billets and Coales would be searched to the bottome, it beeing most suspicious that they were layed there onely for couering of the powder. Of this same minde also were all the Counsailours then present: But vpon the fashion of making of the search was it long debated: For vpon the one side they were all so iealous of the Kings safety, that they all agreed, that there could not be too much caution vsed for preuenting his danger. And yet vpon the other part they were all extreme loath and daintie, that in case this Letter should proue to bee nothing but the euaporation of an idle braine; then a curious search beeing made, and nothing found, should not onely turne to the generall scandall of the King and the State, as being so suspicious of euery light and friuolous toy, but likewise lay an ill fauoured imputation vpon the Earle of *Northumberland* one of his Maiesties greatest Subiects and Counsailors, this *Tho. Percie* being his kinsman, and most confident familiar. And the rather were they curious vpon this point, knowing how far the King detested to be thought suspitious or iealous of any of his good Subiects, though of the meanest degree. And therefore though they all agreed vpon the maine ground, which was to prouide for the securitie of the Kings Person, yet did they much differ in the circumstances, by which this action might be best caried with least dinne and occasion of slaunder. But the King himselfe still persisting that there were diuers shrewd appearances, and that

Disputation about the maner of the further search.

a narrow search of those places could preiudge no man that was innocent, hee at last plainely resolued them, That either must all the partes of those roumes bee narrowly searched, and no possibilitie of danger left vnexamined, or else hee and they all must resolue not to meddle in it at all, but plainly to goe the next day to the Parliament, and leaue the successe to Fortune, which he beleeued they would be loth to take vpon their consciences: for in such a case as this, an halfe doing was worse then no doing at all. Whereupon it was at last concluded, That nothing should bee left vnsearched in those Houses: And yet for the better colour and stay of rumour, in case nothing were found, it was thought meet, that vpon a pretence of *Whynyards* missing some of the Kings stuffe or Hangings which he had in keeping, all those roumes should be narrowly ripped for them. And to this purpose was Sir *Thomas Kneuet* (a Gentleman of his Maiesties priuie Chamber) employed, being a Iustice of Peace in *Westminster*, and one, of whose ancient fidelitie both the late Queene and our now Soueraigne haue had large proofe: who according to the trust committed vnto him, went about the midnight next after, to the Parliament house, accompanied with such a small number as was fit for that errand. But before his entry in the house, finding *Thomas Percies* alleaged man standing without the doores, his cloathes and bootes on at so dead a time of the night, he resolued to apprehend him, as hee did, and thereafter went forward to the searching of the house, where after he had caused to be ouerturned some of the Billets and Coales, he first found one of the small Barrels of Powder, and after all the rest, to the number of thirty sixe Barrels, great and small: And thereafter searching the fellow, whom he had taken, found three matches, and all other instruments fit for blowing vp the Powder, readie vpon him, which made him instantly confesse his owne guiltinesse, declaring also vnto him, That if hee had happened to be within the house when hee tooke him, as he was immediatly before (at the ending of his worke) hee would not haue failed to haue blowen him vp, house and all.

Agreed that the search should be vnder colour of seeking for Wardrobe stuffe missed by *Whynniard*.

Fawkes found at midnight without the house.

Thus after Sir *Thomas* had caused the wretch to bee surely bound, and well guarded by the company hee had brought with him, hee himselfe returned backe to the Kings Palace, and gaue warning of his successe to the Lord Chamberlaine, and Earle of Salisburie, who immediatly warning the rest of the Councell that lay in the house, as soone as they could get themselues ready, came, with their fellow Counsellers, to the Kings Bedchamber, being at that time neere foure of the clocke in the morning. And at the first entry of the Kings Chamber doore, the Lord Chamberlaine, being not any longer able to conceale his ioy for the preuenting of so great a danger, told the King in a confused haste, that all was found and discouered, and the Traitor in hands and fast bound.

Vpon Sir *Thomas Kneuets* returne the Councel warned.

Then, order beeing first taken for sending for the rest of the Councell that lay in the Towne, The prisoner himselfe was brought into the house, where in respect of the strangenes of the accident, no man was stayed from the

the sight or speaking with him. And within a while after, the Council did examine him; Who seeming to put on a *Romane* resolution, did both to the Councill, and to euery other person that spake with him that day, appeare so constant and setled vpon his grounds, as wee all thought wee had found some new *Mutius Scæuola* borne in England. For notwithstanding the horrour of the fact, the guilt of his conscience, his sudden surprising, the terrour which should haue bene stroken in him by comming into the presence of so graue a Councill, and the restlesse and confused questions that euery man all that day did vexe him with; Yet was his countenance so farre from being deiected, as he often smiled in scornefull maner, not onely auowing the Fact, but repenting onely, with the said *Scæuola*, his failing in the execution thereof, whereof (he said) the diuel and not God, was the discouerer: Answering quickly to euery mans obiection, scoffing at any idle questions which were propounded vnto him, and iesting with such as he thought had no authoritie to examine him. All that day could the Councill get nothing out of him touching his Complices, refusing to answere to any such questions which hee thought might discouer the plot, and laying all the blame vpon himselfe; Whereunto he said hee was mooued onely for Religion and conscience sake, denying the King to be his lawfull Soueraigne, or the Anoynted of God, in respect he was an hereticke, and giuing himselfe no other name then *Iohn Iohnson*, seruant to *Thomas Percie*. But the next morning being caried to the Tower, hee did not there remaine aboue two or three dayes, being twise or thrise in that space reexamined, and the Racke onely offered and shewed vnto him, when the maske of his Romane fortitude did visibly beginne to weare and slide off his face; And then did hee beginne to confesse part of the trewth, and thereafter to open the whole matter, as doeth appeare by his depositions immediatly following.

THE TREW COPIE OF THE DECLARATION OF *GVIDO FAWKES*, TAKEN IN THE PRESENCE OF THE Counsellers, whose names are vnder written.

I Confesse, that a practise in generall was first broken vnto me, against his Maiestie for reliefe of the Catholique cause, and not inuented or propounded by my selfe. And this was first propounded vnto mee about Easter last was twelue moneth beyond the Seas, in the Low-Countreys of the Archdukes obeisance, by *Thomas Winter*, who came thereupon with mee

into England, and there wee imparted our purpose to three other Gentlemen more, namely, *Robert Catesby*, *Thomas Percie*, and *Iohn Wright*, who all fiue consulting together of the meanes how to execute the same, and taking a vow among our selues for secrecie; *Catesby* propounded to haue it performed by Gunpowder, and by making a Myne vnder the vpper House of Parliament: which place wee made choice of the rather, because Religion hauing bene vniustly suppressed there, it was fittest that Iustice and punishment should be executed there.

This being resolued amongst vs, *Thomas Percy* hired an house at Westminster for that purpose, neere adioyning to the Parliament House, and there we begun to make our Myne about the 11. of December 1604.

The fiue that first entred into the worke, were *Thomas Percy*, *Robert Catesby*, *Thomas Winter*, *Iohn Wright*, and my selfe: and soone after wee tooke another vnto vs, *Christopher Wright*, hauing sworne him also, and taken the Sacrament for secrecie.

When we came to the very foundation of the wall of the House, which was about three yards thicke, and found it a matter of great difficultie, wee tooke vnto vs another Gentleman, *Robert Winter*, in like maner with oath and Sacrament as aforesaid.

It was about Christmas when we brought our Myne vnto the Wal, and about Candlemas we had wrought the Wall halfe through: And whilest they were in working, I stood as Sentinell to descrie any man that came neere, whereof I gaue them warning, and so they ceased vntill I gaue notice againe to proceed.

All we seuen lay in the House, and had shot and powder, being resolued to die in that place before we should yeeld or be taken.

As they were working vpon the wall, they heard a rushing in a cellar of remoouing of coales, whereupon we feared wee had bene discouered: and they sent mee to goe to the cellar, who finding that the coales were a selling, and that the cellar was to be let, viewing the commoditie thereof for our purpose, *Percy* went and hired the same for yeerely rent.

Wee had before this prouided and brought into the House twentie barrels of powder, which we remooued into the cellar, and couered the same with billets and faggots, which were prouided for that purpose.

About Easter, the Parliament being prorogued till October next, wee dispersed our selues, and I retired into the Low countreys by aduice and direction of the rest, aswell to acquaint *Owen* with the particulars of the plot, as also lest by my longer stay I might haue growne suspicious, and so haue come in question.

In the meane time *Percy* hauing the key of the cellar, layd in more powder and wood into it. I returned about the beginning of September next, and then receiuing the key againe of *Percy*, wee brought in more powder and billets to couer the same againe, and so I went for a time into the countrey till the 30. of October.

It was

It was further resolued amongst vs, that the same day that this acte should haue bene performed, some other of our confederates should haue surprised the person of the Lady ELIZABETH the Kings eldest daughter, who was kept in Warwickshire at the Lord *Haringtons* house, and presently haue proclaimed her Queene, hauing a proiect of a Proclamation ready for that purpose, wherein wee made no mention of altering of Religion, nor would haue auowed the deed to be ours, vntill we should haue had power ynough to make our partie good, and then wee would haue auowed both.

Concerning duke CHARLES the Kings second sonne, we had sundry consultations how to seize on his person: But because wee found no meanes how to compasse it (the duke being kept neere London, where we had not forces ynough) wee resolued to serue our turne with the Lady ELIZABETH.

THE NAMES OF OTHER PRINCIPALL PERSONS, THAT WERE MADE PRIVIE AFTERwards to this horrible conspiracie.

Euerard Digby knight.
Ambrose Rookwood.
Francis Tresham.
John Grant.
Robert Keyes.

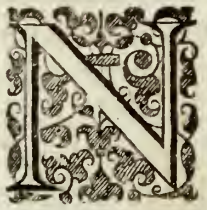
Commiss.

Notingham.
Worcester.
Suffolke. Deuonshire.
Northampton. Salisbury.
Marre. Dunbar.
Popham.
Edw. Cooke. *William Waad.*

AND in regard that before this discourse could be ready to goe to the Presse, *Thomas Winter* being apprehended, and brought to the Tower, made a confession in substance agreeing with this former of *Fawkes*, onely larger in some circumstances: I haue thought good to insert the same likewise in this place, for the further clearing of the matter, and greater benefit of the Reader.

THOMAS WINTERS CONFESSION, TAKEN THE XXIII. OF NOVEMBER 1605. IN THE PRESENCE OF the Counsellors, whose names are vnder-written.

My most Honourable Lords,



NOt out of hope to obtaine pardon: for, speaking of my temporall part, I may say, The fault is greater then can bee forgiuen; nor affecting hereby the title of a good Subiect: for I must redeeme my countrey from as great a danger, as I haue hazarded the bringing of her into, before I can purchase any such opinion; Onely at your Honours command I will briefly set downe mine owne accusation, and how farre I haue proceeded in this businesse; which I shall the faithfullier doe, since I see such courses are not pleasing to Almightie God, and that all, or the most materiall parts haue bene already confessed.

I remained with my brother in the countrey, from Alhallontyde vntill the beginning of Lent, in the yeere of our Lord 1603. the first yeere of the Kings reigne: about which time master *Catesby* sent thither, intreating me to come to London, where hee and other my friends would be glad to see me. I desired him to excuse me: for I found my selfe not very well disposed; and (which had happened neuer to mee before) returned the messenger without my company. Shortly I receiued another letter, in any wise to come. At the second summons I presently came vp, and found him with master *Iohn Wright* at Lambeth, where he brake with me, how necessary it was not to forsake our countrey (for he knew I had then a resolution to goe ouer) but to deliuer her from the seruitude in which shee remained, or at least to assist her with our vttermost endeuours. I answered, That I had often hazarded my life vpon farre lighter termes, and now would not refuse any good occasion, wherein I might doe seruice to the Catholicke cause; but for my selfe I knew no meane probable to succeed. He said that he had bethought him of a way at one instant to deliuer vs from all our bonds, and without any forraine helpe to replant againe the Catholicke Religion; and with all told mee in a word, It was to blow vp the Parliament house with Gunpowder; for, said he, in that place haue they done vs all the mischiefe, and perchance God hath desseigned that place for their punishment. I wondered at the strangenesse of the conceipt, and told him that trew it was, this strake at the root, and would breed a confusion fit to beget new alterations; But if it should not take effect (as most of this nature miscaried)

caried) the scandall would be so great which Catholicke Religion might hereby sustaine, as not onely our enemies, but our friends also would with good reason condemne vs. He told me, The nature of the disease required so sharpe a remedie, and asked me if I would giue my consent. I told him, yes, in this or what els soeuer; if he resolued vpon it, I would venture my life. But I proposed many difficulties, As want of an house, and of one to cary the Myne, noyse in the working, and such like. His answere was, Let vs giue an attempt, and where it faileth, passe no further. But first, quoth hee, Because wee will leaue no peaceable and quiet way vntryed, you shall goe ouer, and informe the Constable of the state of the Catholickes here in England, intreating him to sollicite his Maiestie at his comming hither, that the penall Lawes may be recalled, and wee admitted into the rancke of his other Subiects; withall, you may bring ouer some confident Gentleman, such as you shall vnderstand best able for his businesse, and named vnto mee master *Fawkes*. Shortly after, I passed the Sea, and found the Constable at *Bergen* neere *Dunkirke*, where, by helpe of master *Owen* I deliuered my message; Whose answere was, that hee had strict command from his Master, to doe all good Offices for the Catholickes, and for his owne part hee thought himselfe bound in conscience so to doe, and that no good occasion should be omitted, but spake to him nothing of this matter.

Returning to *Dunkirck* with master *Owen*, wee had speach whether hee thought the Constable would faithfully helpe vs, or no. He said he beleeued nothing lesse, and that they sought onely their owne ends, holding small account of Catholicks. I told him that there were many Gentlemen in *England*, who would not forsake their countrey vntill they had tried the vttermost, & rather venture their liues, then forsake her in this miserie. And to adde one more to our number, as a fit man both for counsel and execution of whatsoeuer we should resolue, wished for master *Fawkes*, whom I had heard good commendations of: hee told mee the Gentleman deserued no lesse, but was at *Brussels*, and that if he came not, as happily he might, before my departure, he would send him shortly after into *England*. I went soone after to *Ostend*, where sir *William Stanley* as then was not, but came two daies after. I remained with him three or foure daies, in which time I asked him, if the Catholicks in *England* should do any thing to helpe themselues, whether he thought the Archduke would second them? He answered, No, for all those parts were so desirous of peace with *England*, as they would endure no speach of other enterprise: neither were it fit, said hee, to set any proiect afoot, now the Peace is vpon concluding. I told him there was no such resolution, and so fell to discourse of other matters, vntill I came to speake of master *Fawkes*, whose company I wished ouer into *England*. I asked of his sufficiencie in the warres, and told him wee should need such as hee, if occasion required; hee gaue very good commendations of him. And as wee were thus discoursing, and I ready to depart for *New-*

port,

port, and taking my leaue of Sir *William*, Master *Fawkes* came into our companie, newly returned, and saluted vs. This is the Gentleman, said Sir *William*, that you wished for, and so we embraced againe. I told him some good friends of his wished his companie in *England*, and that if hee pleased to come to *Dunkircke*, wee would haue further conference, whither I was then going: so taking my leaue of them both, I departed. About two dayes after came Master *Fawkes* to *Dunkirck*, where I told him that we were vpon a resolution to doe somewhat in *England*, if the Peace with *Spaine* helped vs not, but had as yet resolued vpon nothing; such or the like talke wee passed at *Graueling*, where I lay for a winde, and when it serued came both in one Passage to *Greenwich*, neere which place wee tooke a paire of Oares, and so came vp to *London*, and came to Master *Catesby* whom wee found in his lodging; hee welcommed vs into *England*, and asked mee what newes from the Constable. I told him, good words, but I feared the deedes would not answere: This was the beginning of Easter Terme, and about the middest of the same Terme, (whether sent for by Master *Catesby*, or vpon some businesse of his owne) vp came Master *Thomas Percy*. The first word hee spake (after hee came into our company) was, Shall we alwayes (Gentlemen) talke, and neuer doe any thing? Master *Catesby* took him aside, and had speach about somewhat to be done, so as first we might all take an oath of secrecie, which wee resolued within two or three dayes to doe: so as there we met behind *S. Clements*, Master *Catesby*, Master *Percy*, Master *Wright*, Master *Guy Fawkes*, and my selfe; and hauing vpon a Primer giuen each other the oath of secrecie, in a chamber where no other bodie was, wee went after into the next roome and heard Masse, and receiued the blessed Sacrament vpon the same. Then did Master *Catesby* disclose to Master *Percy*, and I together with *Iacke Wright*, tell to Master *Fawkes* the businesse for which wee tooke this oath, which they both approued. And then was M. *Percy* sent to take the house, which M. *Catesby* in mine absence, had learned did belong to one *Ferris*, which with some difficultie in the end he obtained, and became, as *Ferris* before was, Tenant to *Whynniard*. M. *Fawkes* vnderwent the name of M. *Percies* man, calling himselfe *Iohnson*, because his face was the most vnknowen, and receiued the keyes of the house, vntill wee heard that the Parliament was adiourned to the seuenth of Februarie: At which time we all departed seuerall wayes into the countrey, to meete againe at the beginning of Michaelmas Terme. Before this time also it was thought conuenient to haue a house that might answere to M. *Percies*, where we might make prouision of powder and wood for the Mine, which beeing there made ready, should in a night be conueyed by boate to the house by the Parliament, because wee were loath to foile that with often going in and out. There was none that we could deuise so fit as *Lambeth*, where Master *Catesby* often lay, and to bee keeper thereof (by M. *Catesbies* choice) we receiued into the number, *Keyes*, as a trustie honest man: this was about a moneth before Michaelmas.

Some

Some fortnight after towards the beginning of the Terme, M. *Fawkes* and I came to M. *Catesby* at *Morecrofts*, where we agreed that now was time to beginne and set things in order for the Mine. So as Master *Fawkes* went to *London*, and the next day sent for me to come ouer to him: when I came, the cause was, for that the Scottish Lords were appointed to sit in conference of the Vnion in Master *Percies* house. This hindered our beginning vntill a fortnight before Christmas, by which time both Master *Percie* and Master *Wright* were come to *London*, and wee against their comming had prouided a good part of the powder: so as wee all fiue entred with tooles fit to beginne our worke, hauing prouided our selues of Baked-meates, the lesse to need sending abroad. We entred late in the night, and were neuer seene saue onely Master *Percies* man, vntill Christmas Eue, In which time we wrought vnder a little Entry to the wall of the Parliament house, and vnderpropped it, as we went, with wood.

Whilest we were together, we began to fashion our businesse, and discoursed what we should doe after this deed was done. The first question was how we might surprize the next heire, the Prince haply would bee at the Parliament with the King his Father, how should wee then bee able to seaze on the Duke? This burthen Master *Percie* vndertooke, that by his acquaintance, hee, with another Gentleman would enter the Chamber without suspition, and hauing some doozen others at seuerall doores to expect his comming, and two or three on horsebacke at the Court gate to receiue him, hee would vndertake (the blow beeing giuen, vntill which hee would attend in the Dukes Chamber) to carrie him safe away: for hee supposed most of the Court would bee absent, and such as were there not suspecting, or vnprouided for any such matter. For the Lady ELIZABETH, it were easie to surprize her in the Countrey, by drawing friends together at an hunting neere the Lord *Haringtons*, and Ashbie, M. *Catesbies* house, being not farre off was a fit place for preparation.

The next was for money and horses, which if wee could prouide in any reasonable measure (hauing the Heire apparant) and the first knowledge by foure or fiue dayes, was oddes sufficient.

Then what Lords we should saue from the Parliament, which was first agreed in generall as many as we could that were Catholickes, or so disposed: but after we descended to speake of particulars.

Next, what forraine Princes wee should acquaint with this before, or ioyne with after. For this point wee agreed, that first wee could not enioyne Princes to that secrecie, nor oblige them by oath, so to be secure of their promise: besides, we knew not whether they will approue the proiect or dislike it: And if they doe allow thereof, to prepare before, might beget suspition; and not to prouide vntill the businesse were acted, the same letter that caried newes of the thing done, might as well intreate their helpe and furtherance. *Spaine* is too slow in his preparations to hope any good from in the first extremities, and *France* too neere and too dangerous,

rous, who with the ſhipping of *Holland*, we feared of all the world might make away with vs.

But while we were in the middle of theſe diſcourſes, we heard that the Parliament ſhould bee anew adiourned vntill after Michaelmas, vpon which tidings we broke off both diſcourſe and working vntill after Chriſtmas. About Candlemas we brought ouer in a boate the powder, which we had prouided at Lambeth, and laide it in M. *Percies* houſe, becauſe wee were willing to haue all our danger in one place.

We wrought alſo another fortnight in the Mine againſt the ſtone wall, which was very hard to beate thorow; at which time we called in *Kit Wright*, and neare to Eaſter, as we wrought the third time, opportunitie was giuen to hire the Cellar, in which we reſolued to lay the powder, and leaue the Mine.

Now by reaſon that the charge of maintaining vs all ſo long together, beſides the number of ſeuerall houſes, which for ſeuerall vſes had beene hired, and buying of powder &c. had layen heauie on M. *Catesby* alone to ſupport; it was neceſſarie for him to call in ſome others to eaſe his charge, and to that ende deſired leaue, that hee, with M. *Percy*, and a third, whom they ſhould call, might acquaint whom they thought fit and willing to the buſineſſe: for many, ſaid hee, may be content that I ſhould know, who would not therefore that all the company ſhould be acquainted with their names: to this we all agreed.

After this Maſter *Fawkes* laid into the Cellar (which hee had newly taken) a thouſand of Billets, and fiue hundred of Faggots, and with that couered the Powder, becauſe we might haue the Houſe free, to ſuffer any one to enter that would. Maſter *Catesby* wiſhed vs to conſider, whether it were not now neceſſary to ſend M. *Fawkes* ouer, both to abſent himſelfe for a time, as alſo to acquaint Sir *William Stanley* and M. *Owen* with this matter. Wee agreed that he ſhould (prouided that hee gaue it them with the ſame othe that wee had taken it before) *videlicet*, to keepe it ſecret from all the world. The reaſon why we deſired Sir *William Stanley* ſhould be acquainted herewith was, to haue him with vs ſo ſoone as he could: And for M. *Owen*, hee might holde good correſpondencie after with forreine Princes. So M. *Fawkes* departed about Eaſter for *Flanders*, and returned the latter end of Auguſt. He tolde me that when he arriued at *Bruſſels*, Sir *William Stanley* was not returned from *Spaine*, ſo as hee vttered the matter onely to *Owen*, who ſeemed well pleaſed with the buſineſſe, but tolde him that ſurely Sir *William* would not be acquainted with any plot, as hauing buſineſſe now afoot in the Court of *England*; but he himſelfe would be alwayes readie to tell it him, and ſend him away ſo ſoone as it were done.

About this time did M. *Percy* and M. *Catesby* meete at the *Bathe*, where they agreed that the company being yet but few, M. *Catesby* ſhould haue the others authoritie to call in whom hee thought beſt; By which authoritie hee called in after, Sir *Euerard Digby*, though at what time I know not, and

and last of all M. *Francis Tresham.* The first promised, as I heard M. *Catesby* say, fifteene hundred pounds; the second two thousand pounds; M. *Percy* himselfe promised all that hee could get of the Earle of *Northumberlands* rents, which was about foure thousand pounds, and to prouide many galloping horses to the number of ten.

Meane while M. *Fawkes* and my selfe alone bought some new Powder, as suspecting the first to be danke, and conueyed it into the Cellar, and set it in order, as wee resolued it should stand. Then was the Parliament anew prorogued vntill the fift of Nouember, so as we all went downe vntil some ten dayes before, when M. *Catesby* came vp with M. *Fawkes* to an house by *Enfield Chace* called *White-webbes,* whither I came to them, and M. *Catesby* willed me to enquire whether the yong Prince came to the Parliament: I tolde him that I heard that his Grace thought not to be there. Then must wee haue our Horses said M. *Catesby* beyond the water, and prouision of more company to surprise the Prince, and leaue the Duke alone.

Two dayes after being Sunday at night, in came one to my chamber, and told me that a letter had beene giuen to my L. *Mountegle* to this effect, That he wished his Lordships absence from the Parliament, because a blow would there be giuen; which letter he presently caried to my L. of *Salisbury.*

On the morrow I went to *White-webbes,* and told it M. *Catesby,* assuring him withall that the matter was discloſed; and wishing him in any case to forsake his Countrey. He told me he would see further as yet, and resolued to send M. *Fawkes* to trie the vttermost, protesting if the part belonged to himselfe, he would trie the same aduenture.

On Wednesday Master *Fawkes* went and returned at night, of which we were very glad.

Thursday I came to London, and Friday Master *Catesby,* Master *Tresham* and I met at *Barnet,* where wee questioned how this Letter should be sent to my L. *Mountegle,* but could not conceiue, for Master *Tresham* forsware it, whom we onely suspected.

On Saturday night I met M. *Tresham* againe in Lincolnes Inne walkes: wherein he tolde such speeches, that my Lord of *Salisbury* should vse to the King, as I gaue it lost the second time, and repeated the same to M. *Catesby,* who hereupon was resolued to be gone, but stayed to haue M. *Percy* come vp, whose consent herein wee wanted. On Sunday M. *Percy* being dealt with to that end, would needs abide the vttermost triall.

This suspicion of all hands put vs into such confusion, as M. *Catesby* resolued to goe downe into the countrey the Munday that M. *Percy* went to *Syon,* and M. *Percy* resolued to follow the same night, or early the next morning. About fiue of the clocke being Tuesday, came the yonger *Wright* to my Chamber, and tolde me that a Nobleman called the L. *Mountegle,* saying, Arise, and come along to *Essex* house, for I am going to call vp my L. of *Northumberland,* saying withall, The matter is discouered. Goe backe M. *Wright* (quoth I) and learne what you can about *Essex* gate. Shortly hee returned

returned and said, Surely all is lost: for *Lepton* is got on horseback at *Essex* doore, and as he parted, he asked if their Lordships would haue any more with him: and being answered No, is rode fast vp Fleetstreete as hee can ride. Goe you then (quoth I) to M. *Percy*, for sure it is for him they seeke, and bid him be gone, I will stay and see the vttermost. Then I went to the Court gates, and found them straitly guarded, so as no body could enter. From thence I went downe towards the Parliament house, and in the middle of Kings-street, found the Guard standing that would not let me passe. And as I returned I heard one say, There is a Treason discouered, in which the King and the Lords should haue beene blowen vp. So then I was fully satisfied that all was knowen, and went to the Stable where my gelding stood, and rode into the countrey. Master *Catesby* had appointed our meeting at *Dunchurch*, but I could not ouertake them vntill I came to my brothers, which was Wednesday night. On Thursday wee tooke the Armour at my Lord *Windsores*, and went that night to one *Stephen Littletons* house, where the next day (being Friday) as I was early abroad to discouer, my man came to me, and said, that an heauie mischance had seuered all the company, for that M. *Catesby*, M. *Rookwood*, and M. *Grant*, were burned with Gunpowder, vpon which sight the rest dispersed. Master *Littleton* wished me to flie, and so would hee. I told him I would first see the body of my friend and bury him, whatsoeuer befell me. When I came, I found M. *Catesby* reasonable well, Master *Percy*, both the *Wrights*, M. *Rookwood*, and Master *Grant*. I asked them what they resolued to doe: they answered, We meane here to die. I said againe, I would take such part as they did. About eleuen of the clocke came the company to beset the house, and as I walked into the court, I was shot into the shoulder, which lost me the vse of mine arme: the next shot was the elder *Wright* stricken dead, after him the yonger M. *Wright*, and fourthly *Ambrose Rookwood* shot. Then said M. *Catesby* to me, (standing before the doore they were to enter) Stand by me *Tom*, and we will die together. Sir (quoth I) I haue lost the vse of my right arme, and I feare that will cause me to be taken. So as wee stood close together, M. *Catesby*, M. *Percy*, and my selfe, they two were shot (as farre as I could guesse with one Bullet) and then the company entred vpon me, hurt me in the Belly with a Pike, and gaue me other wounds, vntill one came behinde, and caught holde of both mine armes.

And so I remaine yours, &c.

Commiss. { *Notingham*, *Suffolke*, *Worcester*, *Deuonshire*, *Northampton*, *Salisburie*, *Marr*, *Dunbar*, *Popham*.

Ed. Coke. *W. Waad.*

The

The names of those that were first in the Treason, *and laboured in the Mine.*

Robert Catesby. } *Esquires.*
Robert Winter.

Thomas Percy.
Thomas Winter.
John Wright. } *Gentlemen.*
Christopher Wright.
Guido Fawkes.

And Bates, Catesbyes man.

Those that were made acquainted with it, though *not personally labouring in the Mine, nor in the Cellar.*

Euerard Digby. } *Knight.*

Ambrose Rookewood. } *Esquires.*
Francis Tresham.

John Grant. } *Gent.*
Robert Keyes.

BVt here let vs leaue *Fawkes* in a lodging fit for such a guest, and taking time to aduise vpon his conscience; and turne our selues to that part of the Historie, which concernes the fortune of the rest of his partakers in that abominable Treason. The newes was no sooner spred abroad that morning, which was vpon a Tuesday, the 5. of *Nouember*, and the first day designed for that Session of Parliament; The newes (I say) of this so strange and vnlooked for accident, was no sooner diuulged, but some of those Conspiratours, namely *Winter*, and the two brothers of *Wrights* thought it high time for them to hasten out of the towne (for *Catesby* was gone the night before, and *Percy* at foure of the clocke in the morning the same day of the Discouerie) and all of them held their course, with more haste then good speed to *Warwick* Shire toward *Couentry*, where the next day morning being *Wednesday*, and about the same houre that *Fawks* was taken in *Westminster*, one *Graunt* a gentleman hauing associated vnto him some others of his opinion, all violent Papists and strong Recusants, came to a Stable of one *Benocke* a rider of great

The taking of the horses out of the stable at Warwicke by *Graunt* and others.

Horses, and hauing violently broken vp the same, caried along with them all the great Horses that were therein, to the number of seuen or eight, belonging to diuers Noblemen and Gentlemen of that Countrey, who had put them into the Riders hands to be made fit for ther seruice. And so both that company of them which fledde out of *London*, as also *Graunt* and his complices met all together at *Dunchurch* at Sir *Euerard Digby* his lodging the Tuesday at night, after the discouerie of this treacherous Attempt: The which *Digby* had likewise for his part appointed a match of hunting to haue beene hunted the next day, which was Wednesday, though his mind was *Nimrod*-like vpon a farre other maner of hunting, more bent vpon the blood of reasonable men then bruite beasts.

The hunting match appointed by Sir *Euerard Digby*.

Their going into armes after the Plot discouered.

This company and hellish societie thus conuened, finding their purpose discouered, and their treacherie preuented, did resolue to runne a desperate course, and since they could not preuaile by so priuate a Blow, to practise by a publike rebellion, either to attaine to their Intents, or at least to saue themselues in the throng of others. And therefore gathering all the company they could vnto them, and pretending the quarrell of Religion, hauing intercepted such prouision of Armour, Horses, and Powder, as the time could permit, thought by running vp and downe the Countrey both to augment peece and peece their number (dreaming to themselues that they had the vertue of a Snow-ball, which being little at the first, and tumbling downe from a great hill groweth to a great quantitie, by encreasing it selfe with the Snow that it meeteth by the way) and also that they beginning first this braue shewe in one part of the Countrey, should by their Sympathy and example stirre vp and encourage the rest of their Religion in other parts of *England* to rise, as they had done there. But when they had gathered their force to the greatest, they came not to the number of foure score, and yet were they troubled all the houres of the day to keepe and containe their own seruants from stealing from them; who (notwithstanding of all their care) daily left them, being farre inferiour to *Gedeons* hoste in number, but farre more in faith or iustnesse of quarrell.

Their number neuer aboue foure score.

And so after that this Catholicke troupe had wandered a while through Warwicke-shire to Worcester-shire, and from thence to the edge and borders of Stafford-shire, this gallantly armed band had not the honour at the last to be beaten with a Kings Lieutenant or extraordinary Commissioner sent downe for the purpose, but onely by the ordinary Shiriffe of Worcester-shire were they all beaten, killed, taken and dispersed. Wherein yee haue to note this following circumstance so admirable, and so liuely displaying the greatnesse of Gods iustice, as it could not be concealed without betraying in a maner the glory due to the Almighty for the same.

Their flight.

Although diuers of the Kings Proclamations were posted downe after these Traitors with all the speed possible, declaring the odiousnesse of that bloodie attempt, the necessitie to haue had *Percie* preserued aliue, if it had beene possible, and the assembly together of that rightly-damned crew,

now

now no more darned Conspirators, but open and auowed Rebels: yet the farre distance of the way (which was aboue an hundred miles) together with the extreme deepenesse thereof, ioyned also with the shortnesse of the day, was the cause that the heartie and louing affections of the Kings good Subiects in those partes preuented the speed of his Proclamations: For vpon the third day after the flying downe of these Rebels, which was vpon the Friday next after the discouerie of their Plot, they were most of them all surprized by the Shiriffe of Worcester-shire at *Holbeach*, about the noone of the day, and that in manner following.

Ouertaken at *Holbeach*, in Stafford shire, *Stephen Littletons* house.

Graunt, of whom I haue made mention before for taking the great horses, who had not all the preceding time stirred from his owne house till the next morning after the attempt should haue bene put in execution, he then laying his accompt without his Host (as the prouerbe is) that their Plot had, without failing, receiued the day before their hoped-for successe; Tooke, or rather stole out those horses (as I said before) for enabling him, and so many of that soule-lesse society that had still remained in the Countrey neere about him, to make a sudden surprize vpon the Kings elder daughter, the Lady ELIZABETH, hauing her residence nere by that place, whom they thought to haue vsed for the colour of their treacherous designe (His Maiestie her father, her mother, and male children being all destroyed aboue.) And to this purpose also had that *Nimrod, Digby*, prouided his hunting match against that same time, that numbers of people beeing flocked together vpon the pretence thereof, they might the easilier haue brought to passe the sudden surprise of her person.

Grants attempt to surprize the Lady *Elizabeth*.

Now the violent taking away of those horses long before day, did seeme to bee so great a ryot in the eyes of the Common-people, that knew of no greater mystery: And the bold attempting thereof did ingender such a suspition of some following Rebellion in the hearts of the wiser sort, as both great and small beganne to stirre and arme themselues, vpon this vnlooked-for accident: Among whom Sir *Fulke Greuill* the Elder, Knight, as became one both so ancient in yeeres and good reputation, and by his Office, beeing Deputie Lieutenant of Warwicke-shire, though vnable in his bodie, yet by the zeale and trew feruencie of his mind, did first apprehend this foresaid Ryot to be nothing but the sparkles and sure *indices* of a following Rebellion; whereupon both stoutly and honestly hee tooke order to get into his owne hands, the Munition and Armour of all such Gentlemen about him, as were either absent from their owne houses, or in doubtfull guard; and also sent such direction to the Townes about him, as thereupon did follow the striking of *Winter* by a poore Smith, who had likewise beene taken by those vulgar people, but that he was rescued by the rest of his company, who perceiuing that the Countrey before them had notice of them, hastened away with losse in their owne sight, sixteene of their followers being taken by the townes-men, and sent presently to the Shiriffe at Warwicke, and from thence to London.

But before twelue or sixteene houres past, *Catesby*, *Percy*, the *Winters*, *Wrights*, *Rookewood* and the rest, bringing then the assurance that their maine Plot was failed and bewrayed, whereupon they had builded the golden mountaines of their glorious hopes: They then tooke their last desperate resolution to flocke together in a troupe, and wander, as they did, for the reasons aforetold. But as vpon the one part, the zealous duety to their God and their Souereigne was so deepely imprinted in the hearts of all the meanest and poorest sort of the people (although then knowing of no further mysterie then such publike misbehauiours, as their owne eyes taught them) as notwithstanding of their faire shewes and pretence of their Catholicke cause, no creature, man or woman through all the Countrey, would once so much as giue them willingly a cuppe of drinke, or any sort of comfort or support, but with execrations detested them: So on the other part, the Sheriffes of the Shires, where-through they wandered, conuening their people with all speed possible, hunted as hotly after them, as the euilnesse of the way, and the vnprouidednesse of their people vpon that sudden could permit them. And so at last after Sir *Richard Verney*, Shiriffe of Warwicke-shire, had carefully and streightly beene in chase of them to the confines of his Countie, part of the meaner sort being also apprehended by him: Sir *Richard Walsh* Shiriffe of Worcester-shire did likewise duetifully and hotely pursue them thorow his Shire; And hauing gotten sure triall of their taking harbour at the house aboue-named, hee did send Trumpetters and Messengers to them, commaunding them in the Kings name to render vnto him, his Maiesties minister, and knowing no more at that time of their guilt then was publikely visible, did promise vpon their duetifull and obedient rendring vnto him, to intercede at the Kings handes for the sparing of their liues: who receiued onely from them this scornefull answere (they being better witnesses to themselues of their inward euill consciences) *That hee had need of better assistance, then of those few numbers that were with him, before hee could bee able to command or comptroll them.*

The preparation to assaule the house.

But here fell the wonderous worke of Gods Iustice, That while this message passed betweene the Shiriffe and them, The Shiriffes and his peoples zeale beeing iustly kindled and augmented by their arrogant answere, and so they preparing themselues to giue a furious assault; and the other partie making themselues readie within the house to performe their promise by a defence as resolute; It pleased God that in the mending of the fire in their chamber, one small sparke should flie out, and light among lesse then two pound weight of Powder, which was drying a little from the chimney, which being thereby blowen vp, so maymed the faces of some of the principall Rebels, and the hands and sides of others of them (blowing vp with it also a great bag full of Powder, which notwithstanding neuer tooke fire) as they were not only disabled and discouraged hereby from any further resistance, in respect *Catesby* himselfe, *Rookwood*, *Grant*, and diuers others

others of greatest account among them, were thereby made vnable for defence: but also wonderfully stroken with amazement in their guiltie consciences, calling to memory how God had iustly punished them with that same Instrument, which they should haue vsed for the effectuating of so great a sinne, according to the olde Latine saying, *In quo peccamus, in eodem plectimur*; as they presently (see the wonderfull power of Gods Iustice vpon guiltie consciences) did all fall downe vpon their knees, praying GOD to pardon them for their bloody enterprise; And thereafter giuing ouer any further debate, opened the gate, suffered the Sheriffes people to rush in furiously among them, and desperately sought their owne present destruction; The three specials of them ioyning backes together, *Catesby*, *Percy*, and *Winter*, whereof two with one shot, *Catesby* and *Percy* were slaine, and the third, *VVinter*, taken and saued aliue.

Catesby who was the first inuentor of this Treason in generall, and of the maner of working the same by powde, in speciall, himselfe now first maimed with the blowing vp of powder, and next he and *Percy* both killed with one shot proceeding from powder.

And thus these resolute and high aspiring Catholikes, who dreamed of no lesse then the destruction of Kings and kingdomes, and promised to themselues no lower estate then the gouernment of great and ancient Monarchies, were miserably defeated, and quite ouerthrowen in an instant, falling in the pit which they had prepared for others; and so fulfilling that sentence which his Maiestie did in a maner prophecie of them in his Oration to the Parliament: some presently slaine, others deadly wounded, stripped of their clothes, left lying miserably naked, and so dying rather of cold, then of the danger of their wounds; and the rest that either were whole, or but lightly hurt, taken and led prisoners by the Sheriffe the ordinary minister of Iustice, to the Gaole, the ordinarie place euen of the basest malefactors, where they remained till their sending vp to *London*, being met with a huge confluence of people of all sorts, desirous to see them as the rarest sort of Monsters; fooles to laugh at them, women and children to wonder, all the common people to gaze, the wiser sort to satisfie their curiosity in seeing the outward cases of so vnheard of a villeny: & generally all sorts of people to satiate and fill their eyes with the sight of them, whom in their hearts they so farre admired and detested: seruing so for a fearfull and publike spectacle of Gods fierce wrath and iust indignation.

What hereafter will be done with them, is to be left to the Iustice of his Maiestie and the State: Which as no good Subiect needes to doubt will be performed in the owne due time by a publike and an exemplarie punishment: So haue we all that are faithfull and humble Subiects, great cause to pray earnestly to the Almighty, that it will please him who hath the hearts of all Princes in his hands, to put it in his Maiesties heart to make such a conclusion of this Tragedie to the Traitors, but Tragicomedie to the King and all his trew Subiects; as thereby the glory of God and his trew Religion may be aduanced, the future securitie of the King and his estate procured and prouided for, all hollow and vnhonest hearts discouered & preuented, & this horrible attempt (lacking due epithetes) to be so iustly auenged, That where they thought by one Catholike indeed & vniuersall blow

to accomplish the wish of that Romane tyrant, who wished all the bodies in Rome to haue but one necke, and so by the violent force of Powder to breake vp as with a Pettard our triple locked peacefull gates of *Ianus*, which (God be thanked) they could not compasse by any other meanes; they may iustly be so recompensed for their trewly viperous intended parricide, as the shame and infamie that otherwise would light vpon this whole Nation, for hauing vnfortunately hatched such cockatrice egges, may be repaired by the execution of famous and honourable Iustice vpon the offendors; and so the kingdome purged of them, may hereafter perpetually flourish in peace and prosperitie, by the happy coniunction of the hearts of all honest and trew Subiects, with their iust and religious Soueraigne.

As *Aeneas Sylvius* doth notably write concerning the murther of K. *Iames* the first of *Scotland*, and the following punishment of the traitours, whereof himselfe was an eye witnesse. *Hist. de Europa, cap.46.*

And thus whereas they thought to haue effaced our memories, the memory of them shall remaine (but to their perpetuall infamie) and wee (as I said in the beginning) shall with all thankefulnesse eternally preserue the memory of so great a benefite. To which let euery good Subiect say AMEN.

Triplici

Triplici nodo, triplex cuneus.

OR AN APOLOGIE FOR THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

AGAINST THE TWO BREVES OF POPE PAVLVS QVINTVS, AND THE late Letter of Cardinall BELLARMINE to G. BLACKVVEL the Arch-priest.

WHat a monstrous, rare, nay neuer heard-of Treacherous attempt, was plotted within these few yeeres here in England, for the destruction of Mee, my Bed-fellow, and our posteritie, the whole house of Parliament, and a great number of good Subiects of all sorts and degrees; is so famous already through the whole world by the infamie thereof, as it is needlesse to bee repeated or published any more; the horrour of the sinne it selfe doeth so lowdly proclaime it. For if those * crying sinnes, (whereof mention is made in the Scripture) haue that epithet giuen them for their publique infamie, and for procuring as it were with a lowd cry from heauen a iust vengeance and recompense, and yet those sinnes are both old and too common, neither the world, nor any one Countrey being euer at any time cleane voyd of them: If those sinnes (I say) are said in the Scripture to cry so lowd; What then must this sinne doe, plotted without cause, infinite in crueltie, and singular from all examples? What proceeded hereupon is likewise notorious to the whole world; our Iustice onely taking hold vpon the offenders, and that in as honourable and publique a forme of Triall, as euer was vsed in this Kingdome.

* Gen. 4 10.

2. For

2. For although the onely reason they gaue for plotting so heinous an attempt, was the zeale they caried to the Romish Religion; yet were neuer any other of that profession the worse vsed for that cause, as by our gracious Proclamation immediatly after the discouery of the said fact doeth plainly appeare: onely at the next sitting downe againe of the Parliament, there were Lawes made, setting downe some such orders as were thought fit for preuenting the like mischiefe in time to come. Amongst which a forme of OATH was framed to be taken by my Subiects, whereby they should make a cleare profession of their resolution, faithfully to persist in their obedience vnto mee, according to their naturall allegiance; To the end that I might hereby make a separation, not onely betweene all my good Subiects in generall, and vnfaithfull Traitors, that intended to withdraw themselues from my obedience; But specially to make a separation betweene so many of my Subiects, who although they were otherwise Popishly affected, yet retained in their hearts the print of their naturall duetie to their Soueraigne; and those who being caried away with the like fanaticall zeale that the Powder-Traitors were, could not conteine themselues within the bounds of their naturall Allegiance, but thought diuersitie of religion a safe pretext for all kinde of treasons, and rebellions against their Soueraigne. Which godly and wise intent, God did blesse with successe accordingly: For very many of my Subiects that were Popishly affected, aswell Priests, as Layicks, did freely take the same Oath: whereby they both gaue me occasion to thinke the better of their fidelitie, and likewise freed themselues of that heauie slander, that although they were fellow professors of one Religion with the powder-Traitors, yet were they not ioyned with them in treasonable courses against their Soueraigne; whereby all quietly minded Papists were put out of despaire, and I gaue a good proofe that I intended no persecution against them for conscience cause, but onely desired to be secured of them for ciuill obedience, which for conscience cause they were bound to performe.

3. But the diuel could not haue deuised a more malicious tricke for interrupting this so calme and clement a course, then fell out by the sending hither, and publishing a *Breue* of the Popes, countermanding all them of his profession to take this Oath; Thereby sowing new seeds of ielousie betweene me and my Popish Subiects, by stirring them vp to disobey that lawfull commandement of their Soueraigne, which was ordeined to bee taken of them as a pledge of their fidelitie; And so by their refusall of so iust a charge, to giue mee so great and iust a ground for punishment of them, without touching any matter of conscience: throwing themselues needlesly into one of these desperate straits; either with the losse of their liues and goods to renounce their Allegiance to their naturall Soueraigne; or else to procure the condemnation of their soules by renouncing the Catholicke faith, as he alleadgeth.

4. And on the other part, although disparitie of Religion (the Pope being

being head of the contrary part) can permit no intelligence nor intercourſe of meſſengers betweene mee and the Pope: yet there being no denounced warre betweene vs, he hath by this action broken the rules of common ciuilitie and iuſtice betweene Chriſtian Princes, in thus condemning me vnheard, both by accounting me a perſecutor, which cannot be but implied by exhorting the Papiſts to endure Martyrdome; as likewiſe by ſo ſtraitly commanding all thoſe of his profeſſion in England, to refuſe the taking of this Oath; thereby refuſing to profeſſe their naturall obedience to me their Soueraigne. For if he thinke himſelfe my lawfull Iudge, wherefore hath he condemned me vnheard? And, if he haue nothing to doe with me and my gouernment (as indeed he hath not) why doeth he *mittere falcem in alienam meſſem*, to meddle betweene me and my Subiects, eſpecially in matters that meerely and onely concerne ciuill obedience? And yet could *Pius Quintus* in his greateſt fury and auowed quarrell againſt the late Queene, doe no more iniurie vnto her; then hee hath in this caſe offered vnto mee, without ſo much as a pretended or an alleadged cauſe. For what difference there is, betweene the commanding Subiects to rebell, and looſing them from their Oath of Allegiance as *Pius Quintus* did; and the commanding of Subiects not to obey in making profeſſion of their Oath of their dutifull Allegiance, as this Pope hath now done: no man can eaſily diſcerne.

5. But to draw neere vnto his *Breue*, wherein certainely hee hath taken more paines then he needed, by ſetting downe in the ſaid *Breue* the whole body of the Oath at length; whereas the onely naming of the Title thereof might as well haue ſerued, for any anſwere hee hath made thereunto (making *Vna litura*, that is, the flat and generall condemnation of the whole Oath to ſerue for all his refutation.) Therein hauing as well in this reſpect as in the former, dealt both vndiſcreetly with me, and iniurioufly with his owne Catholickes. With mee; in not refuting particularly what ſpeciall words he quarrelled in that Oath; which if hee had done, it might haue beene that for the fatherly care I haue not to put any of my Subiects to a needleſſe extremitie, I might haue beene contented in ſome ſort to haue reformed or interpreted thoſe wordes. With his owne Catholickes: for either if I had ſo done, they had beene thereby fully eaſed in that buſineſſe; or at leaſt if I would not haue condeſcended to haue altered any thing in the ſaide Oath, yet would thereby ſome appearance or ſhadow of excuſe haue beene left vnto them for refuſing the ſame: not as ſeeming thereby to ſwarue from their Obedience and Allegiance vnto mee, but onely beeing ſtayed from taking the ſame vpon the ſcrupulous tenderneſſe of their conſciences, in regard of thoſe particular words which the Pope had noted and condemned therein.

And now let vs heare the words of his thunder.

POPE

POPE PAVLVS THE FIFT, to the ENGLISH Catholickes.

The Pope his first Breue.

Elbeloued Sonnes, Salutation and Apostolicall Benediction. *The tribulations and calamities, which yee haue continually sustained for the keeping of the Catholike Faith, haue alwayes afflicted vs with great griefe of minde. But for as much as we vnderstand that at this time all things are more grieuous, our affliction hereby is wonderfully increased. For wee haue heard how you are compelled, by most grieuous punishments set before you, to goe to the Churches of Heretikes, to frequent their assemblies, to be present at their Sermons. Truely wee doe vndoubtedly beleeue, that they which with so great constancie and fortitude, haue hitherto indured most cruell persecutions and almost infinite miseries, that they may walke without spot in the Law of the Lord; will neuer suffer themselues to be defiled with the communion of those that haue forsaken the diuine Law. Yet notwithstanding, being compelled by the zeale of our Pastorall Office, and by our Fatherly care which we doe continually take for the saluation of your soules, we are inforced to admonish and desire you, that by no meanes you come vnto the Churches of the Heretickes, or heare their Sermons, or communicate with them in their Rites, lest you incurre the wrath of God: For these things may ye not doe without indamaging the worship of God, and your owne saluation. As likewise you cannot, without most euident and grieuous wronging of Gods Honour, bind your selues by the Oath, which in like maner we haue heard with very great griefe of our heart is administred vnto you, of the tenor vnder-written. viz.*

The Oath.

A. B. doe trewly and sincerely acknowledge, professe, testifie and declare in my conscience before God and the world, That our Soueraigne Lord King IAMES, is lawfull King of this Realme, and of all other his Maiesties Dominions and Countreyes: And that the *Pope* neither of himselfe, nor by any authority of the Church or Sea of *Rome*, or by any other meanes with any other, hath any power or authoritie to depose the King, or to dispose of any of his Maiesties Kingdomes or Dominions, or to authorize any forreigne Prince to inuade or annoy him or his Countreys, or to discharge any of his Subiects of their Allegiance and obedience to his Maiestie, or to giue Licence or leaue to any of them to beare Armes, raise tumults, or to offer any violence or hurt to his Maiesties Royall Person, State or Gouernment, or to any of his Maiesties subiects within his Maiesties Dominions. Also I doe sweare from my heart, that, notwithstanding any declaration or sentence of Excommunication, or depriuation made or granted, or to be made

made or granted, by the *Pope* or his ſucceſſors, or by any Authoritie deriued, or pretended to be deriued from him or his Sea, againſt the ſaid King, his heires or ſucceſſors, or any abſolution of the ſaid ſubiects from their obedience; I will beare faith and trew Allegiance to his Maieſtie, his heires and ſucceſſors, and him and them will defend to the vttermoſt of my power, againſt all conſpiracies and attempts whatſoeuer, which ſhalbe made againſt his or their Perſons, their Crowne and dignitie, by reaſon or colour of any ſuch ſentence, or declaration, or otherwiſe, and will doe my beſt endeuour to diſcloſe and make knowne vnto his Maieſtie, his heires and ſucceſſors, all Treaſons and traiterous conſpiracies, which I ſhall know or heare of, to be againſt him or any of them. And I doe further ſweare, That I doe from my heart abhorre, deteſt and abiure as impious and Hereticall, this damnable doctrine and poſition, That Princes which be excommunicated or depriued by the *Pope*, may be depoſed or murthered by their Subiects or any other whatſoeuer. And I doe beleeue, and in conſcience am reſolued, that neither the *Pope* nor any perſon whatſoeuer, hath power to abſolue me of this Oath, or any part therof; which I acknowledge by good and full authoritie to bee lawfully miniſtred vnto mee, and doe renounce all Pardons and Diſpenſations to the contrarie. And all theſe things I doe plainely and ſincerely acknowledge and ſweare, according to theſe expreſſe words by mee ſpoken, and according to the plaine and common ſenſe and vnderſtanding of the ſame words, without any Equiuocation, or mentall euaſion, or ſecret reſeruation whatſoeuer. And I do make this Recognition and acknowledgment heartily, willingly, and trewly, vpon the trew faith of a Chriſtian. So helpe me GOD.

Which things ſince they are thus; it muſt euidently appeare vnto you by the words themſelues, That ſuch an Oath cannot be taken without hurting of the Catholike Faith, and the ſaluation of your ſoules; ſeeing it conteines many things which are flat contrary to Faith and ſaluation. Wherefore wee doe admoniſh you, that you doe vtterly abſtaine from taking this and the like Oathes: which thing wee doe the more earneſtly require of you becauſe wee haue experience of the conſtancie of your faith, which is tried like gold in the fire of perpetuall tribulation. Wee doe well know, that you will cheerefully vnder-goe all kinde of cruell torments whatſoeuer, yea and conſtantly endure death it ſelfe, rather then you will in any thing offend the Maieſtie of GOD. *And this our confidence is confirmed by thoſe things, which are dayly reported vnto vs, of the ſingular vertue, valour, and fortitude which in theſe laſt times doeth no leſſe ſhine in your* Martyrs, *then it did in the firſt beginning of the Church. Stand therefore, your loynes being girt about with veritie, and hauing on the breſt-plate of righteouſneſſe, taking the ſhield of Faith, be ye ſtrong in the Lord, and in the power of his might; And let nothing hinder you. Hee which will crowne you, and doeth in Heauen behold your conflicts, will finiſh the good worke which hee hath begun in you. You know how hee hath promiſed his diſciples, that hee will neuer leaue them Orphanes: for hee is faithfull which hath promiſed. Hold faſt therefore his correction, that is, being rooted and grounded in Charitie, whatſoeuer ye doe,*

whatſoeuer

whatsoeuer ye indeuour, doe it with one accord, in simplicitie of heart, in meekenesse of Spirit, without murmuring or doubting. For by this doe all men know that we are the disciples of CHRIST, *if we haue loue one to another. Which charitie, as it is very greatly to be desired of all faithfull Christians; So certainely is it altogether necessary for you, most blessed sonnes. For by this your charitie, the power of the diuel is weakened, who doeth so much assaile you, since that power of his is especially vpheld by the contentions and disagreement of our sonnes. Wee exhort you therefore by the bowels of our Lord* IESVS CHRIST, *by whose loue we are taken out of the iawes of eternall death; That aboue all things, you would haue mutuall charitie among you. Surely Pope* Clement *the eight of happy memory, hath giuen you most profitable precepts of practising brotherly charitie one to another, in his Letters in forme of a* Breue, *to our welbeloued sonne M.* George *Arch-priest of the Kingdome of England, dated the 5. day of the moneth of October* 1602. *Put them therefore diligently in practise, and be not hindered by any difficultie or doubtfulnesse. We command you that ye doe exactly obserue the words of those letters, and that yee take and vnderstand them simply as they sound, and as they lie; all power to interpret them otherwise, being taken away. In the meane while, we will neuer cease to pray to the Father of Mercies, that he would with pitie behold your afflictions and your paines; And that he would keepe and defend you with his continuall protection: whom wee doe gently greet with our Apostolicall Benediction. Dated at* Rome *at* S.Marke, *vnder the Signet of the Fisherman, the tenth of the Calends of October,* 1606. *the second yeere of our* Popedome.

THE ANSWERE TO THE FIRST *BREVE.*

FIrst, the *Pope* expresseth herein his sorrow, for that persecution which the Catholiques sustaine for the faiths sake. Wherein, besides the maine vntrewth whereby I am so iniuriously vsed, I must euer auow and maintaine, as the trewth is according to mine owne knowledge, that the late Queene of famous memory, neuer punished any Papist for Religion, but that their owne punishment was euer extorted out of her hands against her will, by their owne misbehauiour, which both the time and circumstances of her actions will manifestly make proofe of. For before *Pius Quintus* his excommunication giuing her ouer for a prey, and setting her Subiects at libertie to rebell, it is well knowne she neuer medled with the blood or hard punishment of any Catholique, nor made any rigorous Lawes against them. And since that time, who list to compare with an indifferent eye, the manifold intended inuasions against her whole King-

dome,

dome, the forreine practiſes, the internall publike rebellions, the priuate plots and machinations, poyſonings, murthers, and all ſorts of deuiſes, *& quid non?* daily ſet abroach; and all theſe wares continually foſtered and fomented from *Rome*; together with the continuall corrupting of her Subiects, as well by temporall bribes, as by faire and ſpecious promiſes of eternall felicitie; and nothing but booke vpon booke publikely ſet foorth by her fugitiues, for approbation of ſo holy deſignes: who liſt, I ſay, with an indifferent eye, to looke on the one part, vpon thoſe infinite and intollerable temptations, and on the other part vpon the iuſt, yet moderate puniſhment of a part of theſe hainous offendors; ſhall eaſily ſee that that bleſſed defunct LADIE was as free from perſecution, as they ſhall free theſe helliſh Inſtruments from the honour of martyrdome.

5. But now hauing ſacrificed (if I may ſo ſay) to the *Manes* of my late Predeceſſour, I may next with Saint PAVL iuſtly vindicate mine owne fame, from thoſe innumerable calumnies ſpread againſt me, in teſtifying the trewth of my behauiour toward the Papiſts: wherein I may trewly affirme, That whatſoeuer was her iuſt and mercifull Gouernement ouer the Papiſts in her time, my Gouernement ouer them ſince hath ſo farre exceeded hers, in Mercie and Clemencie, as not onely the Papiſts themſelues grewe to that height of pride, in confidence of my mildneſſe, as they did directly expect, and aſſuredly promiſe to themſelues libertie of Conſcience, and equalitie with other of my Subiects in all things; but euen a number of the beſt and faithfullieſt of my ſayde Subiects, were caſt in great feare and amazement of my courſe and proceedings, euer prognoſticating and iuſtly ſuſpecting that ſowre fruite to come of it, which ſhewed it ſelfe clearely in the Powder-Treaſon. How many did I honour with Knighthood, of knowen and open Recuſants? How indifferently did I giue audience, and acceſſe to both ſides, beſtowing equally all fauours and honours on both profeſſions? How free and continuall acceſſe, had all rankes and degrees of Papiſts in my Court and company? And aboue all, how frankely and freely did I free Recuſants of their ordinarie paiments? Beſides, it is euident what ſtrait order was giuen out of my owne mouth to the Iudges, to ſpare the execution of all Prieſts, (notwithſtanding their conuiction,) ioyning thereunto a gracious Proclamation, whereby all Prieſts, that were at libertie, and not taken, might goe out of the countrey by ſuch a day: my generall Pardon hauing beene extended to all conuicted Prieſtes in priſon: whereupon they were ſet at libertie as good Subiects: and all Prieſts that were taken after, ſent ouer and ſet at libertie there. But time and paper will faile me to make enumeration of all the benefits and fauours that I beſtowed in generall and particular vpon Papiſts: in recounting whereof, euery ſcrape of my penne would ſerue but for a blot of the Popes ingratitude and iniuſtice, in meating me with ſo hard a meaſure for the ſame. So

* *Magno cum animi mœrore, &c.*

as I thinke I haue ſufficiently, or at leaſt with good reaſon wiped the * *teares* from the Popes eyes, for complaining vpon ſuch perſecution, who if hee had beene but politickely wiſe, although hee had had no reſpect to Iuſtice and Veritie, would haue in this complaint of his, made a difference betweene my preſent time, and the time of the late Queene: And ſo by his commending of my moderation, in regard of former times, might haue had hope to haue mooued me to haue continued in the ſame clement courſe: For it is a trew ſaying, that alledged kindneſſe vpon noble mindes, doeth euer worke much. And for the maine vntrewth of any perſecution in my time, it can neuer bee prooued, that any were, or are put to death ſince I came to the Crowne for cauſe of Conſcience; except that now this diſcharge giuen by the Pope to all Catholiques to take their Oath of Allegiance to me, be the cauſe of the due puniſhment of many: which if it fall out to be, let the blood light vpon the Popes head, who is the onely cauſe thereof.

As for the next point contained in his *Breue* concerning his diſcharge of all Papiſts to come to our Church, or frequent our rites and ceremonies, I am not to meddle at this time with that matter, becauſe my errand now onely is to publiſh to the world the Iniurie and Iniuſtice done vnto me, in diſcharging my ſubiects to make profeſſion of their obedience vnto mee. Now as to the point where the Oath is quarrelled, it is ſet downe in fewe, but very weighty wordes; to wit, *That it ought to be cleare vnto all Catholiques, that this Oath cannot bee taken with ſafetie of the Catholique Faith, and of their ſoules health, ſince it containeth many things that are plainely and directly contrarie to their faith and ſaluation.* To this, the old ſaying fathered vpon the Philoſopher, may very fitly bee applied, *Multa dicit, ſed pauca probat*; nay indeed, *Nihil omnino probat*: For how the profeſſion of the naturall Allegiance of Subiects to their Prince can be directly oppoſite to the faith and ſaluation of ſoules, is ſo farre beyond my ſimple reading in Diuinitie, as I muſt thinke it a ſtrange and new Aſſertion, to proceede out of the mouth of that pretended generall Paſtor of all Chriſtian ſoules. I reade indeede, and not in one, or two, or three places of Scripture, that Subiects are bound to obey their Princes for conſcience ſake, whether they were good or wicked Princes. So ſaid the people to [1] *Ioſhua, As wee obeyed Moſes in all things, ſo will wee obey thee*. So the [2] Prophet commanded the people to obey the King of Babel, ſaying, *Put your neckes vnder the yoke of the King of Babel, and ſerue him and his people, that yee may liue.* So were the children of Iſrael, vnto [3] *Pharaoh*, deſiring him to let them goe: ſo to [4] *Cyrus*, obtaining leaue of him to returne to build the Temple: and in a word, the Apoſtle willed all men [5] *to bee ſubiect to the higher powers for conſcience ſake.* Agreeable to the Scriptures did the Fathers teach. [6] *Auguſtine* ſpeaking of *Iulian*, ſaith, *Iulian was an vnbeleeuing Emperour: was hee not an Apoſtata, an Oppreſſour, and an Idolater? Chriſtian Souldiers ſerued that vnbeleeuing Emperour: when they came to the cauſe of* CHRIST, *they would acknowledge no*

The intendement of this diſcourſe.

1 Ioſh. 1.17.
2 Iere. 27.12.
3 Exod. 5.1.
4 Ezra 1.3.
5 Rom. 13 5.
6 *Auguſt. in Pſalm.* 124.

no Lord, but him that is in heauen. When hee would haue them to worship Idoles and to sacrifice, they preferred GOD *before him: But when hee said, Goe forth to fight, inuade such a nation, they presently obeyed. They distinguished their eternall Lord from their temporall, and yet were they subiect euen vnto their temporall Lord, for his sake that was their eternall Lord and Master.* [1] Tertullian sayth, *A Christian is enemie to no man, much lesse to the Prince, whom hee knoweth to bee appointed of God; and so of necessitie must loue, reuerence and honour him, and wish him safe with the whole Romane Empire, so long as the world shall last: for so long shall it endure. Wee honour therefore the Emperour in such sort, as is lawfull for vs, and expedient for him, as a man, the next vnto God, and obtaining from God whatsoeuer hee hath, and onely inferiour vnto God. This the Emperour himselfe would: for so is hee greater then all, while hee is inferiour onely to the trew God.* [2] Iustine Martyr; *Wee onely adore the Lord, and in all other things cheerefully performe seruice to you, professing that you are Emperours and Princes of men.* [3] Ambrose; *I may lament, weepe, and sigh: My teares are my weapons against their armes, souldiers, and the* Gothes *also: such are the weapons of a Priest: Otherwise neither ought I, neither can I resist.* [4] Optatus; *Ouer the Emperour, there is none but onely God, that made the Emperour.* And [5] *Gregory* writing to *Mauritius* about a certaine Law, that a Souldier should not be receiued into a Monasterie, *nondum expleta militia, The Almightie God,* sayth hee, *holdes him guiltie, that is not vpright to the most excellent Emperour in all things that hee doeth or speaketh.* And then calling himselfe the vnworthy seruant of his Godlinesse, goeth on in the whole Epistle to shewe the iniustice of that Lawe, as hee pretendeth: and in the end concludes his Epistle with these wordes; *I being subiect to your command, haue caused the same Law to be sent through diuers parts of your Dominions: and because the Law it selfe doeth not agree to the Law of the Almightie God, I haue signified the same by my Letters to your most excellent Lordship: so that on both parts I haue payed what I ought; because I haue yeelded obedience to the Emperour, and haue not holden my peace, in what I thought for God.* Now how great a contrarietie there is, betwixt this ancient Popes action in obeying an Emperour by the publication of his Decree, which in his owne conscience hee thought vnlawfull, and this present Popes prohibition to a Kings Subiects from obedience vnto him in things most lawfull and meere temporall; I remit it to the Readers indifferencie. And answerably to the Fathers, spake the Councels in their Decrees. As the Councell of [6] *Arles*, submitting the whole Councell to the Emperour in these wordes; *These things wee haue decreed to be presented to our Lord the Emperour, beseeching his Clemencie, that if wee haue done lesse then wee ought, it may be supplyed by his wisedome: if any thing otherwise then reason requireth, it may be corrected by his iudgement: if any thing be found fault with by vs with reason, it may bee perfected by his aide with* GODS *fauourable assistance.*

But why should I speake of *Charles* the great, to whome not one Councell, but sixe seuerall Councels, *Frankeford*, *Arles*, *Tours*, *Chalons*, *Ments*

[1] *Tertull. ad Scap.*

[2] *Iust. Martyr. Apol. 2. ad Ant. Imperat.*

[3] *Amb. in orat. cont. Auxentiũ, de basilicis traden. habetur lib. 5. epist. Ambr.*

[4] *Optat. contra Parmen. lib. 3.*

[5] *Greg. Mag. Epist. lib. 2. indict. 11. Epist. 61.*

[6] *Concil. Arelatense sub Carolo Mag. Can. 26.*

and *Rhemes* did wholy ſubmit themſelues? and not rather ſpeake of all the generall Councels, that of *Nice*, *Conſtantinople*, *Epheſus*, *Chalcedon*, and the foure other commonly ſo reputed, which did ſubmit themſelues to the Emperours wiſedome and piety in all things? Inſomuch as that of *Epheſus* repeated it foure ſeuerall times, *That they were ſummoned by the Emperours Oracle, becke, charge and commaund, and betooke themſelues to his Godlineſſe:* [1] *beſeeching him, that the Decrees made againſt* Neſtorius *and his followers, might by his power haue their full force and validitie*, as appeareth manifeſtly in the Epiſtle of the generall Councell of *Epheſus* written *ad Auguſtos*. I alſo reade that Chriſt ſaid, *His* [2] *kingdome was not of this world*, bidding, *Giue to* [3] *Ceſar what was Ceſars, and to God what was Gods*. And I euer held it for an infallible Maxime in Diuinitie, That temporall obedience to a temporall Magiſtrate, did nothing repugne to matters of faith or ſaluation of ſoules: But that euer temporall obedience was againſt faith and ſaluation of ſoules, as in this *Breue* is alledged, was neuer before heard nor read of in the Chriſtian Church. And therefore I would haue wiſhed the *Pope*, before hee had ſet downe this commandement to all Papiſts here, That, ſince in him is the power by the infabillity of his ſpirit, to make new Articles of Faith when euer it ſhall pleaſe him; he had firſt ſet it downe for an Article of Faith, before he had commanded all Catholikes to beleeue and obey it. I will then conclude the anſwere to this point in a *Dilemma*.

[1] *Vide Epiſtolam generalis Conc. Epheſ. ad Auguſt.*

[2] Iohn 18 36.

[3] Matt. 22. 21.

Queſtion. Either it is lawfull to obey the Soueraigne in temporall things, or not.

1. If it be lawfull (as I neuer heard nor read it doubted of) then why is the *Pope* ſo vniuſt, and ſo cruell towards his owne Catholikes, as to command them to diſobey their Soueraignes lawfull commandement?

2. If it be vnlawfull, why hath hee neither expreſſed any one cauſe or reaſon thereof, nor yet will giue them leaue (nay rather hee ſhould command and perſwade them in plaine termes) not to liue vnder a King whom vnto they ought no obedience?

Anſwere to the Popes exhortation. And as for the vehement exhortation vnto them to perſeuere in conſtancie, and to ſuffer Martyrdome and all tribulation for this cauſe; it requireth no other anſwere then onely this, That if the ground be good whereupon hee hath commaunded them to ſtand, then exhortation to conſtancie is neceſſarie: but if the ground be vniuſt and naught (as indeed it is, and I haue in part already proued) then this exhortation of his can worke no other effect, then to make him guilty of the blood of ſo many of his ſheepe, whom hee doeth thus wilfully caſt away; not onely to the needleſſe loſſe of their liues, and ruine of their families, but euen to the laying on of a perpetuall ſlander vpon all Papiſts; as if no zealous Papiſt could be a trew ſubiect to his Prince, and that the profeſſion of that Religion, and the Temporall obedience to the Ciuill Magiſtrate, were two things repugnant and incompatible in themſelues. But euill information, and vntrew reports (which being caried ſo farre as betweene this and *Rome*, cannot

Fama vires acquirit eundo.

cannot but increase by the way) might haue abused the *Pope*, and made him dispatch this *Breue* so rashly: For that great Citie, Queene of the World, and as themselues confesse, [1] mystically *Babylon*, cannot but be so full of all sorts of Intelligencies. Besides, all complainers (as the Catholikes here are) be naturally giuen to exaggerate their owne griefes, and multiply thereupon: So that it is no wonder, that euen a iust Iudge sitting there, should vpon wrong information, giue an vnrighteous sentence; as some of their owne partie doe not sticke to confesse, That *Pius Quintus* was too rashly caried vpon wrong information, to pronounce his thunder of Excommunication vpon the late Queene. And it may be, the like excuse shall hereafter be made for the two *Breues*, which [2] *Clemens Octauus* sent to ENGLAND immediatly before her death, for debarring me of the Crowne, or any other that either would professe, or any wayes tolerate the professours of our Religion; contrary to his manifold vowes and protestations, *simul & eodem tempore*, and as it were, deliuered *vno & eodem spiritu*, to diuers of my ministers abroad, professing such kindnesse, and shewing such forwardnesse to aduance me to this Crowne. Nay, the most part of Catholikes here, finding this *Breue* when it came to their handes to bee so farre against Diuinitie, Policie, or naturall sense, were firmely perswaded that it was but a counterfeit Libell, deuised in hatred of the Pope; or at the farthest, a thing hastily done vpon wrong information, as was before said. Of which opinion were not onely the simpler sort of Papists, but euen some amongst them of best account, both for learning and experience; whereof the Archpriest himselfe was one: But for soluing of this obiection, the Pope himselfe hath taken new paines by sending foorth a second *Breue*, onely for giuing faith and confirmation to the former; That whereas before, his sinne might haue beene thought to haue proceeded from rashnesse and mis-information, he will now wilfully and willingly double the same; whereof the Copy followeth.

[1] *Eusebius, Oecumenius* and *Leo* hold, that by Babylon, in 1. Pet. 5. 13. *Rome* is meant, as the *Rhemists* themselues confesse.

[2] See the Relation of the whole proceedings against the Traitours, *Garnet* and his confederates.

The Catholikes opinion of the *Breue*.

TO OVR BELOVED SONNES the English Catholikes, *Paulus P.P. Vtus.*

The second Breue.

Beloued sonnes, Salutation and Apostolicall Benediction. *It is reported vnto vs, that there are found certaine amongst you, who when as we haue sufficiently declared by our Letters, dated the last yeere on the tenth of the Calends of October in the forme of a* Breue, *that yee cannot with safe Conscience take the Oath, which was then required of you; and when as wee haue further straitly commanded you, that by no meanes yee should take it: yet there are some, I say, among you, which dare now affirme, that such Letters concerning the forbidding of the Oath, were not written of our owne accord, or of our owne proper will, but rather for the respect and at the instigation of other men. And for that cause the same men doe goe about to perswade you, that our commands in the said Letters are not to be regarded. Surely this newes did trouble vs; and that so much the more, because hauing had experience of your obedience (most dearely beloued sonnes) who to the end ye might obey this holy Sea, haue godlily and valiantly contemned your riches, wealth, honour, libertie, yea and life it selfe; wee should neuer haue suspected that the trewth of our Apostolike Letters could once be called into question among you, that by this pretence ye might exempt your selues from our Commandements. But we doe herein perceiue the subtiltie and craft of the enemie of mans saluation, and we doe attribute this your backwardnesse rather to him, then to your owne will. And for this cause, wee haue thought good to write the second time vnto you, and to signifie vnto you againe, That our Apostolike Letters dated the last yeere on the tenth of the Calends of October, concerning the prohibition of the Oath, were written not only vpon our proper motion, and of our certaine knowledge, but also after long and weightie deliberation vsed concerning all those things, which are contained in them; and that for that cause ye are bound fully to obserue them, reiecting all interpretation perswading to the contrary. And this is our meere, pure, and perfect will, being alwayes carefull of your saluation, and alwayes minding those things, which are most profitable vnto you. And we doe pray without ceasing, that hee that hath appointed our lowlinesse to the keeping of the flocke of Christ, would inlighten our thoughts and our counsels: whom we doe also continually desire, that he would increase in you (our beloued Sonnes) faith, constancie, and mutuall charitie and peace one to another. All whom, we doe most louingly blesse with all charitable affection.*

Dated at Rome *at Saint* Markes *vnder the Signet of the* Fisherman, *the x. of the Calends of September,* 1607. *the third yeere of our* Popedome.

THE

THE ANSWERE TO THE second BREVE.

Ow for this *Breue*, I may iuſtly reflect his owne phraſe vpon him, in tearming it to be *The craft of the Deuill.* For if the Deuill had ſtudied a thouſand yeeres, for to finde out a miſchiefe for our Catholikes heere, hee hath found it in this: that now when many Catholikes haue taken their Oath, and ſome Prieſts alſo; yea, the Arch-prieſt himſelfe, without compunction or ſticking, they ſhall not now onely be bound to refuſe the profeſſion of their naturall Allegiance to their Soueraigne, which might yet haue beene ſome way coloured vpon diuers ſcruples conceiued vpon the words of the Oath; but they muſt now renounce and forſweare their profeſſion of obedience alreadie ſworne, and ſo muſt as it were at the third inſtance forſweare their former two Oathes, firſt cloſely ſworne, by their birth in their naturall Allegiance; and next, clearely confirmed by this Oath, which doeth nothing but expreſſe the ſame: ſo as no man can now holde the faith, or procure the ſaluation of his ſoule in ENGLAND, that muſt not abiure and renounce his borne and ſworne Allegiance to his naturall Soueraigne.

And yet it is not ſufficient to ratifie the laſt yeeres *Breue*, by a new one come forth this yeere; but (that not onely euery yeere, but euery moneth may produce a new monſter) the great and famous Writer of the Controuerſies, the late vn-Ieſuited Cardinall *Bellarmine*, muſt adde his talent to this good worke, by blowing the bellowes of ſedition, and ſharpening the ſpurre to rebellion, by ſending ſuch a Letter of his to the Arch-prieſt here, as it is a wonder how paſſion, and an ambitious deſire of maintaining that Monarchie, ſhould charme the wits of ſo famouſly learned a man.

The Copy whereof here followeth.

TO

TO THE VERY REVEREND Mr. GEORGE BLACKWELL, ARCH-PRIEST of the ENGLISH: ROBERT BELLARMINE Cardinall of the holy Church of Rome, Greeting.

REuerend Sir, and brother in CHRIST; It is almost fourtie yeeres since we did see one the other: but yet I haue neuer bene vnmindfull of our ancient acquaintance, neither haue I ceased, seeing I could doe you no other good, to commend your labouring most painfully in the Lords Vineyard, in my prayers to God. And I doubt not, but that I haue liued all this while in your memory, and haue had some place in your prayers at the Lords Altar. So therfore euen vnto this time we haue abidden, as S. Iohn speaketh, in the mutuall loue one of the other, not by word or letter, but in deed and trewth. But a late message which was brought vnto vs within these few dayes, of your bonds and imprisonment, hath inforced mee to breake off this silence; which message, although it seemed heauie in regard of the losse which that Church hath receiued, by their being thus depriued of the comfort of your pastorall function amongst them, yet withall it seemed ioyous, because you drew neere vnto the glory of Martyrdome, then the which gift of God there is none more happy; That you, who haue fedde your flocke so many yeeres with the word and doctrine, should now feed it more gloriously by the example of your patience. But another heauie tidings aid not a little disquiet and almost take away this ioy, which immediatly followed, of the aduersaries assault, and peraduenture of the slip and fall of your constancie in refusing an vnlawfull Oath. Neither trewly (most deare brother) could that Oath therefore bee lawfull, because it was offered in sort tempered and modified: for you know that those kinde of modifications are nothing else, but sleights and subtilties of Satan, that the Catholique faith touching the Primacie of the Sea Apostolike, might either secretly or openly be shot at; for the which faith so many worthy Martyrs euen in that very England it selfe, haue resisted vnto blood. For most certaine it is, that in whatsoeuer words the Oath is conceiued by the aduersaries of the faith in that Kingdome, it tends to this end, that the Authoritie of the head of the Church in England, may bee transferred from the successour of S. Peter, to the successour of King Henry the eight: For that which is pretended of the danger of the Kings life, if the high Priest should haue the same power in England, which hee hath in all other Christian Kingdomes, it is altogether idle, as all that haue any vnderstanding, may easily perceiue. For it was neuer heard of from the Churches infancie vntill this day, that euer any Pope did command, that any Prince, though an Heretike, though an Ethnike, though a persecutour, should be murdered; or did approue of the fact, when it was done by any other. And why, I pray you, doeth onely the King of England feare that, which none of all other the Princes in Christendome either doeth feare, or euer did feare?

But,

But, as I said, these vaine pretexts are but the traps and stratagemes of Satan: Of which kinde I could produce not a fewe out of ancient Stories, if I went about to write a Booke and not an Epistle. One onely for example sake, I will call to your memory. S. Gregorius Nazianzenus *in his first Oration against* Iulian *the Emperour, reporteth, That hee, the more easily to beguile the simple Christians, did insert the Images of the false gods into the pictures of the Emperour, which the Romanes did vse to bow downe vnto with a ciuill kinde of reuerence: so that no man could doe reuerence to the Emperours picture, but withall hee must adore the Images of the false gods; whereupon it came to passe that many were deceiued. And if there were any that found out the Emperours craft, and refused to worship his picture, those were most grieuously punished, as men that had contemned the Emperour in his Image. Some such like thing, me thinkes, I see in the Oath that is offered to you; which is so craftily composed, that no man can detest Treason against the King, and make profession of his Ciuill subiection, but he must bee constrained perfidiously to denie the Primacie of the Apostolicke Sea. But the seruants of Christ, and especially the chiefe Priests of the Lord, ought to bee so farre from taking an vnlawfull Oath, where they may indamage the Faith, that they ought to beware that they giue not the least suspicion of dissimulation that they haue taken it, least they might seeme to haue left any example of preuarication to faithfull people. Which thing that worthy* Eleazar *did most notably performe, who would neither eate swines flesh, nor so much as faine to haue eaten it, although hee sawe the great torments that did hang ouer his head; least, as himselfe speaketh in the second Booke of the* Machabees, *many young men might bee brought through that simulation, to preuaricate with the Lawe. Neither did* Basil *the Great by his example, which is more fit for our purpose, cary himselfe lesse worthily toward* Valens *the Emperour. For as* Theodoret *writeth in his Historie, when the Deputy of that heretical Emperour did persuade Saint* Basil, *that hee would not resist the Emperour for a little subtiltie of a few points of doctrine; that most holy and prudent man made answere,* That it was not to be indured, that the least syllable of Gods word should bee corrupted, but rather all kind of torment was to be embraced, for the maintenance of the Trewth thereof. *Now I suppose, that there wants not amongst you, who say that they are but subtilties of Opinions that are contained in the Oath that is offered to the Catholikes, and that you are not to striue against the Kings Authoritie for such a little matter. But there are not wanting also amongst you holy men like vnto* Basil *the Great, which will openly auow, that the very least syllable of Gods diuine Trewth is not to bee corrupted, though many torments were to bee endured, and death it selfe set before you: Amongst whom it is meete, that you should bee one, or rather the Standard bearer, and Generall to the rest. And whatsoeuer hath beene the cause, that your Constancie hath quailed, whether it bee the suddainenesse of your apprehension, or the bitternesse of your persecution, or the imbecilitie of your old aage: yet wee trust in the goodnesse of God, and in your owne long continued vertue, that it will come to passe, that as you seeme in some part to haue imitated the fall of* Peter *and* Marcellinus, *so you shall happily imitate their valour in recouering your strength, and maintaining the Trewth: For if you will diligently weigh the whole matter with your selfe, trewly you shall see, it is no small*

matter

matter that is called in question by this Oath, but one of the principall heads of our Faith, and foundations of Catholique Religion. For heare what your Apostle Saint Gregorie *the Great hath written in his 24. Epistle of his 11. Booke.* Let not the reuerence due to the Apostolique Sea, be troubled by any mans presumption; for then the state of the members doeth remaine entire, when the Head of the Faith is not bruised by any iniurie: *Therefore by* Saint Gregories *testimonie, when they are busie about disturbing or diminishing, or taking away of the Primacie of the Apostolique Sea; then are they busie about cutting off the very head of the faith, and dissoluing of the state of the whole body, and of all the members. Which selfe same thing* S. Leo *doth confirme in his third Sermon of his Assumption to the Popedom, when he saith;* Our Lord had a special care of *Peter*, & praied properly for *Peters* faith, as though the state of others were more stable, when their Princes mind was not to be ouercome. *Whereupon himselfe in his Epistle to the bishops of the prouince of Vienna, doth not doubt to affirme,* that he is not partaker of the diuine Mysterie, that dare depart from the solidity of *Peter; who also saith,* That who thinketh the Primacy to be denied to that Sea, he can in no sort lessen the authority of it; but by being puft vp with the spirit of his owne pride, doth cast himselfe headlong into hel. *These and many other of this kind, I am very sure are most familiar to you: who besides many other books, haue diligently read ouer the visible Monarchy of your owne* Sanders, *a most diligent writer, and one who hath worthily deserued of the Church of* England. *Neither can you be ignorant, that these most holy and learned men,* Iohn *bishop of* Rochester, *and* Tho. Moore, *within our memory, for this one most weighty head of doctrine, led the way to* Martyrdome *to many others, to the exceeding glory of the English nation. But I would put you in remembrance that you should take heart, and considering the weightines of the cause, not to trust too much to your owne iudgement, neither be wise aboue that is meet to be wise: and if peraduenture your fall haue proceeded not vpon want of consideration, but through humane infirmity, & for feare of punishment and imprisonment, yet do not preferre a temporall liberty to the liberty of the glory of the Sonnes of God: neither for escaping a light & momentanie tribulation, lose an eternal weight of glory, which tribulation it selfe doeth worke in you. You haue fought a good fight a long time, you haue wel-neere finished your course; so many yeeres haue you kept the faith: do not therefore lose the reward of such labors; do not depriue your selfe of that crowne of righteousnes, which so long agone is prepared for you; Do not make the faces of so many yours both brethren and children ashamed. Vpon you at this time are fixed the eyes of all the Church: yea also, you are made a spectacle to the world, to Angels, to men; Do not so carry your selfe in this your last act, that you leaue nothing but laments to your friends, and ioy to your enemies. But rather on the contrary, which we assuredly hope, and for which we continually powre forth prayers to God, display gloriously the banner of faith, and make to reioyce the Church, which you haue made heauy; so shall you not onely merite pardon at Gods hands, but a Crowne. Farewell. Quite you like a man, and let your heart be strengthened. From Rome the 28. day of September 1607.*

Your very Reuerendships brother and seruant in Christ,
Robert Bellarmine Cardinall.

THE

THE ANSWERE TO THE CARDINALS LETTER.

ND now that I am to enter into the field against him by refuting his Letter, I must first vse this protestation; That no desire of vaine-glory by matching with so learned a man, maketh me to vndertake this taske; but onely the care and conscience I haue, that such smooth *Circes* charmes and guilded pilles, as full of exterior eloquence, as of inward vntrewths, may not haue that publike passage through the world without an answere: whereby my reputation might vniustly be darkened, by such cloudie and foggie mists of vntrewths and false imputations, the hearts of vnstayed and simple men be misse-led, and the trewth it selfe smothered.

But before I come to the particular answere of this Letter, I must here desire the world to wonder with me, at the committing of so grosse an errour by so learned a man: as that he should haue pained himselfe to haue set downe so elaborate a Letter, for the refutation of a quite mistaken question: For it appeareth, that our English Fugitiues, of whose inward societie with him he so greatly vaunteth, haue so fast hammered in his head the Oath of Supremacie, which hath euer bene so great a scarre vnto them, as he thinking by his Letter to haue refuted the last Oath, hath in place thereof onely paied the Oath of Supremacie, which was most in his head; as a man that being earnestly caried in his thoughts vpon another matter, then he is presently in doing, will often name the matter or person he is thinking of, in place of the other thing he hath at that time in hand.

A great mistaking of the state of the Question, and case in hand.

For as the Oath of Supremacie was deuised for putting a difference betweene Papists, and them of our profession: so was this Oath, which hee would seeme to impugne, ordained for making a difference betweene the ciuilly obedient Papists, and the peruerse disciples of the Powder-Treason. Yet doeth all his Letter runne vpon an Inuectiue against the compulsion of Catholiques to deny the authoritie of *S. Peters* successors, and in place thereof to acknowledge the Successors of King *Henry the eight*: For in K. *Henry the eights* time, was the Oath of Supremacie first made: By him were *Thomas Moore* and *Roffensis* put to death, partly for refusing of it: From his time till now, haue all the Princes of this land professing this Religion, successiuely in effect maintained the same: and in that Oath onely is contained the Kings absolute power, to be Iudge ouer all persons, aswell Ciuill as Ecclesiastical, excluding al forraigne powers and Potentates to be Iudges within his dominions; whereas this last made Oath containeth no such matter,

The difference betweene the Oath of Supremacie, and this of Allegiance.

matter, onely medling with the ciuill obedience of Subiects to their Soueraigne, in meere temporall causes.

And that it may the better appeare, that whereas by name hee seemeth to condemne the last Oath; yet indeed his whole Letter runneth vpon nothing, but vpon the condemnation of the Oath of Supremacie: I haue here thought good to set downe the said Oath, leauing it then to the discretion of euery indifferent reader to iudge, whether he doth not in substance onely answere to the Oath of Supremacie, but that hee giues the child a wrong name.

I A B. doe vtterly testifie and declare in my conscience, that the Kings Highnesse is the onely Supreame Gouernour of this Realme, and all other his Highnesse Dominions and Countries, aswell in all Spirituall, or Ecclesiasticall things or causes, as Temporall: And that no forraine Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate, hath or ought to haue any Iurisdiction, Power, Superioritie, Preeminence or Authoritie Ecclesiasticall or Spirituall within this Realme. And therefore I doe vtterly renounce and forsake all forraine Iurisdictions, Powers, Superiorities and Authorities; and doe promise that from henceforth I shall beare faith and trew Allegiance to the Kings Highnesse, his Heires and lawfull Successours: and to my power shall assist and defend all Iurisdictions, Priuiledges, Preeminences and Authorities granted or belonging to the Kings Highnesse, his Heires and Successours, or vnited and annexed to the Imperiall Crowne of the Realme: So helpe me God; and by the Contents of this booke.

And that the iniustice, as well as the error of his grosse mistaking in this point, may yet be more clearely discouered; I haue also thought good to insert here immediatly after the Oath of Supremacie, the contrary conclusions to all the points and Articles, whereof this other late Oath doeth consist: whereby it may appeare, what vnreasonable and rebellious points hee would driue my Subiects vnto, by refusing the whole body of that Oath, as it is conceiued: For he that shall refuse to take this Oath, must of necessitie hold all, or some of these propositions following.

1. That I King IAMES, am not the lawfull King of this Kingdome, and of all other my Dominions.
2. That the *Pope* by his owne authoritie may depose me: If not by his owne authoritie, yet by some other authoritie of the Church, or of the Sea of *Rome*: If not by some other authoritie of the Church and Sea of *Rome*, yet by other meanes with others helpe, he may depose me.
3. That the *Pope* may dispose of my Kingdomes and Dominions.
4. That the *Pope* may giue authoritie to some forreine Prince to inuade my Dominions.
5. That the *Pope* may discharge my Subiects of their Allegiance and Obedience to me.
6. That the *Pope* may giue licence to one, or more of my Subiects to beare armes against me.

That

That the *Pope* may giue leaue to my Subiects to offer violence to my Perſon, or to my gouernement, or to ſome of my Subiects. 7.

That if the *Pope* ſhall by Sentence excommunicate or depoſe mee, my Subiects are not to beare Faith and Allegiance to me. 8.

If the *Pope* ſhall by Sentence excommunicate or depoſe me, my Subiects are not bound to defend with all their power my Perſon and Crowne. 9.

If the *Pope* ſhall giue out any Sentence of Excommunication or Depriuation againſt me, my Subiects by reaſon of that Sentence, are not bound to reueale all Conſpiracies and Treaſons againſt mee, which ſhall come to their hearing and knowledge. 10.

That it is not hereticall and deteſtable to hold, that Princes being excommunicated by the *Pope*, may be either depoſed or killed by their Subiects, or any other. 11.

That the *Pope* hath power to abſolue my Subiects from this Oath, or from ſome part thereof. 12.

That this Oath is not adminiſtred to my Subiects, by a full and lawfull authoritie. 13.

That this Oath is to be taken with Equiuocation, mentall euaſion, or ſecret reſeruation; and not with the heart and good will, ſincerely in the trew faith of a Chriſtian man. 14.

Theſe are the trew and naturall branches of the body of this Oath. The affirmatiue of all which negatiues, doe neither concerne in any caſe the *Popes* Supremacie in Spirituall cauſes: nor yet were euer concluded, and defined by any complete generall Councell to belong to the *Popes* authoritie; and their owne ſchoole Doctors are at irreconciliable oddes and iarres about them.

Touching the pretended Councell of Lateran. See Plat. *In vita Innocen. III.*

And that the world may yet farther ſee ours and the whole States ſetting downe of this Oath, did not proceed from any new inuention of our owne, but as it is warranted by the word of God; ſo doeth it take the example from an Oath of Allegiance decreed a thouſand yeeres agone, which a famous Councell then, together with diuers other Councels, were ſo farre from condemning (as the *Pope* now hath done this Oath) as I haue thought good to ſet downe their owne wordes here in that purpoſe: whereby it may appeare that I craue nothing now of my Subiects in this Oath, which was not expreſly and carefully commauinded then, by the Councels to be obeyed without exception of perſons. Nay not in the very particular point of *Equiuocatiõ*, which I in this Oath was ſo carefull to haue eſchewed: but you ſhall here ſee the ſaid Councels in their Decrees, as carefull to prouide for the eſchewing of the ſame; ſo as almoſt euery point of that action, & this of ours ſhalbe found to haue relation & agreeance one with the other, ſaue onely in this, that thoſe old Councels were careful and ſtrait in cõmanding the taking of the ſame: whereas by the contrary, he that now vanteth himſelfe to be head of al Councels, is as careful & ſtrait in the prohibition of all men from the taking of this Oath of Allegiance.

The Oath of Allegiance confirmed by the authoritie of ancient Councels.

The ancient Councels prouided for *Equiuocation.*

The difference betweene the ancient Councels, and the Pope counſelling of the Catholiques.

The words of the Councell be these:

Heare our Sentence.

Concil. Tolet. 4. can. 47. Anno 633.

Whosoeuer of vs, or of all the people thorowout all Spaine, *shall goe about by any meanes of conspiracie or practise, to violate the Oath of his fidelitie, which he hath taken for the preseruation of his Countrey, or of the Kings life; or who shall attempt to put violent handes vpon the King; or to depriue him of his kingly power; or that by tyrannicall presumption would vsurpe the Soueraigntie of the Kingdome: Let him bee accursed in the sight of God the Father, and of his Angels; and let him bee made and declared a stranger from the Catholique Church, which hee hath prophaned by his periurie; and an aliant from the companie of all Christian people, together with all the complices of his impietie; because it behoueth all those that bee guiltie of the like offence, to vnder-lie the like punishment.* Which sentence is three seuerall times together, and almost in the same wordes, repeated in the same Canon. After this, *the Synode desired, That this Sentence of theirs now this third time rehearsed, might bee confirmed by the voyce and consent of all that were present. Then the whole Clergie and people answered, Whosoeuer shall cary himselfe presumptuously against this your definitiue sentence, let them be Anathema maranatha, that is, let them bee vtterly destroyed at the Lords comming, and let them and their complices haue their portion with Iudas Iscarioth. Amen.*

[1] Concil. Tolet. 5. Can. 7. anno 636.

And in the fifth [1] Councell, there it is decreed, That this Acte touching the Oath of Allegiance, shall bee repeated in euery Councell of the Bishops of *Spaine*. The Decree is in these wordes: *In consideration that the mindes of men are easily inclined to euill and forgetfulnesse, therefore this most holy Synode hath ordained; and doeth enact, That in euery Councell of the Bishops of* Spaine, *the Decree of the generall* [2] *Councell which was made for the safetie of our Princes, shall bee with an audible voyce proclaimed and pronounced, after the conclusion of all other things in the Synode: That so it beeing often sounded into their eares, at least by continuall remembrance, the mindes of wicked men beeing terrified, might bee reformed, which by obliuion and facilitie [to euill] are brought to preuaricate.*

[2] Synod. Tolet 4. vniuersalis, & magna Synodus dicta, Synod. Tolet. 5. cap. 2.

And in the sixt [3] Councell, *Wee doe protest before God, and all the orders of Angels, in the presence of the Prophets and Apostles, and all the companie of Martyrs, and before all the Catholique Church, and assemblies of the Christians; That no man shall goe about to seeke the destruction of the King: No man shall touch the life of the Prince: No man shall depriue him of the Kingdome: No man by any tyrannical presumption shall vsurpe to himselfe the Soueraigntie of the Kingdome: No man by any Machination shall in his aduersitie associate to himselfe any packe of Conspirators against him: And that if any of vs shall be presumptuous by rashnesse in any of these cases, let him be stricken with the anatheme of God, and reputed as condemned in eternall iudgement without any hope of recouery.*

[3] Concil. Tolet. 6. Can. 18. Anno 638.

And in the tenth [4] Councell (to omit diuers others held also at *Toledo*) it is said: *That if any religious man, euen from the Bishop to the lowest Order of the Church-men or Monkes, shall bee found to haue violated the generall Oathes made*

[4] Concil. Tolet. 10. Can. 2. AEra 694.

made for the preseruation of the Kings Person, or of the Nation and Countrey with a prophane minde; foorthwith let him bee depriued of all dignitie, and excluded from all place and Honour. The occasion of the Decrees made for this Oath, was, That the Christians were suspected for want of fidelitie to their Kings; and did either equiuocate in taking their Oath, or make no conscience to keepe it, when they had giuen it; as may appeare by sundry speeches in the [1] Councell, saying, *There is a generall report, that there is that perfidiousnesse in the mindes of many people of diuers Nations, that they make no conscience to keepe the Oath and fidelitie that they haue sworne vnto their Kings: but doe dissemble a profession of fidelitie in their mouthes, when they hold an impious perfidiousnesse in their mindes.* And [2] againe, *They sweare to their Kings, and yet doe they preuaricate in the fidelitie which they haue promised: Neither doe they feare the Volume of Gods iudgement, by the which the curse of God is brought vpon them, with great threatning of punishments, which doe sweare lyingly in the Name of God.* To the like effect spake they in the Councell of [3] *Aquisgran: If any of the Bishops, or other Church-man of inferiour degree, hereafter thorow feare or couetousnesse, or any other perswasion, shall make defection from our Lord the Orthodoxe Emperour* Lodowicke, *or shall violate the Oath of fidelitie made vnto him, or shall with their peruerse intention adhere to his enemies; let him by this Canonicall and Synodall sentence bee depriued of whatsoeuer place hee is possessed of.*

[1] *Concil. Tolet. 4. cap. 74.*

[2] *Concil. Tolet. 4. cap. 74.*

[3] *Concil. Aquisgran. sub Ludo Pio. & Greg. 4. Can. 12. anno 836.*

And now to come to a particular answere of his Letter. First, as concerning the sweet memory hee hath of his old acquaintance with the Arch-priest; it may indeed be pleasing for him to recount: but sure I am, his acquaintance with him and the rest of his societie, our Fugitiues (whereof he also vanteth himselfe in his Preface to the Reader in his Booke of Controuersies) hath prooued sowre to vs and our State: For some of such Priests and Iesuits, as were the greatest Traitors and fomenters of the greatest conspiracies against the late Queene, gaue vp Father *Rob: Bellarmine* for one of their greatest authorities and oracles: And therfore I do not enuy the great honour he can winne, by his vaunt of his inward familiarity with an other Princes traitors & fugitiues; whom vnto if he teach no better maners then hitherto he hath done, I thinke his fellowship are litle beholding vnto him.

Campian and *Hart.* See the conference in the Tower.

And for desiring him to remember him in his prayers at the Altar of the Lord: if the Arch-Priests prayers prooue no more profitable to his soule, then *Bellarmines* counsell is like to proue profitable, both to the soule and bodie of *Blackwell* (if he would follow it) the authour of this Letter might very well be without his prayers.

Now the first messenger that I can finde which brought ioyfull newes of the Arch-Priest to *Bellarmine*, was hee that brought the newes of the Arch-Priests taking, and first appearance of Martyrdome. A great signe surely of the Cardinals mortification, that hee was so reioyced to heare of the apprehension, imprisonment and appearance of putting to death of so old and deare a friend of his. But yet apparantly he should first haue beene

ſure, that hee was onely to bee puniſhed for cauſe of Religion, before hee had ſo triumphed vpon the expectation of his Martyrdome. For firſt, by what rule of charitie was it lawfull for him to iudge mee a perſecutour, before proofe had beene made of it by the ſaid Arch-Prieſts condemnation and death? What could hee know, that the ſaid Arch-Prieſt was not taken vpon ſuſpicion of his guiltineſſe in the Powder-Treaſon? What certaine information had hee then receiued vpon the particulars, whereupon hee was to bee accuſed? And laſt of all, by what inſpiration could he foretell whereupon hee was to bee accuſed? For at that time there was yet nothing layed to his charge. And if charitie ſhould not bee ſuſpicious, what warrant had hee abſolutely to condemne mee of vſing perſecution and tyrannie, which could not bee but implyed vpon mee, if *Blackwel* was to bee a Martyr? But ſurely it may iuſtly be ſayd of *Bellarmine* in this caſe, that our Sauiour CHRIST ſaith of all worldly and carnall men, who thinke it enough to loue their [1] friends, and hate their enemies; the limits of the Cardinals charitie extending no farther, then to them of his owne profeſſion. For what euer hee added in ſuperfluous charitie to *Blackwel*, in reioycing in the ſpeculation of his future Martyrdome; hee detracted as much vniuſtly and vncharitably from me, in accounting of me thereby as of a bloody Perſecutour. And whereas this ioy of his was interrupted by the next meſſenger, that brought the newes of the ſaide Arch-Prieſt his failing in his conſtancie, by taking of this Oath; he needed neuer to haue beene troubled, either with his former ioy or his ſecond ſorrow, both beeing alike falſly grounded. For as it was neuer my intention to lay any thing vnto the ſaid Arch-Prieſts charge, as I haue neuer done to any for cauſe of conſcience; ſo was *Blackwels* conſtancie neuer brangled by taking of this Oath; It beeing a thing which he euer thought lawfull before his apprehenſion, and whereunto hee perſwaded all Catholiques to giue obedience; like as after his apprehenſion, hee neuer made doubt or ſtop in it; but at the firſt offering it vnto him, did freely take it, as a thing moſt lawfull; neither meanes of threatening, or flatterie being euer vſed vnto him, as himſelfe can yet beare witneſſe.

The Cardinals charitie.

[1] Mat.5.43.

And as for the temperature and modification of this Oath, except that a reaſonable and lawfull matter is there ſet downe in reaſonable and temperate wordes, agreeing thereunto; I know not what he can meane, by quarelling it for that fault: For no temperatneſſe nor modifications in words therein, can iuſtly be called the Deuils craft; when the thing it ſelfe is ſo plaine, and ſo plainely interpreted to all them that take it; as the onely troubleſome thing in it all, bee the wordes vſed in the end thereof, for eſchewing *Æquiuocation* and *Mentall reſeruation*. Which new Catholike doctrine, may farre iuſtlier bee called the Deuils craft, then any plaine and temperate wordes, in ſo plaine and cleare a matter. But what ſhall we ſay of theſe ſtrange countrey clownes, whom of with the *Satyre* we may iuſtly complaine, that they blow both hote & cold out of one mouth? For *Luther* and

and all our bold and free-ſpeaking Writers are mightily railed vpon by them, as hote-brained fellowes, and ſpeakers by the Deuils inſtinct: and now if we ſpeake moderately and temperately of them, it muſt be tearmed the Deuils craft: And therefore wee may iuſtly complaine with CHRIST, that when we [1] mourne, they wil not lament: and when we pipe, they wil not dance. But neither *Iohn Baptiſt* his ſeueritie, nor CHRIST his meekeneſſe and lenitie can pleaſe them, who build but to their owne Monarchie vpon the ground of their owne Traditions; and not to CHRIST vpon the ground of his word and infallible trewth.

[1] Mat. 11.17.

But what can bee meant by alleadging, that the craft of the Deuill herein, is onely vſed for ſubuerſion of the Catholique Faith, and euerſion of Saint *Peters* Primacie; had neede bee commented anew by *Bellarmine* himſelfe: For in all this Letter of his, neuer one word is vſed, to prooue that by any part of this Oath the Primacie of Saint *Peter* is any way medled with, except Maſter *Bellarmine* his bare alleadging; which without prooving it by more cleare demonſtration, can neuer ſatisfie the conſcience of any reaſonable man. For (for ought that I know) heauen and earth are no farther aſunder, then the profeſſion of a temporall obedience to a temporall King, is different from any thing belonging to the Catholique Faith, or Supremacie of Saint *Peter*: For as for the Catholique Faith; can there be one word found in all that Oath, tending or ſounding to matter of Religion? Doeth he that taketh it, promiſe there to beleeue, or not to beleeue any article of Religion? Or doeth hee ſo much as name a trew or falſe Church there? And as for Saint *Peters* Primacie; I know no Apoſtles name that is therein named, except the name of IAMES; it being my Chriſten name: though it pleaſe him not to deigne to name me in all the Letter; albeit, the contents thereof concerne mee in the higheſt degree. Neither is there any mention at all made therein, either *diſertis verbis*, or by any other indirect meanes, either of the Hierarchie of the Church, of Saint *Peters* ſucceſſion, of the Sea Apoſtolike, or of any ſuch matter: but that the Author of our Letter doeth brauely make mention of Saint *Peters* ſucceſſion, bringing it in compariſon with the ſucceſſion of *Henry* the eight. Of which vnapt and vnmannerly ſimilitude, I wonder he ſhould not be much aſhamed: For as to King *Henries* Succeſſour (which hee meaneth by mee) as I, I ſay, neuer did, nor will preſume to create any Article of Faith, or to bee Iudge thereof; but to ſubmit my exemplarie obedience vnto them, in as great humilitie as the meaneſt of the land: ſo if the Pope could bee as well able to prooue his either Perſonall or Doctrinall Succeſſion from Saint *Peter*, as I am able to prooue my lineall deſcent from the Kings of *England* and *Scotland*; there had neuer beene ſo long adoe, nor ſo much ſturre kept about this queſtion in Chriſtendome; neither had [2] Maſter *Bellarmine* himſelfe needed to haue beſtowed ſo many ſheetes of paper *De ſummo Pontifice*, in his great bookes of Controuerſies: And when all is done, to conclude with a morall certitude, and a *piè credendum*; bringing in the [3] Popes, that

No deciſion of any point of Religion in the Oath of Allegiance.

[2] *Bellar. de Rom. Pont. li. 4. cap. 6. Ibid. l. 2. ca. 12.*
[3] *Idem ibid. lib. 2. cap. 14.*

are parties in this cause, to be his witnesses: and yet their historicall narration must bee no article of Faith. And I am without vanterie sure, that I doe farre more neerely imitate the worthie actions of my Predecessours, then the *Popes* in our aage can be well proued to be *similes Petro*, especially in cursing of Kings, and setting free their Subiects from their Allegiance vnto them.

The Cardinals weightiest Argument.

But now wee come to his strongest argument, which is, That he would alledge vpon mee a Panicke terrour, as if I were possessed with a needlesse feare: *For*, saith the Cardinall, *from the beginning of the Churches first infancie, euen to this day, where was it euer heard, that euer a* Pope *either commaunded to bee killed, or allowed the slaughter of any Prince whatsoeuer, whether hee were an Hereticke, an Ethnicke, or Persecutour?* But first, wherefore doeth he here wilfully, and of purpose omit the rest of the points mentioned in that Oath, for deposing, degrading, stirring vp of armes, or rebelling against them, which are as well mentioned in that Oath, as the killing of them? as beeing all of one consequence against a King, no Subiect beeing so scrupulous, as that hee will attempt the one, and leaue the other vnperformed if hee can. And yet surely I cannot blame him for passing it ouer, since he could not otherwise haue eschewed the direct belying of himselfe in tearmes, which hee now doeth but in substance and effect: For [1] as for the *Popes* deposing and degrading of Kings, hee maketh so braue vaunts and bragges of it in his former bookes, as he could neuer with ciuill honestie haue denied it here.

[1] *Bellarm. de Rom. Pont. lib. 5. cap. 8. et lib. 3. cap. 16.*

But to returne to the *Popes* allowing of killing of Kings, I know not with what face hee can set so stout a deniall vpon it against his owne knowledge. How many Emperours did the *Pope* raise warre against in their owne bowels? Who as they were ouercome in battaile, were subiect to haue beene killed therein, which I hope the *Pope* could not but haue allowed, when he was so farre inraged at [2] *Henry* the fifth for giuing buriall to his fathers dead corpes, after the [3] *Pope* had stirred him vp to rebell against his father, and procured his ruine. But leauing these olde Histories to *Bellarmines* owne bookes, that doe most authentically cite them, as I haue already said, let vs turne our eyes vpon our owne time, and therein remember what a Panegyricke [4] Oration was made by the *Pope*, in praise and approbation of the Frier and his fact, that murthered king *Henry* the third of *France*, who was so farre from either being Hereticke, Ethnicke, or Persecutor in their account, that the said *Popes* owne wordes in that Oration are, *That a trew Friar hath killed a counterfeit Frier.* And besides that vehement Oration and congratulation for that fact, how neere it scaped, that the said Frier was not canonized for that glorious act, is better knowen to *Bellarmine* and his followers, then to vs here.

[2] *Gotfrid. Viterb. Helmod. Cuspinian.*
[3] *Paschal. 2.*
[4] See the Oration of *Sixtus Quintus*, made in the Consistory vpon the death of *Henry* the 3.

But sure I am, if some Cardinals had not beene more wise and circumspect in that errand, then the *Pope* himselfe was, the *Popes* owne Kalender of his Saints would haue sufficiently proued *Bellarmin* a lier in this case. And

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to draw yet neerer vnto our selues; how many practises and attempts were made against the late Queenes life, which were directly enioyned to those Traitours by their Confessors, and plainly authorized by the *Popes* allowance? For verification whereof, there needs no more proofe, then that neuer *Pope* either then or since, called any Church-man in question for medling in any those treasonable conspiracies; nay, the Cardinals owne S. *Sanderus* mentioned in his Letter, could well verifie this trewth, if hee were aliue; and who will looke his bookes, will finde them filled with no other doctrine then this. And what difference there is betweene the killing, or allowing the slaughter of Kings, and the stirring vp and approbation of practises to kill them; I remit to *Bellarmines* owne iudgement. It may then very clearely appeare, how strangely this Authors passion hath made him forget himselfe, by implicating himselfe in so strong a contradiction against his owne knowledge and conscience, against the witnesse of his former bookes, and against the practise of our owne times. But who can wonder at this contradiction of himselfe in this point, when his owne great Volumes are so filled with contradictions? which when either he, or any other shall euer bee able to reconcile, I will then beleeue that hee may easily reconcile this impudent strong deniall of his in his Letter, of any *Popes* medling against Kings, with his owne former bookes, as I haue already said.

And that I may not seeme to imitate him in affirming boldly that which I no wayes prooue; I will therefore send the Reader to looke for witnesses of his contradictions, in such places here mentioned in his owne booke. In his bookes of [1] Iustification, there he affirmeth, *That for the vncertaintie of our owne proper rightеousnesse, and for auoiding of vaine-glory, it is most sure and safe, to repose our whole confidence in the alone mercy and goodnesse of God*; [2] Which proposition of his, is directly contrary to the discourse, and current of all his fiue bookes *de Iustificatione*, wherein the same is contained.

God doeth not encline a man to euill, either [3] *naturally or morally.*

Presently after, hee affirmeth the contrary, *That God doeth not encline to euill naturally, but* [4] *morally.*

All the Fathers teach constantly, *That* [5] *Bishops doe succeed the Apostles, and Priests the seuentie disciples.*

Elsewhere he affirmeth the contrary, *That* [6] *Bishops doe not properly succeede the Apostles.*

That [7] *Iudas did not beleeue.*

Contrary, *That* [8] *Iudas was iust and certainly good.*

The keeping of the [9] *Law according to the substance of the worke, doeth require that the Commandement be so kept, that sinne be not committed, and the man be not guiltie for hauing not kept the Commandement.*

Contrary, [10] *It is to be knowen, that it is not all one, to doe a good morall worke, and to keepe the Commandement according to the substance of the worke: For the Commandement may be kept according to the substance of the worke, euen with sinne; as if*

[1] *Bellar. de Iustif. lib. 5. cap. 7.*

[2] Contrary to all his fiue bookes *de Iustificatione.*

[3] *Bellar. de amis. gra. & stat. pecca. li. 2. c. 13.*

[4] *Ibidem paulò post.*

[5] *Bellar. de clericis, lib 1. c. 14.*

[6] *Bellar. de Pont. l. 4. c. 25.*

[7] *Bellar. de Pont. lib. 1. c. 12.*

[8] *Bellar. de Iustif. lib. 3. c. 14.*

[9] *Bellar. de gra. & lib. arbit. lib. 5. cap. 5.*

[10] *Eodem lib. cap. 9.*

as if one should restore to his friend the thing committed to him of trust, to the end that theeues might afterward take it from him.

[1] Peter *did not loose that faith, whereby the heart beleeueth vnto iustification.*

Contrary, [2] Peters *sinne was deadly.*

[3] *Antichrist shall be a Magician, and after the maner of other Magicians shall secretly worship the diuel.*

[4] Contrary, *He shall not admit of idolatrie: he shall hate idoles, and reedifie the Temple.*

By the words of [5] *Consecration the trew and solemne oblation is made.*

Contrary, *The sacrifice doeth not consist in the words: but in the* [6] *oblation of the thing it selfe.*

[7] *That the end of the world cannot be knowne.*

[8] Contrary, *After the death of* Antichrist, *there shall bee but fiue and fourtie dayes till the end of the world.*

[9] *That the tenne Kings shall burne the scarlet Whore, that is* Rome.

[10] Contrary, Antichrist *shall hate* Rome, *and fight against it, and burne it.*

[11] *The name of vniuersall Bishop may be vnderstood two wayes; one way, that he which is said to be vniuersall Bishop, may bee thought to be the onely Bishop of all Christian Cities; so that all others are not indeed Bishops, but onely Vicars to him, who is called vniuersall Bishop: in which sense, the* Pope *is not vniuersall Bishop.*

Contrary, *All ordinary* [12] *iurisdiction of Bishops doeth descend immediatly from the Pope; and is in him, and from him is deriued to others.* Which few places I haue onely selected amongst many the like, that the discreet and iudicious Reader may discerne *ex vngue Leonem:* For when euer he is pressed with a weighty obiection, hee neuer careth, nor remembreth how his solution and answere to that, may make him gainesay his owne doctrine in some other places, so it serue him for a shift to put off the present storme withall.

But now to returne to our matter againe: *Since Popes*, sayeth hee, *haue neuer at any time medled against Kings, wherefore, I pray you, should onely the King of* ENGLAND *be afraid of that, whereof neuer Christian King is, or was afraid?* Was neuer Christian Emperour or King afraid of the *Popes?* How then were these miserable Emperours tost and turmoiled, and in the end vtterly ruined by the *Popes*: for proofe whereof I haue already cited *Bellarmines* owne bookes? Was not the [13] Emperour afraid, who [14] waited barefooted in the frost and snow three dayes at the *Popes* gate, before he could get entrie? Was not the [15] Emperour also afraid, [16] who was driuen to lie agroofe on his belly, and suffer another *Pope* to tread vpon his necke? And was not another [17] Emperour afraid, [18] who was constrained in like maner to endure a third *Pope* to beat off from his head the Imperiall Crowne with his foot? Was not [19] *Philip* afraid, being made Emperour against *Pope Innocentius* the thirds good liking, when he brake out into these words, *Either the Pope shall take the Crowne from* Philip, *or* Philip *shall take the Miter from the Pope?* whereupon the *Pope* stirred vp *Ottho* against him, who caused

[1] Bellar. *de Pont. lib* 4 *c.*3.
[2] Bell. *de Iust. lib.*3.*cap.*14.
[3] Bell. *de Rom Pontif. lib* 3. *cap.*14.
[4] *Ibid. ex sentent. Hypol. & Cyrii & cap.* 12 *eiusdem libri.*
[5] Bell. *lib.*1. *de missa. cap.* 17.
[6] Bellar. *de miss. lib.*2.*cap.* 12.
[7] Bellar. *de anim. Christ. lib.*4 *cap.*5.
[8] Bellar. *de Pont. lib.*3. *cap.*17.
[9] Bellar. *de Pont. lib.*3.*cap.* 13.
[10] Bellar. *ibid.*
[11] Bellar. *de Pont. lib.*2. *cap.*31.
[12] Bellar. *de Pont. lib.*2. *cap.*24.

[13] Henry 4.
[14] *Abbas Vrspergen. Lamb Scaff. Anno* 1077. *Plat. in vit. Greg.*7
[15] Frederick Barbarossa.
[16] *Naucler. gener.*40 *Iacob. Bergom. in Supplem. chron. Alfons. Ciacon. in vit Alex.*3.
[17] Henry 6
[18] *R. Houeden in Rich.* 1 *Ranulph. in Polycronico. lib.*7.
[19] *Abbas Vrsper. ad Ann.* 1191 *Naue. gen.* 40. *Cuspin. in Philippo.*

caused him to be slaine; and presently went to *Rome*, and was crowned Emperour by the *Pope*, though afterward the *Pope* [1] deposed him too. Was not the Emperour [2] *Fredericke* afraid, when *Innocentius* the fourth excommunicated him, depriued him of his crowne, absolued Princes of their Oath of fidelitie to him, and in *Apulia* corrupted one to giue him poison? whereof the Emperour recouering, hee hired his bastard sonne *Manfredus* to poison him; whereof he died. What did [3] *Alexander* the third write to the *Soldan*? That if he would liue quietly, hee should by some slight murther the [4] Emperour; and to that end sent him the Emperours picture. And did not [5] *Alexander* the sixt take of the Turke *Baiazetes* two hundred thousand crownes to kill his brother *Gemen*; or as some call him, *Sisimus*, whom he helde captiue at *Rome*? Did hee not accept of the conditions to poyson the man, and had his pay? Was not our [6] *Henry* the second afraid after the slaughter of *Thomas Becket*; that besides his going bare-footed in Pilgrimage, was whipped vp and down the Chapter-house like a schooleboy, and glad to escape so to? Had not this French King his great grandfather King *Iohn* reason to be afraid, when the [7] *Pope* gaue away his kingdome of *Nauarre* to the King of *Spaine*, whereof he yet possesseth the best halfe? Had not this King, his Successour reason to be afraid, when he was forced to begge so submissiuely the relaxation of his Excommunication, as he was content likewise to suffer his Ambassadour to be whipped at *Rome* for penance? And had not the late Queene reason to looke to her selfe, when she was excommunicated by *Pius Quintus*, her Subiects loosed from their fidelitie and Allegiance toward her, her Kingdome of *Ireland* giuen to the King of *Spaine*, and that famous fugitiue diuine, honoured with the like degree of a redde Hat as *Bellarmine* is, was not ashamed to publish in Print an [8] Apologie for *Stanleys* treason, maintaining, that by reason of her excommunication and heresie, it was not onely lawfull for any of her Subiects, but euen they were bound in conscience to depriue her of any strength, which lay in their power to doe? And whether it were armies, townes, or fortresses of hers which they had in their hands, they were obliged to put them in the King of *Spaine*, her enemies hands, shee no more being the right owner of any thing? But albeit it be trew, that wise men are mooued by the examples of others dangers to vse prouidence and caution, according to the olde Prouerbe, *Tum tua res agitur, paries cùm proximus ardet*: yet was I much neerlier summoned to vse this caution, by the practise of it in mine owne person.

First, by the sending foorth of these Bulles whereof I made mention already, for debarring me from entrie vnto this Crowne, and Kingdome. And next after my entrie, and full possession thereof, by the horrible Powder-treason, which should haue bereft both me and mine, both of crowne and life. And howsoeuer the Pope will seeme to cleare himselfe of any allowance of the said Powder-treason; yet can it not be denied, that his principall ministers here, and his chiefe *Mancipia* the Iesuites, were the plaine practisers

[1] *Abbas Vsper.*

[2] *Math. Paris. in Henr. 3. Petr. de Vineis, Epist. li. 1. & 2. Cuspin in Frederic. 2.*

[3] *Vita Frederici Germanicè conscripta.*

[4] Fredericke Barbarossa.

[5] *Paul. Iouius, Hist. lib. 2. Cuspinian. in Baiazet. 11. Guicciard. lib. 2.*

[6] *Houeden, pag. 308. Matth. Paris. in Henric 2. Walsinga. in Hypodig. Neustriæ. Ioan. Capgraue.*

[7] *Gomecius de rebus gest. Fran. Ximenij Archiepis. Tolet. lib. 5.*

[8] Card. Allens Answere to Stan. letter, Anno 1587.

practisers thereof: for which the principall of them hath died confessing it, and other haue fled the Countrey for the crime; yea, some of them gone into *Italy*: and yet neither these that fled out of this Countrey for it, nor yet *Baldwine*, who though he then remained in the Low-countreys, was of counsell in it, were euer called to account for it by the Pope; much lesse punished for medling in so scandalous and enormous businesse. And now what needs so great wonder and exclamation, that *the only King of* England *feareth*: And *what other Christian King doeth, or euer did feare but hee?* As if by the force of his rhetoricke he could make me and my good Subiects to mistrust our senses, deny the Sunne to shine at midday, and not with the serpent to stop our eares to his charming, but to the plaine and visible veritie it selfe. And yet for all this wonder, he can neuer prooue mee to be troubled with such a Panicke terrour. Haue I euer importuned the Pope with any request for my securitie? Or haue I either troubled other Christian Princes my friends and allies, to intreat for me at the Popes hand? Or yet haue I begged from them any aide or assistance for my farther securitie? No. All this wondred-at feare of mine, stretcheth no further, then wisely to make distinction betweene the sheepe and goats in my owne pasture. For since, what euer the Popes part hath beene in the Powder-treason; yet certaine it is, that all these caitife monsters did to their death maintaine, that onely zeale of Religion mooued them to that horrible attempt: yea, some of them at their death, would not craue pardon at God or King for their offence; exhorting other of their followers to the like constancie. Had not wee then, and our Parliament great reason, by this Oath to set a marke of distinction betweene good Subiects, and bad? Yea, betweene Papists, though peraduenture zealous in their religion, yet otherwise ciuilly honest and good Subiects, and such terrible firebrands of hell, as would maintaine the like maximes, which these Powder-men did? Nay, could there be a more gracious part in a King, suppose I say it, towards Subiects of a contrary Religion, then by making them to take this Oath, to publish their honest fidelitie in temporal things to me their Soueraigne, and thereby to wipe off that imputation and great slander which was laide vpon the whole professours of that Religion, by the furious enterprise of these Powder-men?

And whereas for illustration of this strong argument of his, hee hath brought in for a similitude the historie of [1] *Iulian* the *Apostata* his dealing with the Christians, when as he straited them either to commit idolatrie, or to come within the compasse of treason: I would wish the authour to remember, that although a similitude may be permitted *claudicare vno pede*; yet this was a very ill chosen similitude, which is lame both of feete and hands, and euery member of the body: For I shall in fewe wordes prooue, that it agreeth in no one point saue one, with our purpose, which is, that *Iulian* was an Emperour, and I a King. First, *Iulian* was an *Apostata*, one that had renounced the whole Christian faith, which he had once professed,

[1] *Nazianzen. in Iulian. inuectiua prima.*

The disproportion of the Cardinals similitude.

professed, and became an Ethnike againe, or rather an Atheist: whereas I am a Christian, who neuer changed that Religion, that I dranke in with my milke: nor euer, I thanke GOD, was ashamed of my profession. *Iulian* dealt against Christians onely for the profession of CHRISTES cause: I deale in this cause with my Subiects, onely to make a distinction betweene trew Subiects, and false-hearted traitours. *Iulians* end was the ouerthrow of the Christians: my onely end is, to maintaine Christianitie in a peaceable gouernement. *Iulians* drift was to make them commit Idolatrie: my purpose is, to cause my Subiects to make open profession of their naturall Allegiance, and ciuill Obedience. *Iulians* meanes whereby he went about it, was by craft, and insnaring them before they were aware: my course in this is plaine, cleare, and voyd of all obscuritie; neuer refusing leaue to any that are required to take this Oath, to study it at leisure, and giuing them all the interpretation of it they can craue. But the greatest dissimilitude of all, is in this: that *Iulian* pressed them to commit idolatrie to Idoles and Images: but as well I, as all the Subiects of my profession are so farre from guilt in this point, as wee are counted heretiques by you, because we will not commit idolatrie. So as in the maine point of all, is the greatest contrarietie. For, *Iulian* persecuted the Christians because they would not commit idolatrie; and ye count me a persecutour, because I will not admit idolatrie: So as to conclude this point, this old sentence may well be applied to *Bellarmine*, in vsing so vnapt a similitude,

Perdere quos vult Iupiter, hos dementat.

And therefore his vncharitable conclusion doeth not rightly follow: *That it seemeth vnto him, that some such thing should be subtilly or fraudulently included in this Oath*; as if no man can detest Treason against the King, or professe ciuill subiection, except hee renounce the Primacie of the Apostolique Sea. But how he hath suckt this apprehension out at his fingers ends, I cannot imagine: for sure I am, as I haue oft said, hee neuer goeth about to prooue it: and to answere an improbable imagination, is to fight against a vanishing shadow. It cannot be denied indeed, that many seruants of CHRIST, as well Priests, as others, haue endured constantly all sorts of torments, and death, for the profession of CHRIST: and therefore to all such his examples, as hee bringeth in for verifying the same, I need not to giue him any other answere, saue onely to remember him, that he playeth the part of a sophister in all these his examples of the constancie of Martyrs; euer taking *Controuersum pro confesso*, as if this our case were of the same nature.

But yet that the Reader may the better discouer, not onely how vnaptly his similitudes are applied, but likewise how dishonestly hee vseth himselfe in all his citations: I haue thought good to set downe the very places themselues cited by him, together with a short deduction of the trew state of those particular cases: whereby, how little these examples can touch our case; nay, by the contrary, how rightly their trew sense may bee vsed,

vſed, as our owne weapons to be throwen backe vpon him that alledgeth them, ſhall eaſily appeare. And firſt, for [1] *Eleazar*: If the Arch-prieſt his ground of refuſing the Oath, were as good as *Eleazars* was, to forbeare to eate the ſwines fleſh, it might not vnfitly be applied by the Cardinal to this purpoſe: For as *Eleazar* was a principall Scribe, ſo is he a principall Prieſt: As *Eleazars* example had a great force in it, to animate the yonger Scribes to keepe the Lawe, or in his colourable eating it, to haue taught them to diſſemble: ſo hath the Arch-prieſts, either to make the inferiour Prieſts to take the Oath, or to refuſe it: but the ground failing, the building cannot ſtand: For what example is there in all the Scripture, in which diſobedience to the Oath of the King, or want of Allegiance is allowed? If the Cardinall would remember, that when the Church maketh a Lawe (ſuppoſe to forbid fleſh on certaine dayes) he that refuſeth to obey it, incurreth the iuſt cenſure of the Church: If a man then ought to die rather then to breake the leaſt of Gods Ceremoniall Lawes, and to pine and ſtarue his body, rather then to violate the Church his poſitiue Law: will he not giue leaue to a man to redeeme his ſoule from ſinne, and to keepe his body from puniſhment, by keeping a Kings politike Law, and by giuing good example in his Perſon, raiſe vp a good opinion in me of like Allegiance in the inferiour of his order? This application, as I take it, would haue better fitted this example.

[1] 2.Maccab. chap.6.ver.18.

An anſwere to the Card example of *Eleazar*.

But let mee remember the Cardinall of another [2] Oath inioyned by a King to his people, whereby he indangered his owne life, and hazarded the ſafetie of the whole armie, when hee made the people ſweare in the morning, not to taſte of any meate vntill night: which Oath he exacted ſo ſtrictly, that his eldeſt ſonne, and heire apparant, *Ionathan*, for breaking of it, by taſting a little hony of the top of his rodde, though he heard not when the King gaue that Oath, had well-nigh died for it. And ſhall an Oath giuen vpon ſo vrgent an occaſion as this was, for the apparant ſafetie of me and my poſteritie, forbidding my people to drinke ſo deeply in the bitter cup of Antichriſtian fornications, but that they may keepe ſo much hony in their hearts, as may argue them ſtill eſpouſed to me their Soueraigne in the maine knot of trew Allegiance; ſhall this Law, I ſay, by him bee condemned to hell for *a ſtratageme of Sathan*? I ſay no more, but Gods lot in the Oath of *Sauls*, and *Bellarmines* verdict vpon this Oath of ours, ſeeme not to be caſt out of one lap.

[2] 1.Sam.14. 25.

Now to this example of [3] *Baſill*, which is (as he ſayth) ſo fit for his purpoſe: Firſt, I muſt obſerue, that if the Cardinall would leaue a common and ordinarie tricke of his in all his Citations, which is to take what makes for him, and leaue out what makes againſt him; and cite the Authours ſenſe, as well as his Sentence, we ſhould not be ſo much troubled with anſwering the Ancients which he alledgeth. To inſtance it in this very place: if he had continued his allegation one line further, hee ſhould haue found this place out of *Theodoret*, of more force to haue mooued *Blackwell* to take

[3] *Theodoret. lib.4.cap.19.* An anſwere to the Card. example of *S. Baſil.*

take the Oath, then to haue dissuaded him from it : For in the very next words it followeth, *Imperatoris quidem amicitiam magni se pendere, cum pietaat; quâ remotâ, perniciosam esse dicere.* But that it may appeare, whether of vs haue greatest right to this place, I will in few words shew the Authours drift.

The Emperour *Valens* being an Arrian, at the perswasion of his wife, when he had depriued all the Churches of their Pastours, came to *Cæsarea*, where [1] *S. Basil* was then Bishop, who, as the historie reporteth, was accounted the *Light of the world.* Before hee came, hee sent his [2] deputie to worke it, that S. *Basil* should hold fellowship with *Eudoxius* (which [3] *Eudoxius* was bishop of *Constantinople*, and the principall of the Arrian faction) or if he would not, that hee should put him to banishment. Now when the Emperours Deputie came to *Cæsarea*, he sent for *Basil*, intreated him honourably, spake pleasingly vnto him, desired he would giue way to the time, neither that he would hazard the good of so many Churches *tenui exquisitione dogmatis* : promised him the Emperours fauour, and himselfe to be mediatour for his good. But *S. Basill* answered, *These intising speeches were fit to bee vsed to children, that vse to gape after such things: but for them that were throughly instructed in Gods word, they could neuer suffer any syllable thereof to be corrupted: Nay, if need required, they would for the maintenance thereof refuse no kind of death. Indeed the loue of the Emperour ought to bee greatly esteemed with pietie; but pietie taken away, it was pernicious.*

[1] *Theodoret. lib.4.cap.19.*
[2] *Modestus* as *Nazianzen* vpō the death of *Basill* calleth him in his oration.
[3] Looke cap. 12. *eiusdem libri.*

This is the trewth of the historie. Now compare the case of *Basill* with the Arch-priests: *Basill* was sollicited to become an Arrian: the Arch-priest not once touched for any article of faith. *Basill* would haue obeyed the Emperour, but that the word of GOD forbade him: this man is willed to obey, because the word of GOD commandeth him. *Basill* highly esteemed the Emperours fauour, if it might haue stood with pietie: the Arch-priest is exhorted to reiect it, though it stand with trew godlinesse in deed, to embrace it. But that he may lay load vpon the Arch-priest, it is not sufficient to exhort him to courage and constancie by *Eleazarus* and *Basils* examples; but he must be vtterly cast downe with the comparing his fall to *S. Peter*, and *Marcellinus* : which two mens cases were the most fearefull, considering their persons and places, that are to be found, or read of, either in all the bookes of diuine Scripture, or the volumes of Ecclesiasticall histories; the one denying the onely trew GOD, the other our Lord and Sauiour IESVS CHRIST; the one sacrificing to Idoles, with the prophane heathen: the other forswearing his Lord and Master, with the hard-hearted *Iewes.* Vnlesse the Cardinall would driue the Arch-priest to some horrour of conscience, and pit of despaire, I know not what he can meane by this comparison : For sure I am, all that are not intoxicated with their cup, cannot but wonder to heare of an Oath of Allegiance to a naturall Soueraigne, to be likened to an *Apostats* denying of God, and forswearing of his Sauiour.

The Cardinal assimilating of the Archpr. case to *S. Peters*, and *Marcellinus*, considered.

But to let passe the *Disdiapason* of the cases (as his ill-fauoured coupling

S. *Peter* the head of their Church, with an apostate Pope) I marueile hee would remember this example of [1] *Marcellinus*, since his brother Cardinall *Baronius*, and the late Edition of the Councels by [2] *Binnius* seeme to call the credit of the whole historie into question, saying, *That it might plainely be refuted, and that it is probably to be shewed, that the story is but obreptious*, but that he would not swarue from the common receiued opinion.

[1] Looke *Platina in vita Marcellini.*
[2] *Concil. Tom. 1. pag. 222.* Looke *Baronius, Ann. 302. num. 96.*

And if a man might haue leaue to coniecture; so would his Cardinalship too, if it were not for one or two sentences in that Councell of *Sinuessa*, which serued for his purpose; namely, that *Prima sedes à nemine iudicatur*: And, *Iudica causam tuam: nostrâ sententiâ non condemnaberis.* But to what purpose a great Councell (as he termes it) of three hundred Bishops and others, should meete together, who before they met, knew they could doe nothing; when they were there, did nothing, but like Cuckowes, sing ouer and ouer the same song: that, *Prima sedes à nemine iudicatur*; and so after three dayes sitting (a long time indeed for a great and graue Councell) brake so bluntly vp: and yet, that there should be seuentie two witnesses brought against him, and that they should subscribe his excommunication, and that at his owne mouth hee tooke the *Anathema maranatha*: how these vntoward contradictions shall be made to agree, I must send the Cardinall to *Venice*, to *Padre Paulo*, who in his [3] Apologie against the Cardinals oppositions, hath handled them very learnedly.

See *Tom. 1. Concil. in Act. Concil. Sinuess.*

[3] *Apol. Pat. Paul. aduersus oppos. Card. Bellar.*

But from one Pope, let vs passe to another: (for, what a principall article of Faith and Religion this Oath is, I haue alreadie sufficiently proued.) Why hee called S. [4] *Gregory* our Apostle, I know not, vnlesse perhaps it be, for that hee sent [5] *Augustine* the Monke and others with him into England, to conuert vs to the faith of Christ, wherein I wish the *Popes* his successours would follow his patterne: For albeit hee sent them by diuine reuelation (as hee said) into England vnto King *Ethelbert*; yet when they came, they exercised no part of their function, but by the Kings leaue and permission. So did King [6] *Lucius* send to *Eleutherius* his predecessour, and hee sent him diuers Bishops, who were all placed by the Kings authoritie. These conuerted men to the faith, and taught them to obey the King. And if the *Popes* in these dayes would but insist in these steppes of their fore-fathers; then would they not entertaine Princes fugitiues abroad, nor send them home, not onely without my leaue, but directly against the Lawes, with plots of treason and doctrine of rebellion, to draw Subiects from their obedience to me their naturall King: nor be so cruell to their owne *Mancipia*, as returning them with these wares, put either a State in iealousie of them; or them in hazard of their owne liues. Now to our Apostle (since the Cardinall will haue him so called) I perswade my selfe I should doe a good seruice to the Church in this my labour, if I could but reape this one fruit of it, to moue the Cardinall to deale faithfully with the Fathers, & neuer to alledge their opinions against their owne purpose: For, this letter of *Gregorius* was written to *Iohn* Bishop of [7] *Palermo* in *Sicily*,

An answere to the place alledged out of S. Gregory.
[4] *Greg. lib. 11. cap. 42.*
[5] *Beda Eccles. Hist. gen. Ang. lib. 1 cap. 25.*

[6] *Beda Eccles. Hist. gen. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 4.*

[7] *Greg. lib. 11. cap. 42.*

Sicily, to whom he granted *vsum pallij*, to be worne in such times, and in such order as the Priests in the Ile of *Sicily*, and his predecessors were wont to vse: and withall giueth him a caueat, *That the reuerence to the Apostolike Sea, be not disturbed by the presumption of any: for then the state of the members doeth remaine sound, when the head of the Faith is not bruised by any iniury, and the authoritie of the Canons alwayes remaine safe and sound.*

Now let vs examine the words. The Epistle was written to a Bishop, especially to grant him the vse of the Pall; a ceremonie and matter indifferent. As it appeareth, the Bishop of *Rome* tooke it well at his hands, that he would not presume to take it vpon him without leaue from the Apostolike Sea, giuing him that admonition which followeth in the wordes alledged out of him: which doctrine we are so farre from impugning, that we altogether approoue and allow of the same, that whatsoeuer ceremony for order is thought meet by the Christian Magistrate, and the Church, the same ought inuiolably to be kept: and where the head and gouernour in matters of that nature are not obeyed, the members of that Church must needs run to hellish confusion: But that *Gregory* by that terme, *caput fidei*, held himselfe the head of our faith, and the head of all religion, cannot stand with the course of his doctrine and writings: For first, when an [1] other would haue had this stile to be called *Vniuersalis Episcopus*, hee said, [2] *I doe confidently auouch, that whosoeuer calleth himselfe, or desireth to be called Vniuersall Bishop, in this aduancing of himselfe, is the fore-runner of the Antichrist*: which notwithstanding was a stile farre inferiour to that of *Caput fidei*. And when it was offered to himselfe, the wordes of S. *Gregory* be these, refusing that Title: [3] *None of my predecessours* [Bishops of Rome,] *euer consented to vse this prophane name* [of vniuersall Bishop.] *None of my predecessours euer tooke vpon him this name of singularitie, neither consented to vse it, Wee the Bishops of* Rome *doe not seeke, nor yet accept this glorious title, being offered vnto vs.* And now, I pray you, would he that refused to be called Vniuersall Bishop, be stiled *Caput fidei*, vnlesse it were in that sense, as I haue expressed? which sense if he will not admit, giue me leaue to say that of *Gregorie*, which himselfe sayth of [4] *Lyra, Minus cautè locutus est*: or which he elsewhere sayth of *Chrysostome*, [5] *Locutus est per excessum.* To redeeme therefore our Apostle out of his hands, and to let him remaine ours, and not his in this case; it is very trew that he sayth in that sense he spake it. When yee goe about to disturbe, diminish, or take away the authoritie or supremacie of the Church, which resteth on the head of the King, within his dominions, ye cut off the head and chiefe gouernour thereof, and disturbe the state and members of the whole body. And for a conclusion of this point, I pray him to think, that weare so well perswaded of the good minde of our Apostle S. *Gregory* to vs, that wee desire no other thing to be suggested to the Pope and his Cardinals, then our Apostle S. *Gregory* desired [6] *Sabinian* to suggest vnto the Emperour and the State in his time. His words be these: *One thing there is, of which I would haue you shortly to suggest to your most noble Lord and Master*:

[1] Iohn of *Constantinople*. See *Greg. lib. 4. Epist. 32.*
[2] *Lib. 6. Epist. 30.*
[3] *Greg. lib. 4. epist. 32. & 36.*
[4] *Bellar. de Rom. Pont. lib. 2. cap 10.*
[5] *Idem lib. 2. de Missa, cap. 10.*
[6] *Greg. lib. 7. Epist. 1.*

Master: That if I his seruant would haue had my hand in slaying of the Lombards, at this day the Nation of the Lombards had neither had King, nor Dukes, nor Earles, and had beene diuided asunder in vtter confusion: but because I feare God, I dread to haue my hand in the blood of any man.

An answere to the authoritie out of *Leo*.

And thus hauing answered to S. *Gregory*, I come to another Pope, his Apostle, S. *Leo*. And that hee may see, I haue not in the former citations, quarelled him like a Sophister for contention sake, but for finding out of the trewth, I doe grant, that the authorities out of [1] *Leo*, are rightly alledged all three, the wordes trewly set downe, together with his trew intent and purpose: but withall, let me tell him, and I appeale vnto his owne conscience, whether I speake not trewly, that what *Tullie* said to [2] *Hortensius*, when he did immoderately praise eloquence, that hee would haue lift her vp to Heauen, that himselfe might haue gone vp with her; So his S. *Leo* lift vp S. *Peter* with praises to the skie, that he being his [3] heire, might haue gone vp with him: For his S. *Leo* was a great Oratour, who by the power of his eloquence redeemed *Rome* from fire, when both [4] *Attilas* and *Genfericus* would haue burnt it.

[1] *Leo primus in die assump. suæ ad Pont. serm. 3. Leo Epist. 89. ad Episc. Vien. Idem ibid. ca 2.*
[2] *Cic. in Hort.*
[3] For so hee calleth himselfe *in serm. 1. in die assum.*
[4] *Ex breuiario Romano.*

Some fruites of this rhetoricke hee bestowed vpon S. *Peter*, saying, *The Lord* [5] *did take Peter into the fellowship of the indiuisible vnitie*: which wordes being coupled to the sentence alledged by the Cardinall (*that he hath no part in the diuine Mysterie, that dare depart from the soliditie of Peter*) should haue giuen him, I thinke, such a skarre, as hee should neuer haue dared to haue taken any aduantage by the wordes immediatly preceding, for the benefite of the Church of *Rome*, and the head thereof; since those which immediatly follow, are so much derogatorie to the diuine Maiestie. And againe, *My* [6] *writings be strengthened by the authoritie and merit of my Lord, most blessed* S. Peter. *We* [7] *beseech you to keepe the things decreed by vs through the inspiration of God, and the Apostle most blessed* S. Peter. *If* [8] *any thing be well done, or decreed by vs; If any thing be obtained of Gods mercy by daily prayers, it is to be ascribed to* S. Peters *workes and merits, whose power doeth liue, and authoritie excell in his owne Sea. Hee* [9] *was so plentifully watered of the very fountaine of all graces, that whereas he receiued many things alone, yet nothing passeth ouer to any other, but hee was partaker of it.* And in a word, hee was so desirous to extoll Saint Peter, that a messenger from him was *an* [10] *embassage from* Saint Peter: [11] *any thing done in his presence, was in* S. Peters *presence.* Neither did he vse all this Rhetoricke without purpose: for at that time the Patriarch of *Constantinople* contended with him for Primacie. And in the Councell of [12] *Chalcedon*, the Bishops, sixe hundred and more, gaue equall authoritie to the Patriarch of that Sea, and would not admit any Priuiledge to the Sea of *Rome* aboue him; but went against him. And yet he that gaue so much to *Peter*, tooke nothing from *Cæsar*; but gaue him both his Titles and due, giuing the power of calling a Councell to the Emperour; as it may appeare by these one or two places following of many. *If it may please your* [13] *godlinesse to vouchsafe at our supplication to condiscend, that you will command a Coun-*

[5] *Epist. 89.*
[6] *Epist. 51.*
[7] *Epist. 89.*
[8] *In serm. 2. in die anniuer. assum. suæ.*
[9] *Serm. 7. in die anniuer. assump. suæ.*
[10] *Epist. 24.*
[11] *Epist. 4.*
[12] *Concil. Chalcedon. Act. 16. & Can. 28.*
[13] *Epist. 9. Theodosio.*

a Councell of Bishops to be holden within Italy. And writing vnto the Bishop of Constantinople: *Because the most clement* [1] *Emperour, carefull of the peace of the Church, will haue a Councell to be holden; albeit it euidently appeare, the matter to be handled doeth in no case stand in neede of a Councell.* And againe, *Albeit* [2] *my occasions will not permit me to be present vpon the day of the Councell of Bishops, which your godlinesse hath appointed.* So as by this it may well appeare, that hee that gaue so much to *Peter*, gaue also to *Cæsar* his due and prerogatiue. But yet he playeth not faire play in this, that euen in all these his wrong applied arguments and examples, hee produceth no other witnesses, but the parties themselues; bringing euer the *Popes* sentences for approbation of their owne authoritie.

[1] *Epist. 18. Flav.*

[2] *Epist. 17. Theodosio.*

Now indeed for one word of his in the middest of his examples, I cannot but greatly commend him; that is, that Martyrs ought to endure all sorts of tortures and death, before they suffer one syllable to be corrupted of the Law of God. Which lesson, if hee and all the rest of his owne profession would apply to themselues, then would not the Sacrament be administred *sub vnâ specie*, directly contrary to Christs institution, the practise of the Apostles and of the whole Primitiue Church for many hundred yeeres: then would not the priuate Masses be in place of the Lordes Supper: then would not the words of the [3] Canon of the Masse be opposed to the words of S. *Paul* and S. *Luke*, as our Aduersarie himselfe confesseth, and cannot reconcile them: nor then would not so many hundreths other traditions of men be set vp in their Church, not onely as equall, but euen preferred to the word of God. But sure in this point I feare I haue mistaken him: for I thinke hee doeth not meane by his *Diuina Dogmata*, the word of the God of heauen, but onely the Canons and Lawes of his *Dominus Deus Papa*: otherwise all his Primacie of the Apostolike Sea would not be so much sticken vpon, hauing so slender ground in the word of God.

[3] *Bellar. de sacra Euchariſt. lib. 4. cap 14.*

And for the great feare he hath, that the suddennes of the apprehension, the bitternesse of the persecution, the weaknesse of his aage, and other such infirmities might haue been the cause of the Arch-priests fall; in this, I haue already sufficiently answered him; hauing declared, as the trewth is, and as the said *Blackwell* himselfe will yet testifie, that he tooke this Oath freely of himselfe, without any inducement thereunto, either *Precibus* or *Minis*.

But amongst all his citations, hee must not forget holy *Sanderus* and his *visibilis Monarchia*, whose person and actions I did alreadie a little touch. And surely who will with vnpartiall eyes reade his bookes, they may well thinke, that hee hath deserued well of his English Romane-Church; but they can neuer thinke, but that hee deserued very ill of his English Soueraigne and State: Witnesse his owne books; whereout I haue made choice to set downe heere these fewe sentences following, as flowers pickt out of so worthy a garland. [4] *Elizabeth Queene of* ENGLAND, *doeth exercise the Priestly acte of teaching and preaching the Gospel in* ENGLAND, *with no lesse authority then Christ himselfe, or* Moses *euer did. The supremacie of a* [5] *woman in Church*

Some of Sanders his worthy sayings remembred.

[4] *Sand. de visib. Monar. lib. 6. cap. 4.*

[5] *Sand. de clau. Dauid. li. 6. c. 1.*

Church matters is from no other, then from the Deuill. And of all things in generall thus he speaketh, *The* [1] *King that will not inthrall himselfe to the Popes authoritie, he ought not to be tolerated; but his Subiects ought to giue all diligence, that another may be chosen in his place assoone as may be. A King that is an* [2] *Heretike, ought to be remooued from the Kingdome that hee holdeth ouer Christians; and the Bishops ought to endeauour to set vp another, assoone as possibly they can. Wee doe constantly* [3] *affirme, that all Christian Kings are so farre vnder Bishops and Priests in all matters appertaining to faith, that if they shall continue in a fault against Christian Religion, after one or two admonitions, obstinately, for that cause they may and ought to be deposed by the Bishops from their temporall authoritie they holde ouer Christians.* [4] *Bishops are set ouer temporall kingdomes, if those kingdomes doe submit themselues to the faith of Christ. We doe iustly* [5] *affirme, that all Secular power, whether Regall, or any other, is of men. The* [6] *anoynting which is powred vpon the head of the King by the Priest, doeth declare that hee is inferiour to the Priest. It is altogether against the will of* [7] *Christ, that Christian kings should haue supremacie in the Church.*

[1] Sand. de visib. Monar. lib. 2 cap. 4.
[2] Ibidem.
[3] Ibidem.
[4] Ibidem.
[5] Sand. de clau. Dauid. li. 5. c. 2.
[6] Ibidem.
[7] Sand. de clau. Dauid. li. 5. c. 4.

The Cardinals paire of Martyrs weighed.

And whereas for the crowne and conclusion of all his examples, he reckoneth his two English Martyrs, *Moore* and *Roffensis*, who died for that one most weightie head of doctrine, as he alledgeth, refusing the Oath of Supremacie; I must tell him, that he hath not been well informed in some materiall points, which doe very neerely concerne his two said Martyrs: For it is cleare and apparantly to be prooued by diuers Records, that they were both of them committed to the Tower about a yeere before either of them was called in question vpon their liues, for the *Popes* Supremacie; And that partly for their backwardnesse in the point of the establishment of the Kings succession, whereunto the whole Realme had subscribed, and partly for that one of them, to wit, *Fisher*, had had his hand in the matter of the holy [8] maide of *Kent*; hee being for his concealement of that false prophets abuse, found guiltie of misprision of Treason. And as these were the principall causes of their imprisonment (the King resting secure of his Supremacie, as the Realme stood then affected, but especially troubled for setling the Crowne vpon the issue of his second mariage) so was it easily to be conceiued, that being thereupon discontented, their humors were thereby made apt to draw them by degrees, to further opposition against the King and his authoritie, as indeede it fell out: For in the time of their being in prison, the Kings lawfull authoritie in cases Ecclesiasticall being published and promulged, as well by a generall decree of the Clergie in their Synode, as by an Acte of Parliament made thereupon; they behaued themselues so peeuishly therein, as the olde coales of the Kings anger being thereby raked vp of new, they were againe brought in question; as well for this one most weighty head of doctrine of the *Pope* his supremacy, as for the matter of the Kings mariage and succession, as by the confession of one of themselues, euen *Thomas Moore*, is euident: For being condemned, he vsed these words at the barre before the Lords, *Non ignoro cur me*

[8] Called *Elizabeth Barton*. See the Act of Parliament.

morti

morti adiudicaueritis; videlicet ob id, quòd nunquam voluerim assentiri in negotio matrimonij Regis. That is, *I am not ignorant why you haue adiudged mee to death: to wit, for that I would neuer consent in the busineſſe of the new mariage of the King.* By which his owne confeſsion it is plaine, that this great martyr himſelfe tooke the cauſe of his owne death, to be onely for his being refractary to the King in this ſaid matter of Marriage and Succeſsion; which is but a very fleſhly cauſe of Martyrdome, as I conceiue.

Hiſtor. aliquot Martyrum noſtri ſeculi, Anno 1550.

And as for *Roffenſis* his fellow Martyr (who could haue bene content to haue taken the Oath of the Kings Supremacie, with a certaine modification, which *Moore* refuſed) as his impriſonment was neither onely, nor principally for the cauſe of Supremacie, ſo died hee but a halting and a ſingular Martyr or witneſſe for that moſt weighty head of doctrine; the whole Church of *England* going at that time, in one current and ſtreame as it were againſt him in that Argument, diuers of them being of farre greater reputation for learning and ſound iudgement, then euer he was. So as in this point we may well arme our ſelues with the Cardinals owne reaſon, where he giueth amongſt other notes of the trew Church, *Vniuerſalitie* for one, wee hauing the generall and Catholique concluſion of the whole Church of *England*, on our ſide in this caſe, as appeareth by their booke ſet out by the whole Conuocation of *England*, called, *The Inſtitution of a Chriſtian man*; the ſame matter being likewiſe very learnedly handled by diuers particular learned men of our Church, as by *Steuen Gardiner* in his booke *De vera obedientia*, with a Preface of Biſhop *Boners* adioyning to it, *De ſummo & abſoluto Regis Imperio*, publiſhed by M. *Bekinſaw*, *De vera differentia Regiæ Poteſtatis & Eccleſiaſticæ*, Biſhop *Tonſtals* Sermon, Biſhop *Longlands* Sermon, the letter of *Tonſtall* to Cardinall *Poole*, and diuers other both in Engliſh and Latine. And if the bitterneſſe of *Fiſhers* diſcontentment had not bene fed with his dayly ambitious expectation of the Cardinals hat, which came ſo neere as *Calis* before he loſt his head to fill it with, I haue great reaſon to doubt, if he would haue conſtantly perſeuered in induring his Martyrdome for that one moſt waighty head of doctrine.

And ſurely theſe two Captaines and ringleaders to Martyrdome were but ill followed by the reſt of their countreymen: for I can neuer reade of any after them, being of any great accompt, and that not many, that euer ſealed that weighty head of doctrine with their blood in *England*. So as the trew cauſes of their firſt falling in trouble (whereof I haue already made mention) being rightly conſidered vpon the one part; and vpon the other the ſcant number of witneſſes, that with their blood ſealed it (a point ſo greatly accompted of by our Cardinal) there can but ſmal glory redound thereby to our Engliſh nation, theſe onely two, *Enoch* and *Elias*, ſeruing for witneſſes againſt our Antichriſtian doctrine.

The Supremacy of Kings ſufficiently warranted by the Scriptures.

And I am ſure the Supremacie of Kings may, & wil euer be better maintained by the word of God (which muſt euer be the trew rule to diſcerne all waighty heads of doctrine by) to be the trew and proper office of Chriſtian Kings

Kings in their owne dominions, then he will be euer able to maintaine his annihilating Kings, and their authorities, together with his base and vnreuerend speaches of them, wherewith both his former great Volumes, and his late Bookes against *Venice* are filled. In the old Testament, Kings were directly [1] Gouernours ouer the Church within their Dominions, [2] purged their corruptions; reformed their abuses, brought the [3] Arke to her resting place, the King [4] dancing before it; [5] built the Temple; [6] dedicated the same, assisting in their owne persons to the sanctification thereof; [7] made the Booke of the Law new-found, to bee read to the people; [8] renewed the Couenant betweene God and his people; [9] bruised the brasen serpent in pieces, which was set vp by the expresse commandement of God, and was a figure of Christ; destroyed [10] all Idoles, and false gods; made [11] a publike reformation, by a Commission of Secular men and Priests mixed for that purpose; deposed [12] the high Priest, and set vp another in his place: and generally, ordered euery thing belonging to the Church-gouernment, their Titles and Prerogatiues giuen them by God, agreeing to these their actions. They are called *the* [13] *Sonnes of the most High*, nay, *Gods* [14] *themselues; The* [15] *Lords anoynted, Sitting* [16] *in Gods throne; His* [17] *seruants; The Angels* [18] *of God; According to his* [19] *hearts desire; The light* [20] *of Israel; The* [21] *nursing fathers of the Church*, with innumerable such stiles of honour, wherwith the old Testament is filled; whereof our aduersary can pretend no ignorance. And as to the new Testament, *Euery soule* is commaunded *to be subiect vnto them, euen for* [22] *conscience sake.* All men [23] must be prayed for; *but especially Kings, and those that are in Authoritie, that vnder them we may leade a godly, peaceable, and an honest life.*

The [24] *Magistrate is the minister of God, to doe vengeance on him that doeth euill and reward him that doeth well. Ye must obey all higher powers, but* [25] *especially Princes, and those that are supereminent. Giue euery man his due, feare* [26] *to whom feare belongeth, and honour to whome honour. Giue* [27] *vnto Cæsar what is Cæsars, and to God what is Gods.* [28] *Regnum meum non est huius mundi.* [29] *Quis me constituit Iudicem super vos?* [30] *Reges gentium dominantur eorum, vos autem non sic.* If these examples, sentences, titles, and prerogatiues, and innumerable other in the Olde and New Testament doe not warrant Christian Kings, within their owne dominions, to gouerne their Church, as well as the rest of their people, in being *Custodes vtriusque Tabulæ*, not by making new Articles of Faith, (which is the Popes office, as I said before) but by commanding obedience to be giuen to the word of God, by reforming the religion according to his prescribed will, by assisting the spirituall power with the temporall sword, by reforming of corruptions, by procuring due obedience to the Church, by iudging, and cutting off all friuolous questions and schismes, as [31] *Constantine* did; and finally, by making *decorum* to be obserued in euery thing, and establishing orders to bee obserued in all indifferent things for that purpose, which is the onely intent of our Oath of Supremacie: If this Office of a King, I say, doe not agree with the power giuen

[1] 2.Chron. 19.4.
[2] 2.Sam.5.6.
[3] 1.Chron. 13.12.
[4] 2.Sam.6.16
[5] 1.Chron. 28.6.
[6] 2.Chron.6.
[7] 2.King. 22. 11.
[8] Nehe.9.38. Dauid. Salomon.
[9] 2.King.18.4
[10] 1.King.15. 12. 2.king. 13.4.
[11] 2.Chron. 17.8.
[12] 1.King.2.27
[13] 2.Sam.7.14
[14] Psal.82.6. & exod.22.8.
[15] 1.Sam.24. 11.
[16] 2.Chro.9.8.
[17] 2.Chro.6. 15.
[18] 2.Sam.14. 20.
[19] 1.Sam.13. 14.
[20] 2.Sam.21. 17.
[21] Isa.49.23.
[22] Rom.13.5.
[23] 1.Tim.2.2.
[24] Rom.13.4.
[25] 1.Pet.2.13.
[26] Rom.13.7.
[27] Mat.22.21.
[28] Iohn 18.36.
[29] Luk.12.14.
[30] Luk.22.25.
[31] *Euseb. lib. 3. de vita Constantini.*

giuen him by Gods word, let any indifferent man voyd of passion, iudge. But how these honourable offices, styles, and prerogatiues giuen by God to Kings in the Old and New Testament, as I haue now cited, can agree with the braue styles and titles that *Bellarmine* giueth them, I can hardly conceiue.

1 That *Kings are rather slaues then Lords.*

2 That *they are not onely subiects to Popes, to Bishops, to Priests, but euen to Deacons.*

3 That *an Emperour must content himselfe to drinke, not onely after a Bishop, but after a Bishops Chaplen.*

4 That *Kings haue not their Authoritie nor Office immediatly from God, nor his Law, but onely from the Law of Nations.*

5 That *Popes haue degraded many Emperours, but neuer Emperour degraded the Pope; nay, euen* * *Bishops*, that are but the Popes vassals, *may depose Kings, and abrogate their lawes.*

6 That *Church-men are so farre aboue Kings, as the soule is aboue the body.*

7 That *Kings may be deposed by their people, for diuers respects.*

8 But *Popes can by no meanes be deposed: for no flesh hath power to iudge of them.*

9 That *obedience due to the Pope, is for conscience sake.*

10 But *the obedience due to Kings, is onely for certaine respects of order and policie.*

11 That *these very Church-men that are borne, and inhabite in Soueraigne Princes countreys, are notwithstanding not their Subiects, and cannot bee iudged by them, although they may iudge them.*

12 And, that *the obedience that Church-men giue to Princes, euen in the meanest and meere temporall things, is not by way of any necessarie subiection, but onely out of discretion, and for obseruation of good order and custome.*

These contrarieties betweene the Booke of God, and *Bellarmines* bookes, haue I heere set in opposition each to other, *Vt ex contrariis iuxta se positis, veritas magis elucescere possit.* And thus farre I dare boldly affirme, that whosoeuer will indifferently weigh these irreconciliable contradictions here set downe, will easily confesse, that CHRIST is no more contrarie to Belial, light to darknesse, and heauen to hell, then *Bellarmines* estimation of Kings, is to Gods.

Now as to the conclusion of his letter, which is onely filled with strong and pithie exhortations, to perswade and confirme *Blackwell* to the patient and constant induring of martyrdome, I haue nothing to answere, saue by way of regrate; that so many good sentences drawen out of the Scripture, so well and so handsomely packed vp together, should be so ill and vntrewly applied: But an euill cause is neuer the better for so good a cloake; and an ill matter neuer amended by good wordes: And therefore I may iustly turne ouer that craft of the diuell vpon himselfe, in vsing so holy-like an exhortation to so euill a purpose. Onely I could haue wished him, that hee had

1 *De laicis cap.7.*
2 *De Pont.li. 1.cap.7.*
3 *Ibidem.*
4 *Ibid. & de Cler.cap.28.*
5 *De Pont.lib. 3.cap.16.*
* *De Rom.Pontif.lib.5.cap.8.*
6 *De laicis cap.8.*
7 *De Pont.li. 5.cap.18.*
8 *De Pon.lib. 2.cap.26.*
9 *De Pont.lib. 4.cap.15*
10 *De Clericis, cap.28.*
11 *Ibidem.*
12 *Ibidem.*

had a little better obſerued his *decorum* herein, in not letting ſlippe two or three prophane words amongſt ſo many godly mortified Scripture ſentences. For in all the Scripture, eſpecially in the New Teſtament, I neuer read of *Pontifex Maximus*. And the Pope muſt be content in that ſtyle to ſucceed according to the Law and inſtitution of *Numa Pompilius*, and not to *S. Peter*, who neuer heard nor dreamed of ſuch an Office.

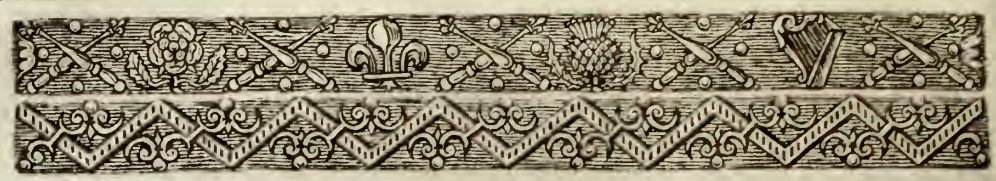
And for his *Caput fidei*, which I remembred before, the Apoſtles (I am ſure) neuer gaue that ſtyle to any, but to CHRIST: So as theſe ſtyles, whereof ſome were neuer found in Scripture, and ſome were neuer applyed but to CHRIST in that ſenſe, as hee applieth it, had beene better to haue beene left out of ſo holy and mortified a letter.

To conclude then this preſent Diſcourſe, I heartily wiſh all indifferent readers of the *Breues* and Letter, not to iudge by the ſpecioſneſſe of the wordes, but by the weight of the matter; not looking to that which is ſtrongly alledged, but iudiciouſly to conſider what is iuſtly prooued: And for all my owne good and naturall Subiects, that their hearts may remaine eſtabliſhed in the trewth; that theſe forraine inticements may not ſeduce them from their natall and naturall duetie; and that all, aſwell ſtrangers, as naturall ſubiects, to whoſe eyes this Diſcourſe ſhall come, may wiſely and vnpartially iudge of the Veritie, as it is nakedly here ſet downe, for clearing theſe miſts and cloudes of calumnies, which were iniuſtly heaped vpon me; for which end onely I heartily pray the courteous Reader to be perſwaded, that I tooke occaſion to publiſh this Diſcourſe.

A PRE-

A PREMONITION TO ALL MOST MIGHTIE *MONARCHES*, KINGS, FREE PRINCES, *AND STATES OF* CHRISTENDOME.

TO



TO THE MOST SACRED AND INVINCIBLE PRINCE, *RODOLPHE THE* II. *by* GODS *Clemencie Elect Emperour* of the ROMANES;

KING OF GERMANIE, HVNGARIE, *BOHEME*, *DALMATIE*, CROATIE, SCLAVONIE, &c.

ARCH-DVKE OF AVSTRIA, DVKE OF BVRGVNDIE, STIRIA, CARINTHIA, CARNIOLA, and WIRTEMBERG, &c. Earle of TYROLIS, &c.

AND TO ALL OTHER *RIGHT HIGH AND* MIGHTIE KINGS;

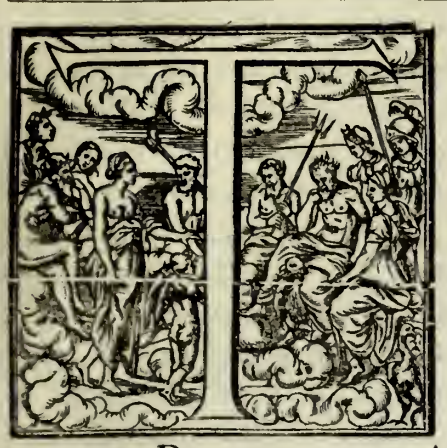
And Right Excellent free Princes and States of CHRISTENDOME:

Our louing BRETHREN, COSINS, ALLIES, CONFEDERATES and FRIENDS:

IAMES by the Grace of GOD, King of GREAT BRITAINE, FRANCE and IRELAND; Professour, Maintainer and Defender of the Trew, Christian, Catholique and Apostolique FAITH, Professed by the ancient and Primitiue CHVRCH, and sealed with the blood of so many Holy Bishops, and other faithfull crowned with the glory of MARTYRDOME;

WISHETH euerlasting felicitie in CHRIST our SAVIOVR.

TO



TO YOV MOST SACRED AND INVINCIBLE EMPEROVR; RIGHT HIGH AND MIGHTIE KINGS; RIGHT EXCELLENT FREE PRINCES AND STATES, MY LOVING BRETHREN AND COSINS:

To you, I ſay, as of right belongeth, doe I conſecrate and direct this Warning of mine, or rather *Preamble* to my reprinted *Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance*: For the cauſe is generall, and concerneth the Authoritie and priuiledge of Kings in generall, and all ſupereminent Temporall powers. And if in whatſoeuer Societie, or Corporation of men, either in Corporations of Cities, or in the Corporation of any mechanicke craft or handie-worke, euery man is carefull to maintaine the priuiledges of that Societie whereunto he is ſworne; nay, they will rather cluſter all in one, making it a common cauſe, expoſing themſelues to all ſorts of perill, then ſuffer the leaſt breach in their Liberties; If thoſe of the baſer ſort of people, I ſay, be ſo curious and zealous for the preſeruation of their common priuiledges and liberties, as if the meaneſt amongſt them be touched in any ſuch point, they thinke it concerneth them all: Then what ſhould wee doe in ſuch a caſe, whom GOD hath placed in the higheſt thrones vpon earth, made his Lieutenants and Vice-gerents, and euen ſeated vs vpon his owne Throne to execute his Iudgements? The conſideration hereof hath now mooued mee to expone a Caſe vnto you, which doeth not ſo neerely touch mee in my particular, as it doeth open a breach againſt our Authoritie, (I ſpeake in the plurall of all Kings) and priuiledge in generall. And ſince not onely all rankes and ſorts of people in all Nations doe inuiolably obſerue this *Maxime*, but euen the Ciuil Law, by which the greateſt part of Chriſtendome is gouerned, doeth giue them an intereſt, *qui fouent conſimilem cauſam*; How much more then haue yee intereſt in this cauſe, not beeing *ſimilis* or *par cauſa* to yours, but *eadem* with yours?

 and

and indeed yee all *fouetis*, or at least *fouere debetis eandem causam mecum.* And since this cause is common to vs all; both the Ciuill Lawes, and the municipall Lawes of all Nations, permit and warne them, that haue a common interest, to concurre in one for the defence of their common cause; yea, common sense teacheth vs with the Poet, *Ecquid*

Ad te pòst paulò ventura pericula sentis?
Nam tua res agitur paries cùm proximus ardet.

Awake then while it is time, and suffer not, by your longer sleepe, the strings of your Authoritie to be cut *in singulis*, and one and one to your generall ruine, which by your vnited forces, would rather make a strong rope for the enemie to hang himselfe in, with *Achitophel*, then that hee should euer bee able to breake it. As for this *Apologie* of mine, it is trew, that I thought good to set it first out without putting my name vnto it; but neuer so, as I thought to denie it, remembring well mine owne words, but taken out of the Scripture, in the beginning of the Preface to the Reader, in my ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ, *that nothing is so hid, which shall not bee opened, &c*: promising there, which with GOD his grace I shall euer performe, neuer to doe that in secret, which I shall need to be ashamed of, when it shall come to be proclaimed in publique.

In deed I thought it fit, for two respects, that this my *Apologie* should first visite the world without hauing my name written in the forehead thereof. First because of the *matter*, and next of the *persons* that I medled with. The *matter*, it being a *Treatise*, which I was to write, conteining reasons and discourses in *Diuinitie*, for the defence of the *Oath of Alleagiance*, and refutation of the condemners thereof; I thought it not comely for one of my place, to put my name to bookes concerning Scholasticke *Disputations*; whose calling is to set forth *Decrees* in the Imperatiue mood: for I thinke my selfe as good a man as the Pope, by his reuerence, for whom these my *Answerers* make the like excuse; for that his *Breues* are so summary without yeelding any reason vnto them. My next reason was the respect of the *persons* whom with I medled: Wherein, although I shortly answered the Popes *Breues*; yet the point I most laboured, being the refutation of *Bellarmines* Letter, I was neuer the man, I confesse, that could thinke a *Cardinall* a meet match for a *King*: especially, hauing many hundreth thousands of my subiects of as good birth as hee. As for his Church dignitie, his *Cardinalship* I meane, I know not how to ranke or value it, either by the warrant of God his word, or by the ordinance of *Emperours* or *Kings*, it being indeed onely a new *Papall* erection, tolerated by the sleeping conniuence of our *Predecessours* (I meane still by the plurall of *Kings*.) But notwithstanding of this my forbearing to put my name vnto it, some *Embassadours* of some of you (my louing *Brethren* and *Cousins*) whome this cause did neerelieſt concerne, can witnesse, that I made Presents of some of those bookes, at their first printing, vnto them, and that auowedly in my owne name. As also the English

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Paragraphist, or rather peruerse Pamphleter *Parsons*, since all his description must runne vpon a *P.* hath trewly obserued, that my Armes are affixed in the frontispice thereof, which vseth not to bee in bookes of other mens doing; whereby his malice in pretending his ignorance, that hee might pay mee the soundlier, is the more inexcusable. But now that I finde my sparing to put my name vnto it hath not procured my sparing by these answerers, who haue neither spared my Person directly in naming me, nor indirectly by railing vpon the Author of the Booke: it is now high time for me no longer to conceale nor disauow my selfe, as if I were ashamed of my owne deed. And therefore that ye may the better vnderstand the nature of the cause, I will begin at the first ground thereof.

The neuer enough wondered at and abhorred POVVDER-TREASON (though the repetition thereof grieueth, I know, the gentle hearted Iesuite *Parsons*) this Treason, I say, being not onely intended against mee and my Posteritie, but euen against the whole house of Parliament, plotted onely by Papists, and they onely led thereto by a preposterous zeale for the aduancement of their Religion; some of them continuing so obstinate, that euen at their death they would not acknowledge their fault; but in their last words, immediatly before the expiring of their breath, refused to condemne themselues and craue pardon for their deed, except the *Romish* Church should first condemne it; And soone after, it being discouered, that a great number of my Popish Subiects of all rankes and sexes, both men and women, as well within as without the Countrey; had a confused notion and an obscure knowledge, that some great thing was to bee done in that Parliament for the weale of the Church; although, for secrecies cause, they were not acquainted with the particulars; certaine formes of prayer hauing likewise beene set downe and vsed for the good successe of that great errand; adding heereunto, that diuers times, and from diuers Priestes, the Archtraitours themselues receiued the Sacrament for confirmation of their heart, and obseruation of secrecie; Some of the principall Iesuites likewise being found guiltie of the foreknowledge of the Treason it selfe; of which number some fled from their triall, others were apprehended (as holy *Garnet* himselfe and *Owldcorne* were) and iustly executed vpon their owne plaine confession of their guilt: If this Treason now, clad with these circumstances, did not minister a iust occasion to that Parliament house, whome they thought to haue destroyed, courageously and zealously at their next sitting downe, to vse all meanes of triall, whether any more of that minde were yet left in the Countrey; I leaue it to you to iudge, whom God hath appointed his highest Depute Iudges vpon earth: And amongst other things for this purpose, This *Oath of Allegiance*, so vniustly impugned, was then deuised and enacted. And in case any sharper Lawes were then made against the Papists, that were not obedient to the former Lawes of the Countrey; if ye will consider the *Time*, *Place* and *Persons*, it will be thought no wonder,

seeing that occasion did so iustly exasperate them to make seuerer Lawes, then otherwise they would haue done. The *Time*, I say, being the very next sitting downe of the Parliament, after the discouerie of that abominable Treason: the *Place* being the same, where they should all haue bene blowne vp, and so bringing it freshly to their memorie againe: the *Persons* being the very Parliament men whom they thought to haue destroyed. And yet so farre hath both my heart and gouernment bene from any bitternes, as almost neuer one of those sharpe additions to the former Lawes haue euer yet bene put in execution.

And that ye may yet know further, for the more conuincing these Libellers of wilfull malice, who impudently affirme, That this *Oath of Allegiance* was deuised for deceiuing and intrapping of Papists in points of Conscience; The trewth is, that the Lower house of Parliament at the first framing of this Oath, made it to containe, That the Pope had no power to excommunicate me; which I caused them to reforme, onely making it to conclude, That no excommunication of the Popes, can warrant my Subiects to practise against my Person or State; denying the deposition of Kings to be in the Popes lawfull power; as indeed I take any such temporall violence, to be farre without the limits of such a Spirituall censure as Excommunication is. So carefull was I that nothing should be contained in this Oath, except the profession of natural Allegiance, and ciuil and temporall obedience, with a promise to resist to all contrary vnciuill violence.

This Oath now grounded vpon so great and iust an occasion, set forth in so reasonable termes, and ordained onely for making of a trew distinction betweene Papists of quiet disposition, and in all other things good subiects, and such other Papists as in their hearts maintained the like violent bloody *Maximes*, that the Powder-Traitours did: This Oath, I say, being published and put in practise, bred such euill blood in the Popes head and his Cleargie, as *Breue* after *Breue* commeth forth, *vt vndam vnda sequitur*; prohibiting all Catholikes from taking the same, as a thing cleane contrary to the Catholike faith and that the taking thereof cannot stand with the saluation of their soules.

There commeth likewise a letter of Cardinall *Bellarmines* to *Blackwell* to the same purpose; but discoursing more at length vpon the said Oath. Whereupon, after I had entred in consideration of their vniust impugning that so iust and lawfull an Oath; and fearing that by their vntrew calumnies and Sophistrie the hearts of a number of the most simple and ignorant of my people should bee misse-led, vnder that faire and deceitfull cloake of Conscience; I thought good to set foorth an *Apologie* for the said Oath: wherein I prooued, that as this Oath contained nothing but matter of ciuill and temporall Obedience, due by Subiects to their Soueraigne Prince; so this quarrelling therewith was nothing but a late vsurpation of Popes (against the warrant of all Scriptures, ancient Councels and Fathers) vpon the Temporall power of Kings, wherewith onely

my

my *Apologie* doeth meddle. But the publiſhing of this Booke of mine hath brought ſuch two Anſwerers, or rather Railers vpon mee, as all the world may wonder at: For my Booke being firſt written in Engliſh, an Engliſh Oath being the ſubiect thereof, and the vſe of it properly belonging to my Subiects of *England*; and immediatly thereafter being tranſlated into Latine, vpon a deſire that ſome had of further publiſhing it abroad; it commeth home to mee now anſwered in both the Languages. And, I thinke, if it had bene ſet foorth in all the tongues that were at the confuſion of *Babel*, it would haue bene returned anſwered in them all againe. Thus may a man ſee how buſie a Biſhop the Diuell is, and how hee omitteth no diligence for venting of his poyſoned wares. But herein their malice doeth clearely appeare, that they pay mee ſo quickly with a double anſwere; and yet haue neuer anſwered their owne Arch-prieſt, who hath written a booke for the maintenance of the ſame Oath, and of the temporall authoritie of Kings, alledging a cloud of their owne Scholemen againſt them.

As for the Engliſh *Anſwerer*, my vnnaturall and fugitiue Subiect; I will neither defile my pen, nor your ſacred eyes or eares with the deſcribing of him, who aſhames, nay, abhorres not to raile, nay, to rage and ſpew foorth blaſphemies againſt the late Queene of famous memory. A Subiect to raile againſt his naturall Soueraigne by birth; A man to raile againſt a Lady by ſexe; A holy man (in outward profeſſion) to inſult vpon the dead; nay to take *Radamanthus* office ouer his head, and to ſit downe and play the Iudge in hell, And all his quarrell is, that either her Succeſſour, or any of her ſeruants ſhould ſpeake honourably of her. Curſed be he that curſeth the Anointed of God: and deſtroyed mought he be with the deſtruction of *Korah*, that hath ſinned in the contradiction of *Korah*. Without mought ſuch dogs and ſwine be caſt forth, I ſay, out of the Spirituall *Ieruſalem*.

As for my Latine *Anſwerer*, I haue nothing to ſay to his perſon; hee is not my Subiect; hee ſtandeth or falleth vnto his owne Lord: But ſure I am, they two haue caſten lotts vpon my Booke, ſince they could not diuide it: the one of them, my fugitiue, to raile vpon my late Predeceſſour, (but a rope is the fitteſt anſwere for ſuch an Hiſtorian;) the other, a ſtranger, thinketh he may be boldeſt both to pay my perſon and my Booke, as indeed he doeth; which how iuſtly either in matter or maner, wee are now to examine.

But firſt, who ſhould be the trew Authour of this booke, I can but gueſſe. Hee calleth himſelfe *Mattheus Tortus*, Cardinall *Bellarmins* Chaplaine. A [1] throwne Euangeliſt indeed, full of throward Diuinitie; an obſcure Authour, vtterly vnknowne to mee, being yet little knowne to the world for any other of his workes: and therefore muſt be a very deſperate fellow in beginning his *apprentiſage*, not onely to refute, but to raile vpon a King. But who will conſider the carriage of the whole booke, ſhall finde that hee writeth with ſuch authoritie, or at the leaſt *tam elato ſtylo*, ſo

[1] Being a proper word to expreſſe the trew meaning of *Tortus*.

so little sparing either Kings in generall, or my person in particular; and with such a greatnesse, [1] *Habemus enim exemplaria Breuium illorum in manibus*, and [2] *Decernimus*: as it shall appeare, or at least bee very probable, that it is the Masters, and not the mans labour; especially in one place, where hee quarrelleth mee for casting vp his *moralis certitudo* and *piè credi* vnto him; hee there grossely forgetting himselfe, saith, *malâ fide nobiscum agit*, thereby making this Authour to be one person with *Bellarmine*. But let it bee the worke of a *Tortus* indeed, and not of a personated Cardinall; yet must it bee the Cardinals deed, since Master *Tortus* is the Cardinals man, and doeth it in his Masters defence. The errand then being the Cardinals, and done by his owne man, it cannot but bee accounted as his owne deed; especially since the English Answerer doeth foure times promise, that *Bellarmine*, or one by his appointment, shall sufficiently answere it.

[1] P.46.
[2] P.63.
Pag.69.

And now to come to his matter and maner of Answere: Surely if there were no more but his vnmanerly maner, it is enough to disgrace the whole matter thereof. For first, to shew his pride, in his Printers preface of the *Politan* edition of this *elegans libellus*, hee must equall the Cardinals greatnesse with mine in euery thing. For though hee confesseth this Master *Tortus* to bee an obscure man; yet being the Cardinals Chapleine, he is sufficient enough forsooth to answere an English booke, that lacketh the name of an Authour; as if a personated obscure name for Authour of a Cardinals booke, were a meete match for answering a KINGS Booke, that lacketh the name of an Authour; and a Cardinals Chapleine to meete with the Deane of the Kings Chappell, whom *Parsons* with the Cardinall, haue (as it seemeth) agreed vpon to intitle to bee the Authour of my *Apologie*. And not onely in the Preface, but also through the whole booke doeth hee keepe this comparatiue greatnesse. Hee must bee as short in his answere, as I am in my Booke, hee must refute all that I haue said against the Popes second *Breue*, with equall breuitie, and vpon one page almost, as I haue done mine: and because I haue set downe the substance of the Oath in foureteene Articles; in iust as many Articles must he set downe that Acte of Parliament of mine, wherein the Oath is contained: And yet, had hee contented himselfe with his owne pride, by the demonstration of his owne greatnesse, without further wronging of mee, it had bene the more tollerable. But what cause gaue I him to farce his whole booke with iniuries, both against my Person and Booke? For whereas in all my *Apologie* I haue neuer giuen him a foule word, and especially neuer gaue him the Lye: hee by the contrary giueth mee nine times the Lye in expresse termes, and seuen times chargeth mee with falsehood, which phrase is equiualent with a Lye. And as for all other wordes of reproch, as *nugæ*, *conuitia*, *temeritas*, *vanitas*, *impudentia*, *blasphemiæ*, *sermonis barbaries*, *cum eadem fœlicitate scribendi*, *cauillationes*, *applicatio inepta*, *fingere historias*, *audacia quæ in hominem sanæ mentis cadere non potest*,

poteſt, vel ſenſu communi caret, imperitia & leuitas, omnem omnino pudorem & conſcientiam exuiſſe, malâ fide nobiſcum agit, vt lectoribus per fas & nefas imponat : of ſuch like reproches, I ſay, I doubt if there bee a page in all his Booke free, except where hee idlely ſets downe the Popes *Breues*, and his owne *Letter*. And in caſe this might onely ſeeme to touch the vnknowen Authour of the Booke, whome notwithſtanding he knew well enough, as I ſhew before; hee ſpareth not my Perſon with my owne name : ſometimes ſaying, that *Pope* Clement *thought mee to bee inclined to their Religion* : Sometimes, that I *was a Puritane in Scotland, and a perſecutour of Proteſtants.* In one place hee concludeth, *Quia Iacobus non eſt Catholicus, hoc ipſo Hæreticus eſt.* In another place, *Ex Chriſtiano Caluiniſtam fecerunt.* In another place hee ſayeth, *Neque omnino verum eſt, Iacobum nunquam deſeruiſſe Religionem quam primò ſuſceperat.* And in another place, after that hee hath compared and ranked mee with *Iulian* the Apoſtate, hee concludeth, *Cùm Catholicus not ſit, neque Chriſtianus eſt.* If this now bee mannerly dealing with a King, I leaue it to you to iudge, who cannot but reſent ſuch indignities done to one of your qualitie.

Pag.47. Pag 98. Pag.87. Pag.98. Ibid. Pag.97.

And as for the Matter of his Booke, it well fittes indeede the Manner thereof: for hee neuer anſwereth directly to the maine queſtion in my Booke. For whereas my *Apologie* handleth onely two points, as I told you before; One, to prooue that the *Oath of Allegiance* doeth onely meddle with the ciuill and temporall Obedience, due by Subiects to their naturall Soueraignes : The other, that this late vſurpation of Popes ouer the temporall power of Princes, is againſt the rule of all Scriptures, auncient Councels and Fathers : hee neuer improoues the firſt, but by a falſe inference; that the Oath denyeth the Popes power of Excommunication directly, ſince it denieth his authoritie in depoſing of Kings. And for the ſecond point, he bringeth no proofe to the contrary, but, *Paſce oues meas* : and, *Tibi dabo claues regni Cœlorum* : and, That no Catholike euer doubted of it. So as I may trewly ſay of him, that hee either vnderſtandeth not, or at leaſt will not ſeeme to vnderſtand my Booke, in neuer directly anſwering the maine queſtion, as I haue alreadie ſaide; and ſo may I iuſtly turne ouer vpon himſelfe that doome of ignorance, which in the beginning of his Booke hee raſhly pronounceth vpon mee; ſaying, that I neither vnderſtand the Popes *Breues*, his *Letter*, nor the Oath it ſelfe : And as hee delighteth to repeate ouer and ouer, I know not how oft, and triumpheth in this wrong inference of his; That to deny the Popes power to depoſe Kings, is to denie the Popes Primacie, and his ſpirituall power of Excommunication : So doeth hee, vpon that ground of *Paſce oues meas*, giue the Pope ſo ample a power ouer Kings, to throne or dethrone them at his pleaſure (and yet onely ſubiecting Chriſtian Kings to that ſlauerie) as I doubt not but in your owne Honours yee will reſent you of ſuch indignities; the rather ſince it concernes ſo many of you as profeſſe the Romiſh religion, farre more

more then me: For ſince he accounteth me an heretike, and like *Iulian* the Apoſtate; I am conſequently *extra caulam*, and none of the Popes flocke, and ſo am in the caſe of Ethnicke Princes, ouer whom he confeſſeth the Pope hath no power. But yee are in the Popes folde; and you, that great Paſtour may leade as ſheepe to the ſlaughter, when it ſhall pleaſe him. And as the Aſſes eares muſt be hornes, if the Lion liſt ſo to interprete it; ſo muſt yee be remooued as ſcabbed ſheepe from the flocke, if ſo the Pope thinke you to be, though your skinne be indeed neuer ſo ſound.

Thus hath he ſet ſuch a new goodly interpretation vpon the wordes of CHRIST, *Paſce oues meas*, as if it were as much to ſay, as, depoſe Chriſtian Kings; and that *Quodcunque ſolueris* gaue the Pope power to diſpenſe with all ſorts of Oathes, Vowes, Penalties, Cenſures and Lawes, euen with the naturall obedience of Subiects to their Souereigne Lords; much like to that new coyned gloſſe that his brother [1] *Baronius* made vpon the wordes in Saint *Peters* viſion, *Surge Petre, occide & manduca*; That is (ſaid he to the Pope) Goe kill and confound the *Venetians*.

[1] *Senten. Card. Baron. ſuper excom. Venet.*

And becauſe I haue in my Booke (by citing a place in his controuerſies) diſcouered him to be a ſmall friend to Kings, he is much commoued: For whereas in his ſaid Controuerſies, ſpeaking *de Clericis*, he is ſo bolde as to affirme, that Church-men are exempted from the power of earthly Kings; and that they ought them no ſubiection euen in temporall matters, but onely *vi rationis* and in their owne diſcretion, for the preſeruation of peace and good order; becauſe, I ſay, citing this place of his in my Booke, I tell with admiration, that hee freeth all Church-men from any ſubiection to Kings, euen thoſe that are their borne Subiects: hee is angry with this phraſe, and ſayth it is an addition for breeding enuie vnto him, and raiſing of hatred againſt him: For, ſayth hee, although *Bellarmine* affirmed generally, that Church-men were not ſubiect to earthly Kings; yet did hee not inſert that particular clauſe [*though they were borne and dwelling in their Dominions*] as if the words of Church-men and earthly Kings in generall imported not as much: for Layickes as well as Church-men are ſubiect to none but to their naturall Soueraigne: And yet doeth hee not ſticke to confeſſe, that he meant it, though it was not fit (he ſayth) to be expreſſed.

Lib. de Cler. cap. 28.

And thus quarrels hee me for reuealing his Printed ſecret. But whoſe hatred did hee feare in this? was it not yours? Who haue intereſt, but KINGS, in withdrawing of due ſubiection from KINGS? And when the greateſt Monarches amongſt you will remember, that almoſt the third part of your Subiects and of your Territories, is Church-men, and Church-liuings; I hope, yee will then conſider and weigh, what a feather hee pulles out of your wings, when hee denudeth you of ſo many Subiects and their poſſeſſions, in the Popes fauour: nay, what briars and thornes are left within the heart of your dominions, when ſo populous and potent a partie ſhall haue their birth, education and liuelihood in

your

your Countries, and yet owe you no ſubiection, nor acknowledge you for their SOVERAIGNES? So as where the Church-men of old were content with their tythe of euery mans goods; the Pope now will haue little leſſe then the third part of euery Kings *Subiects* and *Dominions*. And as in this place, ſo throughout all the reſt of his booke, hee doeth nothing but amplifie the Popes power ouer Kings, and exaggerate my vnreaſonable rigour for preſſing this Oath; which hee will needs haue to bee nothing but a renewed Oath of *Supremacie* in more ſubtill and craftie termes, onely to robbe the Pope of his *Primacie* and ſpirituall power: making his temporall power and authoritie ouer Princes, to be one of the chiefe Articles of the Catholike Faith.

But that it may the better appeare vnto you, that all my labour and intention in this errand, was onely to meddle with that due temporall Obedience which my Subiects owe vnto mee; and not to intrap or inthrall their Conſciences, as hee moſt falſely affirmes: Yee ſhall firſt ſee how farre other Godly and Chriſtian *Emperours* and *Kings* were from acknowledging the Popes temporall *Supremacie* ouer them; nay, haue created, controlled and depoſed Popes: and next, what a number of my *Predeceſſors* in this Kingdome haue at all occaſions, euen in the times of the greateſt Greatneſſe of Popes, reſiſted and plainely withſtood them in this point.

And firſt, all Chriſtian *Emperours* were for a long time ſo farre from acknowledging the Popes Superioritie ouer them, as by the contrary the Popes acknowledged themſelues for their *Vaſſals*, reuerencing and obeying the *Emperours* as their *Lords*, for proofe whereof, I remit you to my *Apologie*.

And for the creating of Popes; the *Emperours* were in ſo long and continuall poſſeſſion thereof, as I will vſe for my firſt witneſſe a Pope himſelfe; who (in a [1] *Synode* of an hundreth fiftie and three *Biſhops* and *Abbots*) did ordeine, That the Emperour CHARLES the Great ſhould haue the Right of chooſing the Pope, and ordeining the Apoſtolicall Seate, and the Dignitie of the *Romane* Principalitie: nay, farther hee ordeined; That all *Archbiſhops* and *Biſhops* ſhould receiue their Inueſtiture from the *Emperour*, or elſe bee of no auaile; And, that a *Biſhop* wanting it, ſhould not bee conſecrate, pronouncing an *Anathema* againſt all that ſhould diſobey this Sentence.

And that the *Emperours* aſſent to the Popes Election was a thing ordinary for a long time, [2] *Platina*, and a number of the Popes owne writers beare witneſſe: And [3] *Bellarmine* himſelfe, in his booke of Controuerſies, cannot get it handſomely denied. Nay, the Popes were euen forced then to pay a certaine ſumme of money to the *Emperours* for their Confirmation: And this laſted almoſt ſeuen hundreth yeeres after CHRIST; witneſſe [4] *Sigebert* and [5] *Luitprandus*, with other Popiſh Hiſtorians.

And

[1] *Sigebert. ad ann. 773. Waltbram. Naumburg. lib. de Epiſc. inueſtitura. Mart. Polon. ad ann. 780. Theod. à Niem de priuileg. & Iurib. Imperij & diſt. 63. C. Hadrian.*

[2] See *Platin. in vit. Pelag. 2. Gregor. 1. & Seuerini.*

[3] *Lib. de Clericis.*

[4] *In Chron. ad ann. 680.*

[5] *In vit. Agathon. & Anast. in vit. eiusd. Agath. & Herm. Contract. ad ann. 678. edit. poſter. & diſt. 63. c. Agatho.*

And for *Emperours* deposing of Popes, there are likewise diuers examples. The Emperour [1] *Ottho* deposed Pope *Iohn* the twelfth of that name, for diuers crimes and vices; especially of Lecherie. The Emperour [2] *Henry* the third in a short time deposed three Popes; *Benedict* the ninth, *Siluester* the third, and *Gregorie* the sixt, as well for the sinne of Auarice, as for abusing their extraordinarie authoritie against Kings and Princes.

[1] *Luitpr Hist. lib 6. c. 10. 11. Rhegino ad an. 963. & Platin. in vit. Ioan. 13.*
[2] *Marianus Scot. Sigeb. Abbas Vrsp. ad ann. 1046 & Plat in vit. Greg. 6.*

And as for KINGS that haue denied this Temporall Superioritie of Popes; First, wee haue the vnamine testimonie of diuers famous HISTORIOGRAPHERS for the generall of many CHRISTIAN Kingdomes. As [3] *Walthram* testifieth, *That the Bishops of Spaine, Scotland, England, Hungarie, from ancient institution till this moderne noueltie, had their Inuestiture by* KINGS, *with peaceable inioyning of their Temporalities wholly and entirely; and whosoeuer* (sayeth hee) *is peaceably solicitous, let him peruse the liues of the Ancients, and reade the Histories, and hee shall vnderstand thus much.* And for verification of this generall Assertion; wee will first beginne at the practise of the KINGS of France, though not named by *Walthram* in this his enumeration of Kingdomes: amongst whom my first witnesse shall bee that vulgarly knowne letter of [4] *Philip le Bel* King of France, to Pope *Boniface* the eighth, the beginning whereof, after a scornefull salutation, is, *Sciat tua maxima fatuitas, nos in temporalibus nemini subesse.*

[3] *Walthram. Naumburg. in lib. de inuest. Episc. Vix. circa ann. 1110.*
[4] See *Annales Franciæ Nicolai Gillij in Phil. Pulch. ro.*

And likewise after that [5] *Lewes* the ninth, surnamed *Sanctus*, had by a publique instrument (called *Pragmatica sanctio*) forbidden all the exactions of the Popes Court within his Realme: Pope *Pius* [6] the second, in the beginning of *Lewes* the eleuenth his time, greatly misseliking this Decree so long before made, sent his Legate to the saide King *Lewes*, with Letters-patents, vrging his promise which hee had made when hee was Dolphin of France, to repeale that Sanction if euer hee came to bee King. The King referreth the Legate ouer with his Letters-patents to the Councell of Paris: where the matter being propounded, was impugned by *Iohannes Romanus*, the Kings Atturney; with whose opinion the Vniuersitie of Paris concurring, an Appeale was made from the attempts of the Pope to the next generall Councell; the Cardinall departing with indignation.

[5] *Anno 1268. ex Arrestis Senatus Parisiens.*
[6] *Ioan. Maierius. lib. de Scisma & Concil.*

But that the King of France and Church thereof haue euer stoken to their *Gallican* immunitie, in denying the Pope any Temporall power ouer them, and in resisting the Popes as oft as euer they prest to meddle with their Temporall power, euen in the donation of Benefices, the Histories are so full of them, as the onely examples thereof would make vp a bigge Volume by it selfe. And so farre were the *Sorbonists* for the Kings and French Churches priuiledge in this point, as they were wont to maintaine; That if the Pope fell a quarrelling the King for that cause, the

the *Gallican* Church might elect a *Patriarch* of their owne, renouncing any obedience to the Pope. And *Gerson* was so farre from giuing the Pope that temporall authority ouer Kings (who otherwise was a deuoute *Roman* Catholike) as hee wrote a Booke *de Auferibilitate Papæ*; not onely from the power ouer Kings, but euen ouer the Church.

And now pretermitting all further examples of forraigne Kings actions, I will onely content me at this time with some of my owne Predecessors examples of this kingdome of England; that it may thereby the more clearely appeare, that euen in those times when the world was fullest of darkened blindnes and ignorance, the Kings of England haue oftentimes, not onely repined, but euen strongly resisted and withstood this temporall vsurpation and encrochment of ambitious Popes.

And I will first begin at [1] King *Henry* the first of that name, after the Conquest; who after he was crowned gaue the Bishopricke of *Winchester* to *William Gifford*, and forthwith inuested him into all the possessions belonging to the Bishopricke, contrary to the Canons of the new Synod. [2] *King Henry* also gaue the Archbishopricke of *Canterbury* to *Radulph* Bishop of *London*; and gaue him inuestiture by a Ring and a Crosiers staffe.

[1] *Matth. Paris. in Henr. 1. anno* 1100.

[2] *Idem ibid. anno* 1113.

Also Pope [3] *Calixtus* held a Councell at RHEMES, whither King *Henry* had appointed certaine Bishops of ENGLAND and NORMANDIE to goe; *Thurstan* also, elected Archbishop of YORKE, got leaue of the King to goe thither, giuing his faith that hee would not receiue Consecration of the Pope; And comming to the Synode, by his liberall gifts (as the fashion is) wanne the ROMANES fauour, and by their meanes obtained to bee consecrated at the Popes hand: Which assoone as the King of ENGLAND knewe, hee forbade him to come within his Dominions.

[3] *Idem ibid. anno* 1119.

Moreouer King *Edward* the first prohibited the *Abbot* of [4] *Waltham* and *Deane* of *Pauls*, to collect a tenth of euery mans goods for a supply to the holy Land, which the Pope by three *Bulles* had committed to their charge; and the said Deane of *Pauls* compeering before the King and his *Councell*, promised for the reuerence he did beare vnto the King, not to meddle any more in that matter, without the Kings good leaue and permission. Here (I hope) a Church-man disobeyed the *Pope* for obedience to his *Prince* euen in Church matters: but this new *Iesuited* Diuinitie was not then knowen in the world.

[4] *Ex Archiuis Regni.*

The same *Edward I.* impleaded the Deane of the Chappell of *Vulverhampton*, because the said Deane had, against the priuiledges of the Kingdome, giuen a Prebend of the same Chappell to one at the Popes command: whereupon the said Deane compeered, and put himselfe in the Kings will for his offence.

The said *Edward I.* depriued also the *Bishop* of *Durham* of all his liberties, for disobeying a prohibition of the Kings. So as it appeareth, the Kings in

in those dayes thought the Church-men their *Subiects*, though now we be taught other Seraphicall doctrine.

For further proofe whereof *Iohn* of *Ibstocke* was committed to the goale by the sayde King, for hauing a suite in the Court of *Rome* seuen yeeres for the Rectorie of *Newchurch*.

And *Edward* II. following the footsteps of his Father; after giuing out a Summons against the Abbot of *Walden*, for citing the Abbot of Saint *Albons* and others in the Court of *Rome*, gaue out letters for his apprehension.

And likewise, because a certaine Prebend of *Banburie* had drawen one *Beuercoat* by a Plea to *Rome* without the Kings Dominions, therefore were letters of Caption sent foorth against the said Prebend.

And *Edward* III. following likewise the example of his Predecessours; Because a Parson of *Liche* had summoned the Prior of S. *Oswalds* before the Pope at *Auinion*; for hauing before the Iudges in *England* recouered the arrerage of a pension; directed a Precept, for seasing vpon all the goods both Spirituall and Temporall of the said Parson, because hee had done this in preiudice of the King and Crowne. The saide King also made one *Harwoden* to bee declared culpable and worthie to bee punished, for procuring the Popes *Bulles* against a Iudgement that was giuen by the Kings Iudges.

And likewise; Because one entred vpon the Priorie of *Barnewell* by the *Popes Bul*, the said Intrant was committed to the Tower of *London*, there to remaine during the Kings pleasure.

So as my Predecessors (ye see) of this Kingdome, euen when the *Popes* triumphed in their greatnesse, spared not to punish any of their Subiects, that would preferre the *Popes* Obedience to theirs, euen in Church-matters: So farre were they then from either acknowledging the *Pope* for their temporall Superiour, or yet from doubting that their owne Church-men were not their Subiects. And now I will close vp all these examples with an Act of *Parliament* in King *Richard* II. his time; whereby it was prohibited, That none should procure a Benefice from *Rome*, vnder paine to be put out of the Kings protection. And thus may yee see, that what those Kings successiuely one to another by foure generations haue acted in priuate, the same was also maintained by a publike Law.

By these few examples now (I hope) I haue sufficiently cleered my selfe from the imputation, that any ambition or desire of Noueltie in mee should haue stirred mee, either to robbe the *Pope* of any thing due vnto him, or to assume vnto my selfe any farther authoritie, then that which other Christian *Emperours* and *Kings* through the world, and my owne Predecessours of *England* in especiall, haue long agone maintained. Neither is it enough to say (as *Parsons* doeth in his Answere to the Lord *Coke*) That farre more Kings of this Countrey haue giuen many more examples of acknowledging, or not resisting the *Popes* vsurped Authoritie; some perchance

perchance lacking the occasion; and some the abilitie of resisting them: for euen by the Ciuill Law, in the case of violent intrusion and long and wrongfull possession against mee, it is enough if I prooue that I haue made lawfull interruption vpon conuenient occasions.

But the Cardinall thinkes the Oath, not onely vnlawfull for the substance therof, but also in regard of the Person whom vnto it is to be sworne: For (saith he) *The King is not a Catholique*; And in two or three other places of his booke, he sticketh not to call me by my name very broadly, an Heretike, as I haue already told. But yet before I be publikely declared an Heretike; by the Popes owne Law my people ought not to refuse their Obedience vnto me. And (I trust) if I were but a subiect, and accused by the Pope in his *Conclaue* before his Cardinals, hee would haue hard prouing mee an Heretike, if he iudged me by their owne ancient Orders.

For first, I am no *Apostate*, as the Cardinal would make me; not onely hauing euer bene brought vp in that Religion which I presently professe, but euen my Father and Grandfather on that side professing the same: and so cannot be properly an Heretike, by their owne doctrine, since I neuer was of their Church. And as for the Queene my Mother of worthy memorie; although she continued in that Religion wherein shee was nourished, yet was she so farre from being superstitious or *Iesuited* therein, that at my Baptisme (although I was baptized by a Popish Archbishop) she sent him word to forbeare to vse the spettle in my Baptisme; which was obeyed, being indeed a filthy and an apish tricke, rather in scorne then imitation of CHRIST. And her owne very words were, *That she would not haue a pockie priest to spet in her childs mouth.* As also the Font wherein I was Christened, was sent from the late Queene here of famous memory, who was my Godmother; and what her Religion was, *Pius V.* was not ignorant. And for further proofe, that that renowmed Queene my Mother was not superstitious; as in all her Letters (whereof I receiued many) she neuer made mention of Religion, nor laboured to perswade me in it; so at her last words, she commanded her Master-houshold, a Scottish Gentleman my seruant and yet aliue, she commanded him (I say) to tell me; That although she was of another Religion then that wherein I was brought vp; yet she would not presse me to change, except my owne Conscience forced mee to it: For so that I led a good life, and were carefull to doe Iustice and gouerne well; she doubted not but I would be in a good case with the profession of my owne Religion. Thus am I no *Apostate*, nor yet a deborder from that Religion which one part of my Parents professed, and an other part gaue mee good allowance of. Neither can my Baptisme in the rites of their Religion make me an *Apostate*, or Heretike in respect of my present profession, since we all agree in the substance thereof, being all Baptized *In the Name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost*: vpon which head there is no variance amongst vs.

And now for the point of Heretike; I will neuer bee ashamed to render

an accompt of my profession, and of that hope that is in me, as the Apostle prescribeth. I am such a CATHOLIKE CHRISTIAN, as beleeueth the three *Creeds*; That of the Apostles, that of the Councell of *Nice*, and that of *Athanasius*; the two latter being Paraphrases to the former: And I beleeue them in that sense, as the ancient Fathers and Councels that made them did vnderstand them: To which three *Creeds* all the Ministers of England doe subscribe at their Ordination. And I also acknowledge for Orthodoxe all those other formes of *Creedes*, that either were deuised by Councels or particular Fathers, against such particular Heresies as most reigned in their times.

I reuerence and admit the foure first generall Councels as Catholique and Orthodoxe: And the said foure generall Councels are acknowledged by our Acts of Parliament, and receiued for Orthodoxe by our Church.

As for the Fathers; I reuerence them as much and more then the *Iesuites* doe, and as much as themselues euer craued. For what euer the Fathers for the first fiue hundreth yeeres did with an vnanime consent agree vpon, to be beleeued as a necessary point of saluation, I either will beleeue it also, or at least will be humbly silent; not taking vpon mee to condemne the same: But for euery priuate Fathers opinion, it bindes not my conscience more then *Bellarmines*; euery one of the Fathers vsually contradicting others. I will therefore in that case follow [1] *S. Augustines* rule in iudging of their opinions, as I finde them agree with the Scriptures: what I finde agreeable thereunto I will gladly imbrace; what is otherwise I will (with their reuerence) reiect.

[1] *Lib. 2. cont. Crescenium. cap. 32.*

As for the Scriptures; no man doubteth I will beleeue them: But euen for the *Apocrypha*; I hold them in the same accompt that the Ancients did: They are still printed and bound with our Bibles, and publikely read in our Churches: I reuerence them as the writings of holy and good men: but since they are not found in the *Canon*, wee accompt them to bee *secundæ lectionis*, or [2] *ordinis* (which is *Bellarmines* owne distinction) and therefore not sufficient whereupon alone to ground any article of Faith, except it be confirmed by some other place of Canonicall Scripture; Concluding this point with *Ruffinus* (who is no Noueliſt, I hope) That the *Apocryphall* books were by the Fathers permitted to be read; not for confirmation of Doctrine, but onely for instruction of the people.

[2] *Lib. 1. de verb. Dei. c. 4.*

As for the Saints departed, I honour their memory, and in honour of them doe we in our Church obserue the dayes of so many of them, as the Scripture doeth canonize for Saints; but I am loath to beleeue all the tales of the *Legended saints*.

And first for the blessed Virgin MARIE, I yeeld her that which the Angel *Gabriel* pronounced of her, and which in her *Canticle* shee prophecied of herselfe: that is, That [3] she is blessed amongst women, and [4] That all generations shall call her blessed. I reuerence her as the Mother of CHRIST, whom of our Sauiour tooke his flesh, and so the Mother of

[3] Luk. 1. 28.
[4] Ibid. ver. 48.

of GOD, ſince the Diuinitie and Humanitie of CHRIST are inſeparable. And I freely confeſſe, that ſhee is in glory both aboue Angels and men, her owne Sonne (that is both GOD and man) onely excepted. But I dare not mocke her and blaſpheme againſt GOD, calling her not onely *Diua* but *Dea*, and praying her to command and controule her Sonne, who is her GOD; and her SAVIOVR: Nor yet not I thinke, that ſhee hath no other thing to doe in heauen, then to heare euery idle mans ſuite, and buſie her ſelfe in their errands; whiles requeſting, whiles commanding her Sonne, whiles comming downe to kiſſe and make loue with Prieſtes, and whiles diſputing and brawling with Deuils. In heauen ſhee is in eternall glory and ioy, neuer to bee interrupted with any worldly buſineſſe; and there I leaue her with her bleſſed Sonne our SAVIOVR and hers in eternall felicitie.

As for *Prayer to Saints*; CHRIST (I am ſure) hath commanded vs to Come all to him that are loaden with ſinne, and hee will relieue vs: and *Saint Paul* hath forbidden vs to worſhip Angels; or to vſe any ſuch voluntary worſhip, that hath a ſhew of humilitie in that it ſpareth not the fleſh. But what warrant wee haue to haue recourſe vnto theſe *Dij Penates* or *Tutelares*, theſe Courtiers of GOD, I know not; I remit that to theſe Philoſophicall Neoterike Diuines. It ſatisfieth mee to pray to GOD through CHRIST as I am commanded, which I am ſure muſt be the ſafeſt way; and I am ſure the ſafeſt way is the beſt way in points of ſaluation. But if the Romiſh Church hath coined new Articles of Faith, neuer heard of in the firſt 500. yeeres after CHRIST, I hope I ſhall neuer bee condemned for an Heretike, for not being a Nouelist. Such are the *priuate Maſses*, where the Prieſt playeth the part both of the Prieſt and of the people; And ſuch are the *Amputation of the one halfe of the Sacrament* from the people; *The Tranſubſtantiation, Eleuation for Adoration*, and *Circumportation* in Proceſſion of the Sacrament; *the workes of Supererogation*, rightly named *Theſaurus Eccleſiæ*; *the Baptiſing of Bels*, and a thouſand other trickes: But aboue all, *the worſhipping of Images*. If my faith bee weake in theſe, I confeſſe I had rather beleeue too little then too much: And yet ſince I beleeue as much as the Scriptures doe warrant, the Creeds doe perſwade, and the ancient Councels decreed; I may well be a Schiſmatike from *Rome*, but I am ſure I am no Heretike.

Matt. 11. 28.

Coloſſ. 2. 8, 23.

For *Reliques of Saints*; If I had any ſuch that I were aſſured were members of their bodies, I would honourably bury them, and not giue them the reward of condemned mens members, which are onely ordeined to bee depriued of buriall: But for worſhipping either them or *Images*, I muſt account it damnable Idolatrie.

I am no *Iconomachus*; I quarrell not the making of Images, either for publike decoration, or for mens priuate vſes: But that they ſhould bee worſhipped, bee prayed to, or any holineſſe attributed vnto them, was neuer knowen of the Ancients: And the Scriptures are ſo directly, vehemently

and punctually against it, as I wonder what braine of man, or suggestion of Sathan durst offer it to Christians; and all must bee salued with nice Philosophicall distinctions: As, *Idolum nihil est*: and, They worship (forsooth) the Images of things *in being*, and the Image of the trew GOD. But the Scripture forbiddeth to worship the Image of any thing that GOD created. It was not a *nihil* then that God forbade onely to be worshipped, neither was the brasen Serpent, nor the body of *Moses* a *nihil*; and yet the one was destroyed, and the other hidden for eschewing of Idolatrie. Yea, the Image of GOD himselfe is not onely expresly forbidden to bee worshipped, but euen to bee made. The reason is giuen, That no eye euer saw GOD; and how can we paint his face, when *Moses* (the man that euer was most familiar with GOD) neuer sawe but his backe parts? Surely, since he cannot be drawen to the *viue*, it is a thankelesse labour to marre it with a false representation; which no Prince, nor scarce any other man will bee contented with in their owne pictures. Let them therefore that maintaine this doctrine, answere it to CHRIST at the latter day, when he shall accuse them of Idolatrie; And then I doubt if hee will bee payed with such nice sophisticall Distinctions.

But CHRISTS Crosse must haue a particular priuiledge (say they) and bee worshipped *ratione contactus*. But first wee must know what kinde of touching of CHRISTS body drew a vertue from it; whether euery touching, or onely touching by faith? That euery touching of his body drew not vertue from it, is more then manifest. When [1] the woman in the bloody fluxe touched him, she was healed of her faith: But *Peter* then told him that a crowd and throng of many people then touched him; and yet none of them receiued any benefite or vertue from him. *Iudas* touched him many and many a time, besides his last kisse; so did the villaines that buffeted and crucified him; and yet I may safely pronounce them accursed, that would bestow any worship vpon their reliques: yea wee cannot denie but the land of *Canaan* it selfe (whereupon our Lord did dayly tread) is so visibly accursed, beeing gouerned by faithlesse *Turkes*, full of innumerable sects of hereticall Christians, and the very fertilitie thereof so farre degenerated into a pitifull sterilitie, as hee must bee accursed that accounteth it blessed. Nay, when a certaine [2] woman blessed the belly that bare CHRIST, and the breastes that gaue him sucke; Nay, rather (saith hee) *Blessed are those that heare the Word of God, and keepe it.* Except then they could first prooue that CHRIST had resolued to blesse that tree of the Crosse whereupon hee was nailed; they can neuer proue that his touching it could giue it any vertue. And put the case it had a vertue of doing miracles, as *Peters* shadow had; yet doeth it not follow, that it is lawful to worship it, which *Peter* would neuer accept of. Surely the Prophets that in so many places curse those that worship Images, that haue eyes and see not, that haue eares and heare not, would much more haue cursed them that worship a piece of a sticke, that hath not so much as

[1] Luke 8.

[2] Luk. 11. 28.

as any resemblance or representation of eyes or eares.

As for Purgatorie and all the * trash depending thereupon, it is not worth the talking of; *Bellarmine* cannot finde any ground for it in all the Scriptures. Onely I would pray him to tell me; If that faire greene Meadow that is in Purgatorie, haue a brooke running thorow it; that in case I come there, I may haue hawking vpon it. But as for me; I am sure there is a Heauen and a Hell, *præmium & pœna*, for the Elect and reprobate: How many other roomes there be, I am not on God his counsell. *Multæ sunt mansiones in domo Patris mei*, saith CHRIST, who is the trew Purgatorie for our sinnes: But how many chambers and anti-chambers the diuell hath, they can best tell that goe to him: But in case there were more places for soules to goe to then we know of, yet let vs content vs with that which in his Word he hath reuealed vnto vs, and not inquire further into his secrets. Heauen and Hell are there reuealed to be the eternall home of all mankinde: let vs indeauour to winne the one and eschew the other; and there is an end.

*Iubilees, Indulgences, satisfactions for the dead, &c.

Lib. 2 de Purgat. cap. 7.

Iohn 14.

Now in all this discourse haue I yet left out the maine Article of the Romish faith; and that is the *Head of the Church* or *Peters Primacie*; for who denieth this, denieth *fidem Catholicam*, saith *Bellarmine*. That Bishops ought to be in the Church, I euer maintained it, as an Apostolique institution, and so the ordinance of God; contrary to the *Puritanes*, and likewise to [1] *Bellarmine*; who denies that Bishops haue their Iurisdiction immediatly from God (But it is no wonder he takes the *Puritanes* part, since *Iesuits* are nothing but *Puritan-papists*.) And as I euer maintained the state of Bishops, and the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie for order sake; so was I euer an enemie to the confused Anarchie or paritie of the *Puritanes*, as well appeareth in my ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. Heauen is gouerned by order, and all the good Angels there; nay, Hell it selfe could not subsist without some order; And the very deuils are diuided into Legions, and haue their chiefetaines: how can any societie then vpon earth, subsist without order and degrees? And therefore I cannot enough wonder with what brasen face this Answerer could say, *That I was a Puritane in Scotland, and an enemie to Protestants*: I that was persecuted by *Puritanes* there, not from my birth onely, but euen since foure moneths before my birth? I that in the yeere of God 84. erected Bishops, and depressed all their popular Paritie, I then being not 18. yeeres of aage? I that in my said Booke to my Sonne, doe speake tenne times more bitterly of them nor of the Papists; hauing in my second Edition thereof, affixed a long Apologetike Preface, onely in *odium Puritanorum?* and I that for the space of sixe yeeres before my comming into England, laboured nothing so much as to depresse their Paritie, and re-erect Bishops againe? Nay, if the dayly Commentaries of my life and actions in Scotland, were written (as *Iulius Cæsars* were) there would scarcely a moneth passe in all my life, since my entring into the 13. yeere of my aage, wherein some accident or other would not conuince the Cardinall of a Lye in this point.

[1] *Bell. lib. 4. de Rom. Pont. cap. 25.*

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And surely I giue a faire commendation to the Puritanes in that place of my booke, Where I affirme that I haue found greater honestie with the highland and border theeues, then with that sort of people. But leauing him to his owne impudence, I returne to my purpose.

Of *Bishops* and Church Hierarchie I very well allowe (as I said before) and likewise of Ranks and Degrees amongst *Bishops*. *Patriarches* (I know) were in the time of the Primitiue Church, and I likewise reuerence that Institution for order sake: and amongst them was a contention for the first place. And for my selfe (if that were yet the question) I would with all my heart giue my consent that the *Bishop* of *Rome* should haue the first Seate: I being a westerne King would goe with the *Patriarch* of the West. And for his temporall Principalitie ouer the Signory of *Rome*, I doe not quarrell it neither; let him in God his Name be *Primus Episcopus inter omnes Episcopos*, and *Princeps Episcoporum*; so it be no otherwise but as *Peter* was *Princeps Apostolorum*. But as I well allow of the Hierarchie of the Church for distinction of orders (for so I vnderstand it) so I vtterly deny that there is an earthly *Monarch* thereof, whose word must be a Law, and who cannot erre in his Sentence, by an infallibilitie of Spirit. Because earthly Kingdomes must haue earthly *Monarches*; it doeth not follow, that the Church must haue a visible *Monarch* too: for the world hath not ONE earthly temporall *Monarch*. CHRIST is his Churches *Monarch*, and the holy Ghost his Deputie: *Reges gentium dominantur eorum, vos autem non sic.* CHRIST did not promise before his ascension, to leaue *Peter* with them to direct and iustruct them in all things; but he promised to send the holy Ghost vnto them for that end.

Luke 22.25.

Iohn 14.26.

And as for these two before cited places, whereby *Bellarmine* maketh the Pope to triumph ouer Kings: I meane *Pasce oues*, and *Tibi dobo claues*: the Cardinall knowes well enough, that the same words of *Tibi dabo*, are in another place spoken by *Christ* in the plurall number. And he likewise knowes what reason the Ancients doe giue, why *Christ* bade *Pater pascere oues*: and also what a cloude of witnesses there is, both of Ancients, and euen of late Popish writers, yea diuers Cardinals, that do all agree that both these speeches vsed to *Peter*, were meant to all the Apostles represented in his person: Otherwise how could *Paul* direct the Church of *Corinth* to excommunicate the incestuous person *cum spiritu suo*, whereas he should then haue sayd, *cum spiritu Petri*? And how could all the Apostles haue otherwise vsed all their censures, onely in *Christs* Name, and neuer a word of his Vicar? *Peter* (wee reade) did in all the Apostles meetings sit amongst them as one of their number: And when chosen men were sent to *Antiochia* from that great Apostolike *Councel* at *Ierusalem* (*Acts* 15.) The text saith, It seemed good to the Apostles and Elders with the whole Church, to send chosen men, but no mention made of the Head thereof; and so in their Letters no mention is made of *Peter*, but onely of the Apostles, Elders and Brethren. And it is a wonder, why *Paul* rebuketh the Church of *Corinth*

Matth.18.18.

1.Cor.5.4.

Act.15.22,23.

Corinth for making exception of Persons, because some followed *Paul*, some *Apollos*, some *Cephas*, if *Peter* was their visible Head! for then those that followed not *Peter* or *Cephas*, renounced the Catholike faith. But it appeareth well that *Paul* knew little of our new doctrine, since he handleth *Peter* so rudely, as he not onely compareth but preferreth himselfe vnto him. But our Cardinall proues *Peters* superioritie, by *Pauls* going to visite him. Indeed *Paul* saith, hee went to *Ierusalem* to visite *Peter*, and conferre with him; but he should haue added, and to kisse his feet.

1.Cor.1.12.

Galat.2.

Galat.1.18.

To conclude then, The trweth is that *Peter* was both in aage, and in the time of CHRISTS calling him, one of the first of the Apostles; In order the principall of the first twelue, and one of the three whom CHRIST for order sake preferred to all the rest. And no further did the Bishop of *Rome* claime for three hundred yeeres after CHRIST: Subiect they were to the generall Councels, and euen but of late did the Councell of *Constance* depose three Popes, and set vp the fourth. And vntill Phocas dayes (that murthered his master) were they subiect to Emperours. But how they are now come to be *Christs* Vicars, nay, Gods on earth, triple-crowned, Kings of heauen, earth and hell, Iudges of all the world, and none to iudge them; Heads of the faith, Absolute deciders of all Controuersies by the infallibility of their spirit, hauing all power both Spirituall and Temporall in their hands; the high Bishops, Monarches of the whole earth, Superiours to all Emperours and Kings; yea, Supreme Vice-gods, who whether they will or not cannot erre: how they are now come (I say) to the toppe of greatnesse, I know not: but sure I am, Wee that are KINGS haue greatest neede to looke vnto it. As for me, *Paul* and *Peter* I know, but these men I know not: And yet to doubt of this, is to denie the Catholique faith; Nay, the world it selfe must be turned vpside downe, and the order of Nature inuerted (making the left hand to haue the place before the Right, and the last named to bee the first in honour) that this primacie may bee maintained.

Bellar. de Rom.Pont.li. 1.cap.17.

Thus haue I now made a free Confession of my Faith: And (I hope) I haue fully cleared my selfe from being an Apostate; and as farre from being an Heretike, as one may bee that beleeueth the Scriptures, and the three Creedes, and acknowledgeth the foure first generall Councels. If I bee loath to beleeue too much, especially of Nouelties, men of greater knowledge may well pitie my weakenesse; but I am sure none will condemne me for an Heretike, saue such as make the Pope their God; and thinke him such a speaking Scripture, as they can define Heresie no otherwise, but to bee whatsoeuer Opinion is maintained against the Popes definition of faith. And I will sincerely promise, that when euer any point of the Religion I professe, shalbe proued to be new, and not Ancient, Catholike, and Apostolike (I meane for matter of Faith) I will as soone renounce it; closing vp this head with the *Maxime* of *Vincentius Lirinensis*, that I will neuer refuse to imbrace any opinion in Diuinity necessary to saluation

Libello aduersus hæreses.

ſaluation, which the whole Catholike Church With an vnanime conſent, haue conſtantly taught and beleeued euen from the Apoſtles dayes, for the ſpace of many aages thereafter without any interruption. But in the Cardinals opinion, I haue ſhewed my ſelfe an Heretike (I am ſure) in playing with the name of *Babylon*, and the Towne vpon *ſeuen hilles*; as if I would inſinuate *Rome* at this preſent to be ſpiritually *Babylon*. And yet that *Rome* is called *Babylon*, both in *Saint Peters* Epiſtle, and in the *Apocalyps*, our Anſwerer freely confeſſeth. As for the definition of the *Antichriſt*, I will not vrge ſo obſcure a point, as a matter of Faith to bee neceſſarily beleeued of all Chriſtians; but what I thinke herein, I will ſimply declare.

1.Pet.5.13.

That there muſt be an *Antichriſt*, and in his time a generall Defection; wee all agree. But the *Time*, *Seat*, and *Perſon* of this *Antichriſt*, are the chiefe Queſtions whereupon wee differ: and for that we muſt ſearch the Scriptures for our reſolution. As for my opinion; I thinke S. *Paul* in the 2. to the *Theſſalonians* doeth vtter more clearely that which *Saint Iohn* ſpeaketh more myſtically of the *Antichriſt*.

2.Theſ.2.

Firſt, that in that place hee meaneth the *Antichriſt*, it is plaine, ſince hee ſaith, *There muſt bee firſt a Defection*; and that in the *Antichriſts* time onely that eclipſe of Defection muſt fall vpon the Church, all the *Romiſh Catholikes* are ſtrong enough: otherwiſe their Church muſt be daily ſubiect to erre, which is cleane contrary to their maine doctrine. Then deſcribing him (hee ſaith) that *The man of Sinne*, *Filius perditionis*, *ſhall exalt himſelfe aboue all that is called God*. But who theſe be whom of the *Pſalmiſt* ſaith *Dixi vos Dij eſtis*, *Bellarmine* can tell. In old Diuinitie it was wont to bee *Kings*; *Bellarmine* will adde *Churchmen*; Let it bee both. It is well enough knowen, who now exalteth himſelfe aboue both the ſwords.

Verſe 3. Verſe 3,4. Pſal.82.6.

And after that S. *Paul* hath thus deſcribed the *Perſon*, he next deſcribeth the *Seat*, and telleth that *He ſhall ſit in the Temple of God*, that is, the boſome of the Church; yea, in the very heart thereof. Now where this Apoſtolike Seat is, I leaue to bee gueſſed: And likewiſe who it is that ſitting there, ſheweth himſelfe to be GOD; pardoning ſinnes, redeeming ſoules, and defining Faith, controlling and iudging all men, and to be iudged of none.

2.Theſſ.2.4.

Anent the *Time*, *S. Paul* is plaineſt of all: For hee calleth the *Theſſalonians* to memorie, *That when hee was with them, hee told them theſe things*; and therefore *they know* (ſaith hee) *what the impediment was*, *and who did withhold that the man of Sinne was not reuealed*, although *the myſterie of iniquitie was already working*. That the Romane Emperours in *Saint Pauls* time needed no reuealing to the Chriſtians to bee men of Sinne or ſinfull men, no childe doubteth: but the reuelation hee ſpeaketh of was a *myſterie*, a *ſecret*; It ſhould therefore ſeeme that hee durſt not publiſh in his Epiſtle what that impediment was. It may be he meant by the tranſlating of the Seat of the *Romane* Empire, and that the tranſlation thereof ſhould leaue a roume for the man of *Sinne* to ſit downe in. And that he meant not *that man of Sinne* of theſe Ethnicke Emperours in his time, his introduction to this

Verſe 5. Verſe 6. Verſe 7.

this discourse maketh it more then manifest. For he saith (fearing they should be deceiued, thinking the day of the Lords second comming to bee at hand) he hath therefore thought good to forewarne them that this generall Defection must first come: Whereby it well appeareth that hee could not meane by the present time but by a future, and that a good long time; otherwise he proued ill his argument, that the Lords comming was not at hand. Neither can the forme of the Destruction of this man of *Sinne* agree with that maner of spoile, that the *Gothes* and *Vandals* made of * *Ethnick Rome*: For our Apostle saith, [1] *That this wicked man shall bee consumed by the Spirit of the Lords mouth, and abolished by his comming.* Now I would thinke that the word of God and the Preaching thereof, should be meant *by the Spirit of the Lords mouth*, which should peece and peece consume and diminish the power of that man of Sinne, till the brightnes of the Lords second comming should vtterly abolish him. And by his expressing the meanes of his working, he doeth likewise (in my opinion) explane his meaning very much: For he saith, *It shall be by a strong delusion, by lying wonders, &c.* Well, what Church it is that vanteth them of their innumerable miracles, and yet most of them contrary to their owne doctrine; *Bellarmine* can best tell you with his hungry Mare, that turned her taile to her prouender and kneeled to the Sacrament: And yet (I am sure) he will be ashamed to say, that the holy Sacrament is ordained to be worshipped by *Oues & Boues, & cætera pecora campi.*

* For so doeth *Tortus* call *Rome* when it was spoiled by them, though it was Christian many yeres before.

1 Verse 8.

Verse.8.9.

Bellar.lib.3.de Eucharist.cap.8

Thus haue I prooued out of *S.Paul* now, that the time of the Antichrists comming, and the generall Defection was not to be till long after the time that he wrote in; That his Seat was to be in the Temple and Church of God; and, That his Action (which can best point at his Person) should be to *Exalt himselfe aboue all that were called Gods. S. Iohn* indeed doth more amply, though mystically describe this Antichrist, which vnder the figure of a monstrous Beast, with seuen heads and ten hornes, he sets forth in the xiij.chap. and then interpreteth in the xvij. where hee calles her a *Whore sitting vpon many waters*, and *riding vpon the sayd monstrous Beast*; concluding that chapter with calling that Woman, *that great City which reigneth ouer the Kings of the earth.* And both in that Chapter, and in the beginning of the next he calles that great Citie, *Babylon.*

Reuel.17.v.1.
Vers.3.
Vers 18.
Vers.5.
Cap.18.v.2.

So as to continue herein my formerly purposed Methode, of the Time, Seat, and Person of Antichrist; this place doth clearely and vndenyably declare that *Rome* is, or shalbe the Seat of that Antichrist. For first, no Papist now denieth that by *Babylon* here *Rome* is directly meant; and that this Woman is the Antichrist, doeth clearely appeare by the time of his working (described by 42. moneths in the xiij.Chap.) which doeth iustly agree with that three yeeres and a halfes time, which all the Papists giue to the Reigne of Antichrist. Besides that, the Beast it selfe with seuen heads and tenne hornes, hauing one of her heads wounded and healed againe, is described iust alike in the xiij. and xvij.Chap. being in the former prooued to

Vers.5.

to be the *Antichrist* by the time of her reigne; and in the latter *Rome* by the name of *Babylon*, by the confession of all the Papists; So as one point is now cleare, that *Rome* is the *Seat* of the *Antichrist*.

Neither will that place in the eleuenth Chapter serue to shift off this point, and proue the *Antichrists Seat* to bee in *Ierusalem*; where it is saide; *That the Corpses of the Witnesses shall lie in the great City, spiritually Sodome and Egypt, where our Lord also was crucified.* For the word *spiritually* is applied both to *Sodome*, *Egypt* and *Ierusalem* in that place; And when hee hath named *Sodome* and *Egypt*, hee doeth not subioyne *Ierusalem* with a single *vbi*; but with an *vbi &*, as if hee would say; and this *Antichrists* abomination shall bee so great, as his Seate shall bee as full of Spirituall whoredomes and Idolatries, as *Sodome* and *Egypt* was; nay, and so bloody in the persecution of the Saints, as our Lord shall be crucified againe in his members. And who hath so meanely read the Scriptures (if he haue euer read them at all) that knoweth it not to be a common phrase in them, to call CHRIST persecuted and slaine, when his Saints are so vsed? So did CHRIST say, speaking of the latter day; and in the same style did hee speake to *S. Paul* at his conuersion. And that *Babylon*, or *Rome* (since *Bellarmine* is contented it bee so called) is that great Citie where our Lord was crucified, the last verse of the xviij. Chap. doeth also clearely proue it: For there it is said, That *in that City was found the blood of the Prophets, and of the Saints, and of all that were slaine vpon the earth*; and I hope CHRIST was one of them that were slaine vpon the earth. And besides that it may well bee said that hee was slaine in that great Citie *Babylon*, since by the *Romane* authoritie hee was put to death, vnder a *Romane* Iudge, and for a *Romane* quarrell: for he could not be a friend to *Cæsar*, that was not his enemie.

Chap. 11. 8.

Matt. 25. 40.

Acts 9. 4.

Reuel. 18. 24.

This point now being cleared of the *Antichrists Seate*, as I haue already sayd; we are next to find out the *Time* when the *Antichrist* shall reigne, if it be not already come. In the xiij. Chapter *S. Iohn* saith, that this Beast with the seuen heads and tenne hornes, *had one of his heads wounded and healed againe*; and interpreting that in the xvij. he saith, that *these seuen heads are also seuen Kings, whereof fiue are fallen, one is, and an other is not yet come, and when hee commeth hee shall continue a short space. And the Beast that was and is not, is the eight, and yet one of the seuen.* By which Beast hee meaneth the *Antichrist*, who was not then come, I meane in the Apostles dayes, but was to come after. So as betweene the time of the Apostles and the ende of the worlde, must the *Time* of the *Antichrists* comming be; and with this the Papists doe also agree. Whereby it appeareth that *Babylon*, which is *Rome*, shall bee the *Seate* of the *Antichrist*; but not that *Ethnicke Rome* which was in the Apostles dayes (for *Iohn* himselfe professeth that hee is to write of nothing, but that which is to come after his time.) Nor yet that turning *Christian Rome* while shee was in the conuerting, which immediatly followed the Apostles time, glorious by the Martyrdome of so many godly Bishops:

Cha. 13. 3.

Chap. 17. 10.

Verse 11.

Reuel. 1. 1. & chap. 4. 1.

Bishops: But that *Antichristian Rome*, when as the Antichrist shal set downe his seat there, after that by the working of that Mysterie of iniquitie, *Christian Rome* shall become to be corrupted; and so that deadly wound, which the *Gothes* and *Vandales* gaue Rome, shall bee cured in that Head or King, the *Antichrist*, who thereafter shall arise and reigne for a long space.

But here it may bee obiected, that the *Antichrist* cannot reigne a long space; since S. *Iohn* saith in two or three sundry places, that the *Antichrist* shall worke but the space of three yeeres and a halfe. Surely who will but a little acquaint himselfe with the phrases and Stile of S. *Iohn* in his *Apocalyps*, shall finde that he doth ordinarily set downe *numerum certum pro incerto.* So doeth hee in his twelue thousand of euery Tribe that will bee safe; so doeth he in his Armie of two hundred thousand, that were sent to kill the third part of the men; and so doeth he in diuers other places. And therefore who will but remember that in all his Visions in the said Booke, hee directly imitates the fashions of the Prophet *Ezekiels*, *Daniels*, and *Zacharies* Visions (borrowing their phrases that prophecied before CHRIST, to vtter his Prophecies in, that was to speake of the last dayes) shall finde it very probable that in these three dayes and a halfe, hee imitated *Daniels* Weekes, accounting for his Weeke the time betweene CHRISTS first and second comming, and making *Antichrist* to triumph the halfe of that time or spirituall Weeke. For as to that literall interpretation (as all the Papists make it) of three yeeres and a halfe, and that time to fall out directly the very last dayes, saue fiue and fourtie, before CHRIST his second comming, it is directly repugnant to the whole New TESTAMENT. For CHRIST saith, That in the latter dayes men shall be feasting, marrying, and at all such worldly businesse, when the last houre shall come in a clap vpon them; One shall be at the Mill; One vpon the top of the house, and so foorth. CHRIST telleth a Parable of the fiue foolish Virgins, to shew the vnlooked-for comming of this houre; Nay, hee saith, the Sonne of man, nor the Angels in heauen know not this time. S. *Peter* biddeth vs WATCH AND PRAY, euer awaiting vpon that houre. And S. *Iohn* in this same *Apocalyps* doeth [1] twise tell vs, that CHRIST will come as a thiefe in the night; And so doeth CHRIST say in the [2] *Euangel.* Whereas if the *Antichrist* shall reigne three yeeres and a halfe before the Latter day, and that there shall bee but iust fourtie fiue dayes of time after his destruction; then shall not the iust day and houre of the Latter day, bee vnknowne to them that shall be aliue in the world, at the time of *Antichrists* destruction. For first according to the Papists doctrine, all the world shall know him to be the *Antichrist*, both by the two Witnesses doctrine, and his sudden destruction; And consequently they cannot be ignorant, that the Latter day shall come iust fourtie fiue dayes after: and so CHRIST shall not come as a thiefe, nor the world bee taken at vnawares; contrary to all the Scriptures before alleadged, and many more. And thus haue we proued Rome to be the Seat of the *Antichrist*, and the second halfe of that spirituall

Chap.7.
Chap.9.16, 18.

Matth.24.41.
Matth.25.

[1] Reuel.3.3. and 16.15.
[2] Matth.24. 44.

rituall Weeke betweene the first and second comming of CHRIST, to be the time of his Reigne: For in the first halfe thereof the mysterie of iniquitie began to worke; but the man of Sinne was not yet reuealed.

But who these Witnesses should be, is a great question. The generall conceit of the Papists is, that it must bee *Enoch* and *Elias*. And heerein is *Bellarmine* so strong, as hee thinketh him in a great errour (if not an Heretike) that doubteth of it. But the vanitie of the Iewish fable I will in few words discouer.

Bellar. de Rom. Pont. lib.3. cap.6.

The Cardinall, in his booke of Controuersies, bringeth foure places of Scripture for probation of this idle dreame: two in the Old Testament, *Malachie* and *Ecclesiasticus*, and two in the New, CHRIST in *Matthew* (hee might haue added *Marke* too) and *Iohn* in the xj. of the *Apocalyps*. First, for the generall of all those places, I dare boldly affirme, That there is not a word in them, nor in all the rest of the Scriptures that saith, that either *Enoch* or *Elias* shall returne to fight against *Antichrist*, and shall bee slaine by him, nor any such like matter. Next as to euery place in particular, to begin with *Malachie*, I know not who can better interpret him then CHRIST, who twise in *Matthew*, Chap.xj. and xvij. and once in *Marke*, tels both the multitude, and his owne Disciples, that *Iohn Baptist* was that promised *Elias*. And heerein doeth *Bellarmine* deale most vnfaithfully with CHRIST: for in his demonstration that *Antichrist* is not yet come, because *Enoch* and *Elias* are not yet returned; hee for his probation thereof, citeth these wordes of CHRIST in the xvij of *Matthew*, *Elias shall indeed come, and restore all things*; but omits his very next wordes interpreting the same, *That hee is already come*, in the person of *Iohn Baptist*. Nay, whereby hee taketh vpon him to answere *Bibliander*s obiection, that CHRIST did by *Iohn* the *Baptist*, vnderstand the prophecie of *Elias* comming to be accomplished, he picketh out the words, *Qui habet aures, audiat*, in the xj. of *Matthew*, immediatly following that purpose of *Elias*, making of them a great mysterie: and neuer taketh knowledge, that in the xvij. by himselfe before alleaged, CHRIST doeth interpret *Malachie* in the same maner without any subioyning of these words, *Qui habet aures, audiat*; adioyning shamelesly hereunto a foule Paraphrase of his owne, telling vs what CHRIST would haue said; nay, in my conscience, he meant what CHRIST should and ought to haue said, if he had bene a good Catholike, setting downe there a glosse of *Orleance* that destroyes the Text. Thus ye see: how shamefully he abuseth CHRISTS words, who in three sundry places (as I haue said) interpreteth the second comming of *Elias* to be meant by *Iohn* the *Baptist*. He likewise cauils most dishonestly vpon that word *Venturus*. For CHRIST vseth that word but in the repeating their opinion: but interpreting it that he was already come, in the *person of Iohn Baptist*. As if hee had said, The prophecie is indeed trew that *Elias* shall come; but I say vnto you, that *Elias iam venit*, meaning of *Iohn Baptist*: and so he first repeats the words of the prophecie in the future time, as the

Matt.11.14. and 17.12. Mar.9.13.

Matt.17.11.

Prophet

Prophet ſpake them; and next ſheweth them to be now accompliſhed in the perſon of *Iohn*, in the preſent time. Neither can theſe words of *Malachie* [*Dies magnus & horribilis*] falſifie CHRISTS Commentarie vpon him. For if that day whereupon the Sauiour of the world ſuffered, when the [1] Sunne was totally obſcured from the ſixt houre to the ninth; the Vaile of the Temple rent aſunder from the top to the bottome; and the earth did quake, the ſtones were clouen, the graues did open themſelues, and the dead aroſe: If that day (I ſay) was not a great and horrible day, I know not what to call a horrible day. Which day no doubt had deſtroyed the whole nation of the *Iewes* without exception by a iuſt *Anatheme*, if the ſaid *Iohn* the fore-runner had not firſt conuerted many by the doctrine of *Repentance* and by *Baptiſme*. But why ſhould I preſume any more to interprete *Malachie*, ſince it is ſufficient that CHRIST himſelfe hath interpreted him ſo? And ſince *Ipſe dixit*; nay, *ter dixit, per quem facta ſunt omnia*, what mortall man dare interprete him otherwiſe; nay, directly contrary?

Malach.4.5. Matth.27.

[1] This obſcuring of the Sunne was ſo extraordinary and fearefull, that *Dionyſius*, onely led by the light of Nature and humane learning, cried out at the ſight thereof, *Aut Deus patitur; aut vices patientis dolet.* Mala.4.6.

Now for that place of *Eccleſiaſticus*; as the ſon of *Sirach* onely borroweth it from *Malachie* (as appeareth by theſe words of his, of *conuerting the ſonnes hearts to their fathers*, which are *Malachies* own words) ſo doth CHRISTS Cõmentary ſerue as well to interprete the one as the other: it being no ſhame for that mortal *Ieſus*, to be commented & interpreted by the immortall and trew IESVS, though to the ſhame & confuſion of the *Ieſuits* hereſies herein.

Ecclus.48.8. Mala.4.6.

But *Enoch* muſt be ioyned to *Elias* in this errand, onely to beare vp the couples, as I thinke. For no place of Scripture ſpeaketh of his returning againe, onely it is ſaid in *Eccleſiaſticus* the 44. that *Enoch* pleaſed GOD, and was tranſlated to *Paradiſe, vt daret Gentibus ſapientiam*, or *pœnitentiam*; ſince they will haue it ſo. And what is this to ſay? marry that *Enoch* ſhall returne againe to this world, and fight againſt the *Antichriſt*. A prettie large Comment indeed, but no right Commentary vpon that Text. When *Bellarmine* was talking of *Eliias*; he inſiſted, That *Elias* muſt come to conuert the *Iewes* principally, *reſtituere tribus Iacob*. But when he ſpeaketh here of *Enoch*, he muſt *dare Gentibus pœnitentiam*, and not a word of *Iewes*. Belike they ſhall come for ſundry errands, and not both for one: Or like *Paul* and *Peter*, the one ſhall be Apoſtle for the *Iewes*, and the other for the *Gentiles*. What need ſuch wilde racked Commentaries for ſuch three wordes? Will not the ſenſe ſtand well and clearely enough, that *Enoch* pleaſed GOD, and was tranſlated to *Paradiſe*; that by the example of his reward, the Nations might repent and imitate his Holy footſteps? For what could more mightily perſwade the Nations to repent; then by letting them ſee that holy Man carried quicke vp to Heauen, for reward of his vprightneſſe; whereas all the reſt of the people died and went to corruption? And where Scripture faileth, the Cardinall muſt helpe himſelfe with the Fathers, to prooue both that *Enoch* and *Elias* are yet aliue, and that they ſhall hereafter die; but with the like felicitie, as in his alledging of Scriptures; to vſe his owne words of mee in his [2] pamphlet: For which purpoſe he

Ecclus.44.16.

[2] Pag.27.

he citeth fiue Fathers; *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Epiphanius*, *Hierome* and *Augustine*. Vpon this they all agree in deed, that *Enoch* and *Elias* are still aliue both, which no Christian (I hope) will denie: For *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Iacob* are all still aliue, as CHRIST telleth vs; for God is *Deus viuentium, non mortuorum*. Much more then are *Enoch* and *Elias* aliue, who neuer tasted of death after the maner of other men. But as to the next point, that they should die hereafter, his first two witnesses, *Irenæus* and *Tertullian* say the direct contrary: For *Irenæus* saith, that they shall remaine in *Paradise*, till the consummation, *conspicantes incorruptionem*. Now to remaine there till the consummation, and to see incorruption, is directly contrary to their returning to the world againe and suffering of death. *Tertullian* likewise agreeing hereunto, saith most clearely, That *Enoch* hath neuer tasted of death, *vt æternitatis candidatus:* now he is ill priuiledged with eternitie, if he must die againe. As for his places cited out of the other three Fathers, they all confirme that first point, That they are stil aliue: but that they must die again, they make no mention.

Matt. 22, 32.

Lib. 5.

Lib. cont. Iudæos, cap. 2.

But he speaking of the *Ancient Fathers*, let mee take this occasion to forewarne you concerning them: That though they mistake and vnderstand not rightly many mysteries in the *Apocalyps*, it is no wonder: For the booke thereof, was still sealed in their dayes. And though *the mysterie of iniquitie* was already working, yet was not *the man of Sinne* yet reuealed. And it is a certaine rule in all darke prophecies; That they are neuer clearely vnderstood, till they be accomplished.

2. Thess. 2.

And thus hauing answered his two places, in the Old *Testament*, by his third in the New *Testament*, conteining *Christs* owne words: which being *luce clariora*, I need speake no more of them. I am now to speake of the fourth place of Scripture, which is in the xj. of the *Apocalyps*: For the two Witnesses (forsooth) there mentioned, must be *Enoch* and *Elias*. But how this can stand with any point of Diuinitie or likelihood of reason, that these two glorified Bodies shall come downe out of heauen or Paradise, (make it what you will) preach, and fight against the *Antichrist*, bee slaine by him after many thousand yeeres exempted from the naturall course of death, rise againe the third day in imitation of CHRIST, and then (hauing wrought many wonders) to goe vp againe to Heauen, making an ordinary Poste betwixt Heauen and Earth: how this (I say) can agree either with Diuinitie or good Reason, I confesse it passeth my capacitie. And especially that they must be clad in Sackcloth, whose bodies (I hope) haue bene so long agone free from sinne, as I thinke they shall neede no more such maceration for sinne: For they must be now either in Heauen or *Paradise*: If in heauen, (as doubtlesse they are) their bodies must bee glorified; for no corruptible thing can enter there; and consequently they can no more bee subiect to the sensible things of this world, especially to death: But if they be in earthly *Paradise*, we must first know where it is.

Reuelat. 11.

Reuel. 21. 27.

Bellarmine indeed in his Controuersies is much troubled to finde out the place where *Paradise* is, and whether it bee in the earth, or in the ayre. But

Lib de Grat. primi hominis.

But these are all vanities. The Scriptures tell vs; that *Paradise* and the garden of *Eden* therein, was a certaine place vpon the earth, which GOD chose out to set *Adam* into, and hauing thereafter for his sinne banished him from the same, it is a blasphemie to thinke that any of *Adams* posteritie came euer there againe. For in *Adam* were all his posteritie accursed, and banished from the earthly *Paradise*: like as all the earth in generall, and *Paradise* in speciall were accursed in him; the second *Adam* hauing by grace, called a certaine number of them to bee Coheritours with him of the heauenly *Paradise* and *Ierusalem*. And doubtlesly, the earthly *Paradise* was defaced at the Flood, if not before: and so lost all that exquisite fertilitie and pleasantnesse, wherein it once surpassed all the rest of the earth. And that it should be lifted vp in the ayre, is like one of the dreames of the *Alcoran*. Surely no such miracle is mentioned in the Scriptures, and hath no ground but from the curious fancies of some boyling braines, who cannot be content, *Sapere ad sobrietatem*.

Gen.2.

Rom.12.3.

In heauen then for certaine are *Enoch* and *Elias*: for *Enoch* (saith the Text) walked with GOD, and was taken vp, and *Elias* was seene caried vp to heauen in a fierie chariot. And that they who haue beene the In-dwellers of Heauen these many thousand yeeres, and are freed from the Lawes of mortalitie; that these glorious and incorruptible bodies (I say) shall come in the world againe, preach and worke miracles, and fighting against the *Antichrist* be slaine by him, whom naturall death could not before take hold of: as it is a fabulous inuention, so is it quite contrary to the nature of such sanctified creatures. Especially I wonder, why *Enoch* should bee thought to bee one of these two Witnesses for CHRIST: For it was *Moses* and *Elias* that were with CHRIST, at the transfiguration; signifying the Law and the Prophets: which would be the fittest witnesses for conuincing of *Antichrist*. But why they haue exempted *Moses*, and put *Enochs* head in the yoake, I cannot conceiue. So as I haue too much laboured in the refuting of this foolish, and indeed childish fable; which I am so farre from beleeuing in any sort, as I protest in GODS presence, I cannot hold any learned Diuine (in our aage now) to be a Christian, that will beleeue it; but worthy to bee ranked with the Scribes and Pharises, that raued and dreamed vpon the comming againe of *Elias*, though CHRIST told them the contrary. As for some of the Ancients that mistooke this matter, I doe not censure them so hardly; for the reason that I haue already alleaged concerning them.

Gen 5.24. 2.King.2.10, 11.

And hauing now refuted that idle fable; that those two Witnesses were *Enoch* and *Elias*: it falleth mee next to guesse, what in my opinion should bee meant by them. I confesse, it is farre easier to refute such a groundlesse fable as this is, contrary to all grounds of Diuinitie and Reason; then to set downe a trew interpretation of so high and darke a Mistery. And therefore as I will not presume to bind any other man to my opinion herein, if his owne reason leade him not thereunto; so shall I propone such probable coniectures, as (I hope) shall be free from Heresie, or vnlawfull curiositie.

In two diuers fashions may the Mysterie of these Witnesses be lawfully and probably interpreted, in my opinion. Whereof the one is, that by these two Witnesses should be meant the Old and New Testaments: For as the *Antichrist* cannot chuse but bee an aduersary to the Word of GOD aboue all things; so will hee omit no endeuour to disgrace, corrupt, suppresse and destroy the same. And now whether this Booke of the two Testaments, or two Witnesses of CHRIST, haue suffered any violence by the *Babylonian Monarchie* or not; I need say nothing; *Res ipsa loquitur.* I will not weary you with recounting those Common Places vsed for disgracing it: as calling it a *Nose of waxe*, a *dead Letter*, a *leaden Rule*, a hundreth such like phrases of reproch. But how farre the Traditions of men, and authoritie of the Church are preferred to these Witnesses, doeth sufficiently appeare in the *Babylonian* doctrine. And if there were no more but that little booke, with that prettie Inscription, *De l'Insuffisance de l'Escriture Sainte*; it is enough to proue it.

Cardinall Peron.

And as to the corrupting therof; the corruptions of the old Latine transltion must not be corrected, though it bid *euertere domum* in stead of *euerrere*, for seeking of a penie; and though it say of *Iohn*, *Sic eum volo manere donec veniam*, in place of *Si*, though it be knowne a plaine Lie, and that the very next words of the Text disproue the same. Nay, so farre must wee be from correcting it, as that the Vulgar Translation must be preferred by Catholikes, to the Bible in the owne Originall tongue. And is it a small corrupting of Scriptures to make all, or the most part of the *Apocrypha* of equall faith with the *Canonicall* Scriptures, contrary to the Fathers opinions and Decrees of ancient Councels? And what blasphemous corrupting of Scripture is it, to turne *Dominus* into *Domina* throughout the whole Psalmes? And thus our Ladies Psalter was lately reprinted in *Paris*. Is not this to confound CHRISTS person with hers? And as for suppressing of the Scriptures; how many hundreth yeeres were the people kept in such blindenes, as these Witnesses were almost vnknowne? for the Layicks durst not, being forbidden, and the most part of the Cleargie, either would or could not meddle with them.

Luke 15. 8.

Iohn 21. 22, 23.

Made by *Bonauentura Doctor Seraphicus.*

Thus were these two Witnesses of CHRIST, (whom of himselfe saith, *Scrutamini Scripturas, illæ enim testimonium perhibent de me*) These [1]two Oliues bringing peace to all the beleeuers, euen peace of Conscience: These [2]two Candlesticks standing in the sight of GOD, and giuing light to the Nations; represented by Candlesticks euen in the very order of the *Roman Masse*: Thus were these two Witnesses (I say) disgraced, corrupted and suppressed (nay, so suppressed and silenced, as he was brent for an Heretike that durst presume to looke vpon them) kept close in a strange tongue, that they might not be vnderstood, *Legends* and lying wonders supplying their place in the Pulpits. And so did their *Bodies lie in the streets of the great Citie, spiritually Sodome*, for spiritual fornication which is idolatrie; *spiritually Egypt*, for bringing the Saints of God in bõdage of humane traditions [*Quare onerami*

Iohn 5. 39.
[1] Reuel. 11. 4.
[2] Ibid.

See *Expositio Missæ*, annexed to *Ordo Romanus*, set forth by *G. Cassander.*

Verse 8.

Coloss. 2. 20.

ramini ritibus.] So did *their bodies* (I ſay) *lie 3.dayes and a halfe*; that is, the halfe of that ſpirituall Weeke betweene CHRIST his firſt and ſecond comming; and as dead carkaſes indeed did the Scriptures then lye without a monument, being layed open to all contempt, cared for almoſt by none, vnderſtood by as few; nay, no man durſt call for them for feare of puniſhment, as I haue already ſaid. And thus lying dead, as it were, without life or vigour (as the Law of GOD did till it was reuiued in *Ioſias* time) The *Inhabitants of the earth*, that is, worldly men *reioyced and ſent gifts to other*, for ioy that their fleſhly libertie was now no more awed, nor curbed by that two edged ſword, for they were now ſure, that do what they would, their purſe would procure them pardons from *Babylon. Omnia vænalia Romæ*; ſo as men needed no more to looke vp to heauen, but downe to their purſes to finde Pardons. Nay, what needed any more ſuing to heauen, or taking it by violence and feruencie of zeale; when the Pardons came and offered themſelues at euery mans doores? And diuers ſpirituall men vanted themſelues, that *they neither vnderſtood Old Teſtament nor New.*

Verſe 8.

2.Chro.34. 14.

Verſe 10.

Thus were theſe 2.*Witneſſes* vſed in the ſecond halfe of this *ſpiritual weeke*; who in the firſt halfe therof *were clad in ſackcloth*; that is, preached repentance to all nations, for the ſpace of 500. or 600. yeres after *Chriſt*: God making his *Word* or *Witnes* ſo triumph, riding vpō the *white horſe* in the time of the *Primitiue* Church, as that they ouercame al that oppoſed themſelues vnto it, beating downe euery high thing, as *Paul* ſaith; excluding frō heauen al that beleeue not therein: as ſtrongly with the ſpiritual fire thereof, conuincing the ſtif-necked pride of vnbeleeuers, as euer *Moſes* or *Elias* did, by the plagues of *Egypt* and famine, cōuince the rebellious *Egyptians* and ſtif-necked *Iſraelites*.

Verſe 3.

Reuel.6.2.

2.Cor.10.4.

Neither ſhall it be enough to diſgrace, corrupt and ſuppreſſe them; but *Killed muſt they be* at the laſt. To which purpoſe commeth forth[1] *Cēnſura generalis, vt mucrone cenſorio iugulare eas poſſit*; and cutteth their throats indeed: For the author ordaineth al tranſlations, but their owne to be burnt, which is yet cōmonly practiſed: nay he profeſſeth, he commeth not to correct but to deſtroy them, controlling and calling euery place of Scripture *Heretical*, that diſagreeth frō their Traditions (with almoſt as many foule words and railing epithetes, as the *Cardinal* beſtoweth on my *Apologie*) not ruling, nor interpreting Scripture by Scripture, but making their Traditiōs to be ſuch a touchſtone for it, as he condemneth of *Hereſie*, not onely thoſe places of Scripture that he citeth, but layeth the ſame general condemnation vpon al other the like places wherefoeuer they be written in the Scriptures. And yet (praiſed be God) we beginne now with our eyes, as our predeceſſors haue done in ſome aages before, to ſee theſe *Witneſſes* riſe againe, and ſhine in their former glory: GOD, as it were, *ſetting them vp againe vpon their feete*, and *raiſing them to the Heauens* in a triumphall cloud of glory, like *Elias* his fiery chariot. Which exalting of the Goſpel againe, hath bred ſuch *an earthquake* and alteration amongſt many Nations; as *a tenth part*, or a good portion of theſe that were in ſubiection to *that Great Citie*, to

Reuel.11.7.

[1] Printed at Venice. Anno 1562.

Verſe 11. 12.

13.

to wit, *Babylon*, are fallen from her; *Seuen thousand*, that is, many thousands *hauing bene killed* vpon the occasion of that great alteration; and many other conuerted to the feare of GOD, *and giuing glory to the God of heauen.* This now is one of the wayes, by which (I thinke) this place of Scripture may be lawfully and probably interpreted.

The other is more common, and seemeth more literally to agree with the Text. And this is to interpret, not the *word of God*, but the *Preachers thereof* to bee meant by these *Witnesses.* Few they were that first began to reueale the man of *Sinne*, and discouer his corruptions; and therefore well
Deut.19.15. described by the number of *two Witnesses: Nam in ore duorum aut trium testium stabit omne verbum.* And in no greater number were they that began this worke, then the greatnesse of the errand did necessarily require. They
Reuel.11.3. *prophesied in sackecloth*, for they preached repentance. That diuers of them were put to cruell deaths, is notorious to the world: And likewise that (in the persons of their Successours in doctrine) [1] *they rose againe*; and that in such power and efficacie, as is more then miraculous: For where it is accounted in the Scriptures a miraculous worke of GOD wrought by his holy Spirit, When the Apostle *Saint Peter* conuerted about three thousand in one day; these *Witnesses* I speake of, by the force of the same Spirit, conuerted many mightie Nations in few yeeres, who still continue praising GOD, that hee hath deliuered vs from the tyrannie of Antichrist, that reigneth ouer that great Citie; and with a full crie proclaiming, *Goe*
Reuel.18.4. *out of her my people, lest yee bee partaker of her sinnes and of her plagues.* Let therefore these Miracle-mongers that surfeit the world, and raise the price of paper daily, with setting foorth old, though new gilded Miracles and Legends of lies; Let such (I say) consider of this great and wonderfull Miracle indeed, and to their shame, compare it with their paultry wares. Thus hauing in two fashions deliuered my coniecture, what I take to bee meant by these two *Witnesses* in the xj. of the *Apocalyps*, there beeing no great difference betweene them: In the one, taking it to bee the Word of GOD itselfe; In the other, the Word of God too, but in the mouthes of his Preachers: It resteth now that I come to the *third* point of the description of *Antichrist*; which is anent his *Person.*

[1] *Sanguis Martyrum est semen Ecclesiæ.* Verse 11.

Actes 2.41.

That by the Whore of Babylon that rideth vpon the Beast, is meant a Seate of an Empire, and a successiue number of men sitting thereupon, and not any one man; doeth well appeare by the forme of the description
Cap.xvij. of the *Antichrist* thorowout all the said Booke. For in the last verse of the
Verse 18. xvij. Chapter, the *Woman* is expounded to bee, *That great Citie that reigneth ouer the Kings of the earth*; which cannot signifie the onely Person of one man, but a successiue number of men (as I haue already said) whose Seat
Verse.9. that great Citie must be: like as in the same Chapter, *The seuen heads of the Beast* are two wayes expounded. First, they are called *seuen Hils*, which is plaine; and next they are called *seuen Kings*, which cannot bee meant by
Verse 13. the Kings *that shall giue their power to the Beast*, and bee subiect vnto her, which

which is immediatly after expressed by *the tenne hornes*: But rather appeareth to be those seuen formes of gouernment of that Seat: fiue of which had already beene and fallen; As *Kings*, *Consuls*, *Dictators*, *Decemuiri* and *Tribuni militum.* The sixt was in the time of *S.Iohn* his writing of this booke, which was the *Gouernement of the Emperour.* The seuenth which was not yet come, and was to last but for a short space, was the [1] *Ecclesiasticall gouernment by Bishops*, which was not come vpon the translation of the Empire from *Rome* to *Constantinople*; though their gouernment was in a manner substitute to the Emperours: For though that forme of Gouernement lasted about the space of 276. yeeres; yet was it but short in comparison of the long time of the reigne of the *Antichrist* (not yet expired) which succeeded immediatly thereunto. And the eight, which is the *Beast that was and is not, and is to goe to perdition*, is the ANTICHRIST: the eight forme of Gouernment indeed by his absoluteness, and yet the seuenth, because hee seemeth but to succeed to the Bishop in an Ecclesiasticall forme of Gouernement, though by his greatnesse hee shall make *Babylons* Empire in glory, like to that magnificence wherein that great Citie triumphed, when it most flourished: which in *Saint Iohns* time was much decayed, by the factions of the great men, the mutinies of the armies, and the vnworthines of the Emperours. And so that flourishing state of that great Citie or Beast, which it was in before *S. Iohns* time, and being much [2] decayed was but *in a maner* in his time, should be restored vnto it againe by *Antichrist*: who as he ascendeth out of *the bottomlesse pit*, so must he goe *to Destruction.* And likewise by that great lamentation that is made for the destruction of *Babylon* in the eighteenth Chapter, both by the Kings, and by the Merchants of the earth; where it is thrice repeated for aggrauating the pitie of her desolation, that *That great Citie fell in an houre*: By that great lamentation (I say) it well appeareth, That the raigne of *Antichrist* must continue longer then three yeeres and a halfe, or any one mans time: For the Kings that had committed fornication with her, *& in delicijs vixerant*; behoued to haue had a longer time for contracting of that great acquaintance: And the *Merchants of the earth* set her forth and describe her at great length, as the very staple of all their riches; which could not be so soone gathered as in one mans time. And to conclude now this description of the *Antichrist*; I will set downe vnto you all that is spoken of him in the *Apocalyps* in a short methode, for the further explaining of these three points that I haue already handled.

The *Antichrist* is foure times (in my opinion) described by *Iohn* in the *Apocalyps*, in foure sundry visions; and a short *Compendium* of him repeated againe in the xx. Chapter. He is first described by a *pale Horse* in the vision of the Seales in the sixt Chapter: For after that CHRIST had triumphed vpon a *white Horse* in the first Seale, by the propagation of the Gospel; and that the *red Horse* in the second Seale, is as busie in persecution, as CHRIST is in ouercomming by the constancie of his Martyrs; and that

Verse 12.

[1] From the time of Constantine the Great, his remouing of the Empire from Rome to Cõstantinople, till the time of Bonifacius the third, to wit, about 276. yeeres.

Verse 11.

[2] Not in respect of the extent, and limites of the Empire: but in regard of the gouernement thereof, and glory of the Citie.

Reuel. 18. Ver. 9. & 11. Ver. 10. 16, 19.

Vers. 9.

Vers. 12.

1. Description of Antichrist. Reuel. cap. 6. Verse 2.

Verse 4.

Verse 5. that famine and other plagues signified by the *blacke Horse* in the third Seale, haue succeeded to these former persecutions: Then commeth forth

Verse 8. the *Antichrist* vpon a *pale horse* in the 4. Seale, hauing Death for his rider, and Hell for his conuoy; which rider fitted well his colour of palenesse: *and he had power giuen* [1] *him ouer the fourth part of the earth* (which is *Europe*) to *kill with the sword*, and vse great persecution; as *Ethnick Rome* did, figured by the *red horse*: and to kill *with* spirituall *hunger* or famine of the trew word of God; as the *black horse* did by corporal famine & *with death*, whereby spiritual death is meant. For the *Antichrist*, signified by this *pale horse*, shal afflict the Church both by persecution and temporal death; as also by alluring the Nations to idolatry, and so to spirituall death: and by the *beast of the earth* shall he procure their spiritual death; for he shall send out the *Locusts* (ouer whom he is King) mentioned in the 9. Chap. of this booke; and the 3. *frogs*, mentioned in the 16. of the same; for intising of al Kings and nations to drinke of the cup of her abominations. That that description now of *Antichrist* endeth

Verse 9. there, it is more then plaine: for at the opening of the first Seale, the soules

Verse 10. and blood of the murthered Saints cry for vengeance and hasting of iudg-

Verse 12. ment; which in the sixt Seale is granted vnto them by CHRIST comming at the Latter day; signified by *heauens departing away, like a scroll when it is rolled*: with a number of other sentences to the same purpose.

The second description. But because this might seeme a short and obscure description of the *Antichrist*, he describeth him much more largely and specifikely, especially in

Reu. Chap. 9. Verse 1. the vision of the *Trumpets* in the 9. Chapter. For there he saith, at the blowing of the *fift Trumpet*, Heresies being first spread abroad in three of the foure former blasts; to wit, in the first, third, and fourth blast (for I take temporall persecution to be onely signified by the second blast) he then *saw a*

Verse 2. *starre fall from Heauen, to whom was giuen the key of the bottomles pit; which being*

Verse 3. *opened by him, with the smoke thereof came foorth a number of Locusts*, whom hee largely describeth, both by their craft & their strength; and then telleth the name of this their king, who brought them out of the bottomles pit, which

Verse 11. is, *Destroyer*. By this *starre fallen from heauen*, being signified, as I take it, some person of great dignitie in the Church, whose duetie being to giue light to

Matth. 5. 14. the word (as CHRIST saith) doth contrary thereunto fall away like *Lucifer*, and set vp a kingdome, by the sending forth of that noisome packe of craftie cruell vermine, described by *Locusts*: and so is the *Seat* of the *Antichrist* begun to be erected, whose *doctrine* is at length declared in the second *woe*,

Verse 13. Verse 20. after the blast of the sixt *Trumpet*; where it is said, That the *remnant of men which were not killed by the plagues, repented not of the workes of their hands, that they should not worship diuels, and idols of gold, and of siluer & of brasse and of stone, and of wood which neither can see, heare, nor goe.* (As for *worshipping of diuels*; looke your great *Iesuited* doctour, *Vasques*: and as for *all the rest*, it is the

Lib de Cultu Adoratio. lib. 3 disp. 1. cap 5. maine doctrine of the *Roman Church*.) And then it is subioyned in this

Verse 21. Text, that they repented not of *their murther, their sorcerie, their fornications, nor their theft.*

[1] Or them, after other Translations, whereby is ioyntly vnderstood the said pale horse, together with his rider and conuoy, Death and Hell.

By

By *their murther*, their perſecution is meant, and bloody maſſacres. For *their Sorcery* conſider of their *Agnus Dei*, that will ſlocken fire; of the hallowed ſhirts, and diuers ſorts of Reliques; and alſo of Prayers that will preſerue men from the violence of ſhot, of fire, of ſword, of thunder, and ſuch like dangers; And iudge, if this be not very like to Sorcerie and incantation of charmes.

By *their Fornication* is meant both their ſpirituall fornication of Idolatry, and alſo their corporall fornication; which doth the more abound amongſt them, as well by reaſon of the reſtraint of their Churchmen from marriage, as alſo becauſe of the many Orders of idle Monaſtike liues amongſt them, as well for men as women: And continuall experience prooueth, that idleneſſe is euer the greateſt ſpurre to lecherie. And they are guiltie of *Theft*, in ſtealing from GOD the titles and greatnes of power due to him, and beſtowing it vpon their head, the *Antichriſt*: As alſo by heaping vp their treaſure with their iuggling wares and merchandiſe of the ſoules of men, by *Iubiles*, *Pardons*, *Reliques* and ſuch like ſtrong deluſions.

That he endeth this deſcription of *Antichriſt* in the ſame ninth Chapter may likewiſe well appeare, by the Oath that that *Mightie Angell* ſweareth in the ſixt verſe of the tenth Chapter: And after the blaſt of the ſixt *Trumpet*, that *time ſhall bee no more*, and that when the ſeuenth Angell ſhall blow his *Trumpet*, *the myſterie of* GOD *ſhalbe finiſhed*, *as he had declared it to his ſeruants the Prophets*. Onely in the eleuenth Chapter he deſcribeth the meanes whereby the *Antichriſt* was ouercome, whoſe raigne he had before deſcribed in the ix. Chapter; and telleth vs that the *two witneſſes*, after that they haue beene perſecuted by the *Antichriſt* ſhall in the end procure his deſtruction. And in caſe any ſhould thinke, that the *Antichriſt* is onely ſpoken of in the xj. Chapter, and that the Beaſt ſpoken of in the xiij. and xvij. Chapters doth onely ſignifie *Ethnicke Rome*; there needeth no other refutation of that conceit, then to remember them, that the *Antichriſt* is neuer named in all that xj. Chapter, but where he is called in the ſeuenth verſe thereof *the Beaſt that commeth foorth of the bottomeles pit*: which by the deſcription of the place he commeth out of, prooueth it to be the ſame Beaſt which hath the ſame originall in the xvij. Chapter, and in the very ſame words; ſo as it is euer but the ſame *Antichriſt* repeated, and diuerſly deſcribed in diuers viſions.

Cap.10.ver.6.
Verſe 7.
Cap.11.
Verſe 3.
Cap.11.
Verſe 7.

Now in the xij. and xiij. Chapters and ſo foorth till the xvij. he maketh a more large and ample propheticall deſcription of the ſtate of the Church, and reigne of the *Antichriſt*: For in the xij. Chap. he figureth the Church by a *Woman* flying from the *Dragon* (the Deuill) to the wilderneſſe; And when the Dragon ſeeth hee cannot otherwiſe ouer-reach her, hee *ſpeweth foorth waters like floods* to *carry her away*; which ſignifieth many Nations, that were let looſe to perſecute and vexe the Church. And in the xiij. Chapter, out of that *Sea* of Nations that perſecuted her, ariſeth that *great Citie* (Queene

The third deſcription.
Chap xij. Verſe 6.
Verſe 15.
Chap.xiij.

(Queene of all the Nations, and head of that persecution) figured by *a Beast*
verse 1. Verse 2. *with seuen heads and tenne hornes*, like a *Leopard*; as well for the colour because it was full of spots, that is, defiled with corruptions; as also vsing a bastard forme of gouernement, in shew spirituall, but in deed temporall ouer the Kings of the earth; like the Leopard that is a bastard beast betwixt a Lion and a Parde: hauing *feete like a Beare*, to signifie his great strength, and *the mouth of a Lion*, to shew his rauenous and cruell disposition.

Verse 3. This Beast who had *his power from the Dragon*, and had gotten a *deadly wound in one of his heads*, or formes of gouernment (by the *Gothes and Vandals*) and yet *was healed againe*; *opened his mouth to blasphemies*, *and made warre*
Verse 6. Verse 7. *against the Saints*: nay, all the world must worship him; which worship *Ethnicke Rome* neuer craued of any, being contented to call their neighbour Kings *Amici & socij populi Romani.* And whether worship or adoration, euen with that same title, he vsed to *Popes* at their creation, our *Cardinall* can best tell you.

Verse 11. But then commeth *another beast vp out of the earth*, hauing indeed a more firme and setled originall: for she doeth visibly and outwardly succeed to the trew Church, and therefore *she hath two hornes like the Lambe*, in outward shew representing the spouse of CHRIST, and pretending CHRIST to be her defence: But she *speaketh like the Dragon*, teaching damnable and deuilish doctrine. And this *Apostatike* (I should say *Apostolike*) *Church*, after that she hath made her great power manifest to the world, by *doing*
Verse 12. *all that the first Beast could doe*, *In conspectu eius*; that is, by shewing the greatnesse of her power, to be nothing inferiour to the greatnesse of the former *Ethnicke Empire*: she then is mooued with so great a desire to aduance this Beast, now become *Antichrist*, as she *causeth the earth and all that dwell therein, to worship this former Beast* or Roman Monarch; transferring so, as it were, her owne power in his person. Yea, euen Emperours and Kings shall be faine to kisse his feet. And for this purpose shall shee worke great Miracles, wherein she greatly prides her selfe, deceiuing men with lying
2. Thes. 2. 9. wonders and efficacie of lyes, as S. *Paul* saith. And amongst the rest of
Verse 13. her wonders, she must bring *Fire out of heauen*, *Fulmen excommunications*, which can dethrone Princes: So that all that will not *worship the image of*
Verse 15. *the Beast*, that is, his vnlimited Supremacie, *must be killed* and burnt as Heretikes. Yea, so peremptory will this Beast or false Prophet be (so called in the xvj. Chapter of this booke) for the aduauncement of the other Beast
Verse 17. or *Antichrist*; as all sorts and rankes of people must *receiue the marke or name*
Verse 16. *of that Beast in their right hand, or in their forehead*; *without the which it should be lawfull to none to buy*, *or sell*: by the *Marke in the forehead*, signifying their outward profession and acknowledgement of their subiection vnto her; and by the *Marke in their right hand*, signifying their actuall implicite obedience vnto her, who they thinke cannot erre, though she should commaund them to rebell against their naturall princes; like that *Cæca obedientia*

whereunto

whereunto all the *Iesuits* are sworne: and like those *Romish* Priests in this Countrey, that haue renounced and forsworne againe that *Oath of Allegiance*, grounded vpon their naturall Oath; which though at their taking it, they confessed they did it out of conscience, and as obliged thereunto by their naturall duetie; yet now must they forsweare it againe, for obedience to the *Popes* command; to whose will their conscience and reason must be blindly captiuated. And who euer denied this absolute power, might *neither buy nor sell*; for no man was bound to keepe any faith, or obserue any ciuill contracts with Heretikes: yea, to æquiuocate and commit periury towards them, is a lawfull thing in a Catholike.

Now as to the Mysterie anent the *Number* of his name; whether it shalbe vnderstood by the number composed of the Letters in that Greeke word ΛΑΤΕΙΝΟΣ; which word well sutes with the *Romish* Church, *Romish* Faith, and *Latine* Seruice: Or whether in respect that in the Text it is called *the number of the man*, ye will take it for the number or date of the yeere of GOD, wherein that first man liued, that first tooke the title of the *Antichrist* vpon him; I leaue it to the Readers choice. By that *first Man*, I meane *Bonifacius tertius*, who first called himselfe *Vniuersall Bishop*; which S. *Gregorie*, that liued till within three yeeres of his time, [1] foretold would be the style of the *Antichrist*, or his *Præcursor*: for though he died threescore yeeres before the 666. of CHRIST; yet was that Title but fully setled vpon his Successors, sixtie yeeres after his time. Or if ye list to count it from *Pompey* his spoiling of the Temple, to this same Mans time; it will goe very neere to make iust vp the said *number 666*.

Now the raigne of the *Antichrist* being thus prophetically described in the xiij. Chapter, his fall is prophecied in the xiiij. First by the ioyfull and triumphall *New song* of the Saints in heauen: And next by the proclamation of three Angels; whereof the first hauing *an euerlasting Gospel in his hand to preach to all Nations* (the trew armour indeed wherewith the *Witnesses* fought against the *Antichrist*;) The first Angel, I say, proclaimed *Feare and glory to* GOD, since *the houre of his Iudgement was come*. And the second proclaimed *the fall of Babylon*, which is the destruction of the *Antichrist*. And the third prohibited vnder great paines, euen the paine of eternall damnation, that none should *worship the Beast*, or receiue *his Marke*. But though that in the rest of this Chapter the Latter day be againe prophecied, as a thing that shall come shortly after the reuealing of the man of *Sinne*: yet in the xv. Chap. he telleth of *seuen plagues*, vnder the name of *Vials*, that shall first fall vpon the *Antichrist* and his kingdome; which, being particularly set downe in the xvj. Chapter, he reckoneth among the rest. In the *first viall*, the plague of darkenesse; yea, such darkenesse as the kingdome of *Antichrist* shall be obscured. Wherby at the powring foorth of the *sixt Viall*, the *way of the Kings of the East shall be prepared*; the man of *Sinne* being begun to be reuealed, and so all impediments remooued that might let the inuasion of that Monarchie: euen as that great riuer *Euphrates* that runneth by the

Verse 17.

Irenæus aduersus Hæres. lib. 5.

[1] *Epist. lib. 6. cap. 30.*

Chap. xiiij. Verse 3.

Verse 6.

Verse 7.

Verse 8.

Verse 9.

Chap. xv. Verse 1.

Chap. xvi.

Verse 10.

Verse 12.

the literall *Babylon*, guarded it from the Kings of the *East*, the *Medes* and *Persians*, the time of the *Babylonian* Monarchie, till by the drying thereof, or vnexpected passage made through it by *Cyrus*, *Babylon* was wonne, and *Baltasar* destroyed, and his Monarchie ouerthrowne; euen while hee was sitting in that literall *Babylon*, corporally drunken and quaffing in the vessels ordained for GODS Seruice; and so sitting as it were in the Temple of GOD, and abusing the holy Mysteries thereof.

Dan.5.3.

Verse 13. For remedy whereof, at the powring forth of the *sixt Viall, three vncleane spirits, like frogs, shall then come foorth out of the mouth of the Dragon, that beast, and of the false prophet*; which I take to be as much to say, as that how soone as the kingdome of *Antichrist* shall be so obscured, with such a grosse and a palpable ignorance, as learning shall be almost lost out of the world, and that few of the very Priests themselues shall be able to reade Latine, much lesse to vnderstand it; and so a plaine way made for the Destruction of *Babylon*: Then shall a new sect of Spirits arise for the defence of that falling Throne, called *three* in number, by reason of their three-fold direction; being raised and inspired by the Dragon Sathan, authorized and maintained by the Beast the *Antichrist*, and instructed by the false prophet the Apostatike Church, that hath the hornes like the Lambe, but speaketh like the Dragon. These Spirits indeed, thus sent foorth by this three-fold authoritie for the defence of their Triple-crowned Monarch, are well likened to frogges; for they are *Amphibions*, and can liue in either Element, earth or water: for though they be Churchmen by profession, yet can they vse the trade of politique Statesmen; going to the Kings of the earth, to gather them to the battell of that Great day of GOD Almightie. What Massacres haue by their perswasion bene wrought through many parts of Christendome, and how euilly Kings haue sped that haue bene counselled by them; all the vnpartiall Histories of our time doe beare record. And whatsoeuer King or State will not receiue them, and follow their aduise, rooted out must that King or State be, euen with Gunpowder ere it faile. And these *frogges* had reason indeed to labour to become learned, thereby to dissipate that grosse mist of ignorance, wherewith the reigne of *Antichrist* was plagued before their comming forth. Then doeth this Chapter conclude with the last plague that is powred out of the seuenth *Viall* vpon the *Antichrist*, which is the day of Iudgement: for then *Babylon* (saith he) *came in remembrance before God.*

Verse 14.

Verse 17.

Verse 19.

The fourth description. Chap.17. Verse 3.

But in the 17. Chapter is the former Vision interpreted and expounded; and there is the *Antichrist* represented by a *Woman*, *sitting vpon that many-headed Beast*; because as CHRIST his trew Spouse and Church is represented by a *Woman* in the twelfth Chapter, so here is the Head of his adulterous spouse or false Church represented also by a woman, but *hauing a cup full of abominations in her hand*: as her selfe is called a *Whoore*, for her spirituall adulterie, hauing seduced the *Kings of the earth* to be partakers of her Spirituall fornication: And yet wonderfull gorgious and glorious was

Verse 4.

Verse 1.

Verse 2.

was ſhe in outward ſhew; but *drunken with the blood of the Saints*, by a violent perſecution of them. And that ſhee may the better bee knowen, hee writeth her name vpon her forehead agreeable to her qualities: A *Myſterie*, that *great Babylon, the Mother of whoredomes and abominations of the earth.* A *Myſterie* is a name that belongeth vnto her two maner of wayes: One, as ſhee taketh it to her ſelfe; another, as ſhee deſerueth indeed. To her ſelfe ſhee taketh it, in calling her ſelfe the viſible Head of the myſticall Body of CHRIST, in profeſſing her ſelfe to bee the diſpenſer of the myſteries of GOD, and by her onely muſt they bee expounded: This great God in earth and Head of the Faith, being a *Myſtes* by his profeſſion; that is, a Prieſt. And if the obſeruation of one be trew, that hee had of old the word *Myſterie* written on his Myter; then is this Prophecie very plainely accompliſhed. Now that indeed ſhee deſerues that name, the reſt of her Title doeth beare witneſſe that ſheweth her to bee *the Mother of all the whoredomes and abominations of the earth*: and ſo is ſhe vnder the pretext of holineſſe, a *Myſtery* indeed of all iniquitie and abominations; vnder the maske of pretended feeding of Soules, deuouring Kingdomes, and making *Chriſtendome* ſwimme in blood.

Verſe 6. Verſe 5. Verſe 5.

Now after that this ſcarlet or bloody Beaſt and her Rider are deſcribed, by their ſhape, garments, name and qualities: the Angel doeth next interprete this viſion vnto *Iohn*, expounding vnto him what is ſignified both by the *Beaſt* and *her Rider*; telling him, the ſeuen heads of the Beaſt are *ſeuen Hilles*, meaning by the ſituation of that Citie or ſeat of *Empire*; and that they are alſo *ſeuen Kings* or formes of gouernment in the ſaid Citie, whereof I haue told you my conceit already. As for the *ten Hornes*, which hee ſheweth to be *tenne Kings, that ſhall at one houre receiue their power and kingdome with the Beaſt*, I take that number of *ten* to be *Numerus certus pro incerto*; euen as the number of ſeuen heads and ten hornes vpon the Dragon the Deuill, cannot but be an vncertaine number. And that hee alſo imitates in thoſe ten hornes, the ten hornes of the ſeuen headed Beaſt in the ſeuenth of *Daniel*: and therefore I take theſe ten *Kings* to ſignifie, all the Chriſtian *Kings*, and free *Princes* and *States* in generall, euen you whom to I conſecrate theſe my Labours, and that of vs all he propheſieth, that although our firſt becomming abſolute and free Princes, ſhould be in one houre with the Beaſt; (for great Chriſtian Kingdomes and Monarches did but riſe, and receiue their libertie by the ruines of the *Ethnicke Romane Empire*, and at the deſtruction thereof) and at the very time of the beginning of the planting of the *Antichriſt* there; and that we ſhould for a long time continue to worſhip the Beaſt, hauing *one* Catholike or common conſenting *minde* in obeying her, *yeelding our power and authoritie vnto her*, and kiſſing her feete, drinking with her in her cup of Idolatrie, and *fighting with the Lambe*, in the perſecution of his Saints, at her command that gouerneth ſo many Nations and people: yet notwithſtanding all this, wee ſhall in the time appointed by GOD, hauing thus fought with the Lambe,

Verſe 9. Verſe 12. Verſe 13. Verſe 14. Verſe 16.

Verse 16. Lambe, but *being ouercome by him*, that is, conuerted by his Word; wee shall then (I say) *hate the Whore, and make her desolate, and make her naked*, by discouering her hypocrisie and false pretence of zeale; and shall *eate her flesh, and burne her with fire.* And thus *shall the way of the Kings of the East bee prepared*, as ye heard in the sixteenth Chapter. And then doeth hee subioyne the reason of this strange change in vs: for (saith hee) GOD *hath put it in their hearts to fulfill his will, and with one consent to giue their Kingdomes to the Beast, till the words of* GOD *be fulfilled*, according to that sentence of *Solomon*; That *the hearts of Kings are in the handes of* GOD, *to bee turned at his pleasure.* And hauing thus interpreted the Beast or Empire; hee in a word expounds, that by *the Woman* that rode vpon her, or Monarch that gouerned her, was meant *that great Citie that reigned ouer the Kings of the earth*: by the Seate of the Empire pointing out the qualitie of the persons that should sit and domine there.

Reuel. 16. 12. Verse 17. Prou. 21. 1. Verse 18.

Chap. 18. Then is the greatnesse of her fall, and the great lamentation that both the Kings and Merchants of the earth shall make for the same, proclaimed by an other Angel in the eighteenth Chapter. The *Kings* lamenting her fall, because they *liued in pleasure with her*; which no Kings could doe with *Ethnicke Rome*, who conquered them by her sword: for shee honoured them with Titles, and dispensed with their lustes and vnlawfull marriages. And the *Merchants of the earth, and all Shipmasters, and traffikers vpon the Sea*, shall lament the fall of that great Citie, which *neuer had a fellow*, for the losse of their riches and traffique, which they enioyed by her meanes. And there he describeth all sorts of *rich wares*, whereof that great Citie was the Staple: for indeed shee hath a necessary vse for all such rich and glorious wares, as well for ornaments to her Churches and princely Prelates, as for garments and ornaments to her woodden Saints; for the *blessed Virgin* must be dayly clothed and decked in the newest and most curious fashion, though it should resemble the habit of a *Curtizane*. And of all those rich wares, the most precious is last named, which is *the Soules of men*: for so much bestowed vpon Masses, and so much doted to this or that Cloyster of Monkes or Friers, but most of all now to that irregular and incomprehensible order of *Iesuites*; shal both redeeme *his* owne Soule, and all his parents to the hundreth generation, from broyling in the fire of *Purgatory*. And (I hope) it is no small merchandise of Soules, when men are so highly deluded by the hopes and promise of Saluation, as to make a Frier murther his [1] *Soueraigne*; a yong knaue attempt the murther of his next [2] *Successour*; many one to conspire and attempt the like against the late *Queene*; and in my time, to attempt the destruction of a whole *Kingdome* and *State* by a blast of Powder: and hereby to play bankerupt with both the soules mentioned in the Scriptures, *Animus & Anima*.

Verse 11, 15, 16, 17, 18. Verse 12, 13. Verse 13.

[1] Henry 3. K. of France. [2] Henry 4.

But notwithstanding of this their great Lamentation, they are commanded by a voyce from heauen to doe two things: One, *to flee from Babylon, lest they bee partakers of her sinnes, and* consequently *of her punishment*

Verse 4.

Which

Which warning I pray God that yee all, my *Beloued Brethren* and *Cousins*, would take heed vnto in time, humbly beseeching him to open your eyes for this purpose. The other command is, to *reward her as shee hath rewarded you; yea, euen to the double.* For as she did flie but with your feathers, borrowing as well her Titles of greatnesse and formes of honouring her from you; as also enioying all her Temporall liuing by your liberalities; so if euery man doe but take his owne againe, she will stand vp * naked; and the reason is giuen, because of her pride: For *shee glorificth herselfe liuing in pleasure*, and *in her heart saith, shee sitteth as a Queene* (outward prosperitie being one of their notes of a trew Church) and is *no Widow*; for her Spouse CHRIST is bound to her by an inuiolable knot (for he hath sworne neuer to forsake her) *and she shall see no mourning*: for she cannot erre, nor the gates of Hell shall not preuaile against her.

Verse 6.

* *Cornicula Aesopica.*

Verse 7.

But though the earth and worldly men lament thus for the fall of *Babylon* in this eighteenth Chapter, yet in the nineteenth, Heauen and all the Angels and Saints therein doe sing a triumphall *Cantique* for ioy of her fall, praising God for the fall of that *great Whore*: Great indeed, for our * Cardinall confesseth, that it is hard to describe what the Pope is, such is his greatnesse. And in the end of that Chapter is the obstinacie of that *Whore* described, who euen *fought* to the vttermost *against him* that *sate on the white Horse, and his armie*; till the *Beast* or *Antichrist was taken, and the false Prophet*, or false Church with him, who *by Miracles*, and *lying wonders deceiued them that receiued the marke of the Beast*; and *both were cast quicke into the burning lake of fire and brimstone; vnde nulla redemptio.* Like as in the ende of the former Chapter, to describe the fulnesse of the *Antichristes* fall (not like to that reparable wound that Ethnicke *Rome* gate) it is first compared to a *Millstone cast into the sea*, that can neuer rise and fleete againe: And next it is expressed by a number of ioyfull things that shall neuer bee heard there againe, where nothing shall inhabite but desolation. But that the patience and constancie of Saints on earth, and God his Elected may the better bee strengthened and confirmed; their persecution in the latter dayes, is shortly prophesied and repeated againe, after that *Satan hath beene bound*, or his furie restrained, by the worlds enioying of peace for a *thousand yeeres*, or a great indefinite time; their persecuters being named *Gog and Magog*, the secret and reuealed enemies of CHRIST. Whether this be meant of the Pope and the Turke, or not; (who both began to rise to their greatnesse about one time) I leaue to bee guessed; alwayes their vtter confusion is there assuredly promised: and it is said; that the *Dragon, the Beast*, and *the false Prophet*, shall all three bee *cast in that lake of fire and brimstone, to be tormented for euer.* And thereafter is the latter day described againe (*which must be hastened for the Elects sake*) and then for the further comfort of the Elect, and that they may the more constantly and patiently endure these temporall and finite troubles, limited but to a *short* space; in the last two Chapters are the ioyes of the eternall *Ierusalem* largely described.

Cap xix. Verse 1. Verse 2.

* *Bellar. in Res. ad Gerson. confid. 11.*

Verse 19. Verse 20.

Cap 18. 21. *Ibidem.* Vers. 22, 32.

Cap. xx. Verse 2.

Verse 8.

Verse 9.

Verse 10.

Verse 11, 12, 13. Matth. 24. 22.

Cap. xxj. xxij.

Thus hath the *Cardinals* shamelesse wresting of those two places of Scripture, *Pasce oues meas*, and *Tibi dabo claues*, for proouing of the Popes supreame Temporall authoritie ouer Princes; animated mee to prooue the Pope to bee THE ANTICHRIST, out of this foresaid booke of Scripture; so to pay him in his owne money againe. And this opinion no Pope can euer make me to recant; except they first renounce any further medling with Princes, in any thing belonging to their Temporall Iurisdiction. And my onely wish shall bee, that if any man shall haue a fancie to refute this my coniecture of the *Antichrist*; that hee answere mee orderly to euery point of my discourse; not contenting him to disprooue my opinion, except hee set downe some other Methode after his forme for interpretation of that Booke of the *Apocalyps*, which may not contradict no part of the Text, nor conteine no absurdities: Otherwise, it is an easie thing for *Momus* to picke quarrels in another mans tale, and tell it worse himselfe; it being a more easie practise to finde faults, then amend them.

Hauing now made this digression anent the *Antichrist*, which I am sure I can better fasten vpon the Pope, then *Bellarmine* can doe his pretended Temporall Superioritie ouer Kings: I will returne againe to speake of this Answerer; who (as I haue already told you) so fitteth his matter with his manner of answering, that as his Style is nothing but a Satyre and heape full of iniurious and reprochfull speaches, as well against my Person, as my Booke; so is his matter as full of lyes and falsities indeed, as hee vniustly layeth to my charge: For three lies hee maketh against the Oath of Alleagiance, conteined and maintained in my Booke; besides that ordinary repeated lie against my Booke, of his omitting to answere my lyes, trattles, iniurious speaches and blasphemies. One grosse lye he maketh euen of the Popes first *Breue*. One lye of the Puritanes, whom he would gladly haue to be of his partie. And one also of the Powder-Traitours, anent the occasion that mooued them to vndertake that treasonable practise. Three lies hee makes of that Acte of Parliament wherein this Oath of Alleagiance is conteined. Hee also maketh one notable lie against his owne Catholike Writers. And two, of the causes for which two *Iesuites* haue beene put to death in *England*. And he either falsifies, denies or wrests fiue sundry Histories and a printed Pamphlet: besides that impudent lye that hee maketh of my Person; that I was a Puritane in *Scotland*, which I haue already refuted. And for the better filling vp of his booke with such good stuffe; hee hath also fiue so strange and new principles of Diuinitie therein, as they are either new, or at least allowed by very few of his owne Religion. All which lyes, with diuers others, and fiue strange, and (as I thinke) erroneous points of Doctrine, with sundry falsifications of Histories; are set downe in a Table by themselues in the end of this my Epistle, hauing their Refutation annexed to euery one of them.

But as for the particular answering of his booke; it is both vnnecessary

ſary and vncomely for me to make a Reply. Vnneceſſary, becauſe (as I haue already told you) my Booke is neuer yet anſwered, ſo farre as belongeth to the maine queſtion anent the Oath of Alleagiance: the picking of aduantages vpon the wrong placing of the figures in the citations, or ſuch errors in the Print by caſuall addition, or omiſſion of words that make nothing to the Argument; being the greateſt weapons wherewith hee aſſaults my Booke. And vncomely it muſt needs be (in my opinion) for a *King* to fall in altercation with a *Cardinal*, at leaſt with one no more nobly deſcended then he is: That Eccleſiaſticall dignitie, though by the ſloath of Princes (as I ſaid before) it be now come to that height of vſurped honour, yet being in the trew originall and foundation thereof nothing elſe, but the title of the Prieſts and Deacons of the Pariſh Churches in the towne of *Rome*; at the firſt, the ſtile of *Cardinals* being generally giuen to all Prieſts and Deacons of any Cathedral Church, though the multitude of ſuch *Cardinal* Prieſts and Deacons reſorting to *Rome*, was the cauſe that after bred the reſtraining of that title of *Cardinall* Prieſts and Deacons, onely to the Pariſh prieſts and Deacons of *Rome*. And ſince that it is *S. Gregorie*, who in his Epiſtles ſixe hundreth yeeres after CHRIST, maketh the firſt mention of *Cardinals* (and ſo theſe now *Electours* of the Apoſtolike Sea, beeing long and many hundreth yeeres vnknowen or vnheard of, after the Apoſtolik aage; and yet doeth hee ſpeake of them but in this ſence as I haue now deſcribed) I hope the *Cardinall*, who calleth him the *Apoſtle* of *England*, cannot blame mee that am King thereof, to ackowledge the *Cardinall* in no other degree of honour, then our ſaid Apoſtle did. But how they ſhould now become to bee ſo ſtrangely exalted aboue their firſt originall inſtitution, that from Pariſh-prieſts and Deacons (Prieſts inferiours) they ſhould now come to bee Princes and Peeres to Kings; and from a degree vnder Biſhops (as both [1] *Bellarmine* and [2] *Onuphrius* confeſſe) to bee now the Popes ſole Electours, ſupplying with him the place of a Generall Councell; whereby the conuening of Generall Councels is now vtterly antiquated and aboliſhed; nay, out of their number onely, the Pope to be elected; who claimeth the abſolute Superioritie ouer all Kings: how this their ſtrange vſurped exaltation (I ſay) ſhould thus creepe in and bee ſuffered, it belongeth to all them in our place and calling to looke vnto it; who being GOD his Lieutenants in earth, haue good reaſon to bee iealous of ſuch vpſtart Princes, meane in their originall, come to that height by their owne creation, and now accounting themſelues Kings fellowes. But the ſpeciall harme they do vs, is by their defrauding vs of our common & Chriſtian intereſt in General Councels; they hauing (as I ſaid) vtterly aboliſhed the ſame, by rolling it vp, & making as it were a Monopoly thereof, in their Conclaue with the Pope. Whereas, if euer there were a poſſibilitie to be expected of reducing all Chriſtians to an vniformitie of Religiō, it muſt come by the means of a Generall Councel: the place of their meeting being choſen ſo indifferent, as all Chriſtian Princes, either in their owne Perſons, or their Deputie

[1] *Lib. de Clericis, cap. 16.*
[2] *Lib. de Epiſcopatibus, Titulis & Diaconijs Cardinalium.*

Commissioners, and all Church-men of Christian profession that beleeue and professe all the ancient grounds of the trew, ancient, Catholike, and Apostolike Faith, might haue *tutum accessum* thereunto; All the incendiaries and Nouelist fire-brands on either side being debarred from the same, as well *Iesuites* as *Puritanes*.

And therefore hauing resolued not to paine my selfe with making a Replie for these reasons heere specified, grounded as well vpon the consideration of the matter, as of the person of the Answerer; I haue thought good to content my selfe with the reprinting of my *Apologie*: hauing in a manner corrected nothing but the Copiers or Printers faults therein, and prefixed this my Epistle of Dedication and Warning thereunto; that I may yet see, if any thing will be iustly said against it: Not doubting but enow of my Subiects will replie vpon these Libellers, and answere them sufficiently; wishing YOV deepely to consider, and weigh your common interest in this Cause. For neither in all my *Apologie*, nor in his pretended Refutation thereof, is there any question made anent the Popes power ouer mee in particular, for the excommunicating or deposing of mee: For in my particular; the Cardinall doeth mee that grace, that hee saith, The Pope thought it not expedient at this time to excommunicate mee by name; our question being onely generall, Whether the Pope may lawfully pretend any temporall power ouer Kings, or no?

That no Church-men can by his rule bee subiect to any Temporall Prince, I haue already shewed you; And what Obedience any of you may looke for of any of them *de facto*, hee plainely forewarneth you of, by the example of *Gregory* the Great his obedience to the Emperour *Mauritius*: not being ashamed to slaunder that great Personages Christian humilitie and Obedience to the Emperour, with the title of a constrained and forced obedience, because hee might, or durst doe no otherwise. Whereby he not onely wrongs the said *Gregory* in particular, but euen doeth by that meanes lay on an heauie slaunder and reproach vpon the Christian humilitie and patience of the whole Primitiue Church, especially in the time of persecution: if the whole glory of their Martyrdome and Christian patience shall bee thus blotted with that vile glosse of their coacted and constrained suffering, because they could or durst doe no otherwise; like the patience and obedience of the Iewes or Turkish slaues in our time, cleane contrary to *Saint Paul* and *Saint Peters* doctrine of obedience for conscience sake; and as contrary to *Tertullians Apologie* for Christians, and all the protestations of the ancient Fathers in that case. But it was good lucke for the ancient Christians in the dayes of Ethnicke Emperours, that this prophane and new conceit was then vnknowen among them: otherwise they would haue beene vtterly destroyed and rooted out in that time, and no man to haue pitied them, as most dangerous members in a Common-wealth; who would no longer be obedient, then till they were furnished with sufficient abilitie and power to resist and rebell.

Rom.13.5. 1.Pet.2.13.

Thus

Thus may ye ſee, how vpon the one part our *Cardinall* will haue all Kings and Monarchs to bee the *Popes Vaſſals*; and yet will not on the other ſide, allow the meaneſt of the *Pope* his vaſſals, to be ſubiect to any Chriſtian Prince. But he not thinking it enough to make the *Pope* our Superior, hath in a late Treatiſe of his (called the *Recognition of his bookes of Controuerſies*) made the people and Subiects of euery one of vs, our Superiors. For hauing taken occaſion to reuiſite againe his bookes of Controuerſies, and to correct or explaine what he findeth amiſſe or miſtaketh in them; in imitation of S. *Auguſtine* his retractions (for ſo he ſaith in his *Preface*) he doth in place of retracting any of his former errours, or any matter of ſubſtance; not retract, but *recant* indeed, I meane ſing ouer againe, and obſtinatly confirme a number of the groſſeſt of them: Among the which, the exempting of all Church-men from ſubiection to any Temporall Prince, and the ſetting vp not onely of the *Pope*, but euen of the People aboue their naturall King; are two of his maine points.

As for the exemption of the Clerickes; he is ſo greedy there to proue that point, as he denieth *Cæſar* to haue beene *Pauls* lawfull Iudge: contrary to the expreſſe Text, and *Pauls* plaine Appellation, and acknowledging him his Iudge; beſides his many times claiming to the Roman priuiledges, and auowing himſelfe a Roman by freedome; and therefore of neceſſitie a Subiect to the Roman Emperour. But it is a wonder that theſe *Romane Catholikes*, who vaunt themſelues of the ancientie both of their doctrine and Church, and reproch vs ſo bitterly of our Nouelties, ſhould not be aſhamed to make ſuch a new inept gloſſe as this vpon S. *Pauls* Text; which as it is directly contrary to the Apoſtles wordes, ſo is it without any warrant, either of any ancient *Councell*, or of ſo much as any one particular *Father* that euer interprets that place in this ſort: Neither was it euer doubted by any Chriſtian in the Primitiue Church, that the Apoſtles, or any other degree of Chriſtians, were ſubiect to the Emperour.

Acts.25.10.

Actes 22.28.

And as for the ſetting vp of the People aboue their owne naturall King, he bringeth in that principle of Sedition, that he may thereby proue, that Kings haue not their power and authoritie immediatly from God, as the Pope hath his: For euery King (ſaith he) is made and choſen by his people; nay, they doe but ſo transferre their power in the Kings perſon, as they doe notwithſtanding retaine their habituall power in their owne hands, which vpon certaine occaſions they may actually take to themſelues againe. This, I am ſure, is an excellent ground in Diuinitie for all Rebels and rebellious people, who are hereby allowed to rebell againſt their Princes; and aſſume libertie vnto themſelues, when in their diſcretions they ſhall thinke it conuenient.

And amongſt his other Teſtimonies for probation, that all Kings are made and created by the People; he alledgeth the Creation of three Kings in the Scripture, *Saul*, *Dauid* and *Ieroboam*; and though hee bee compelled by the expreſſe words of the Text, to confeſſe, that God by his

Prophet

Prophet *Samuel* annointed both [1] *Saul* and [2] *Dauid*; yet will he, by the post-consent of the people, proue that those Kings were not immediatly made by God, but mediatly by the people; though he repeat thrise that word of *Lott*, by the casting whereof he confesseth that *Saul* was chosen. And if the Election by *Lott* be not an immediate Election from God; then was not *Matthias*, who was so chosen and made an Apostle, immediatly chosen by GOD: and consequenly, he that sitteth in the Apostolike Sea cannot for shame claime to be immediatly chosen by God, if *Matthias* (that was one of the twelue Apostles, supplying *Iudas* his place) was not so chosen. But as it were a blasphemous impietie, to doubt that *Matthias* was immediatly chosen by GOD, and yet was hee chosen by the casting of Lots, as *Saul* was: so is it well enough knowen to some of you (my louing *Brethren*) by what holy Spirit or casting of Lots the *Popes* vse to be elected; the Colledge of *Cardinals*, his electors, hauing beene diuided in two mightie factions euer since long before my time; and in place of casting of Lotts, great fat pensions beeing cast into some of their greedy mouthes for the election of the *Pope*, according to the partiall humours of Princes. But I doe most of all wonder at the weakenesse of his memorie: for in this place he maketh the post-consent of the people to be the thing that made both these Kings, notwithstanding of their preceding inauguration and anoyntment by the Prophet at GODS commandement; forgetting that in the beginning of this same little booke of his, answering one that alledgeth a sentence of S. *Cyprian*, to prooue that the Bishops were iudged by the people in *Cyprians* time, he there confesseth, that by these words, the *consent of the people* to the Bishops Election must be onely vnderstood. Nor will he there any wayes be mooued to graunt, that the peoples power, in consenting to or refusing the Election of a Bishop, should be so vnderstood, as that thereby they haue *power to elect B.shops*: And yet do these words of *Cyprian* seeme to bee farre stronger, for granting the peoples power to elect Churchmen, then any words that he alledgeth out of the Scripture are for the peoples power in electing a King. For the very words of *Cyprian* by himselfe there cited, are, That *the very peopl. haue principally the power, either to chuse such Priests as are worthy, or to refuse such as are vnworthie*: And, I hope, hee can neuer prooue by the Scripture, that it had beene lawfull to the people of Israel, or that it was left in their choise, to haue admitted or refused *Saul* or *Dauid* at their pleasure, after that the Prophet had anoynted them, and persented them vnto them.

[1] 1.Sam.10.1
[2] 1.Sam.16. 12.13.

Actes 1.

Cyprian.lib. 1.Epist.4.

Thus ye see how little he careth (euen in so little a volume) to contradict himselfe, so it may make for his purpose; making the *consent* of the people to signifie their *power of Election* in the making of Kings: though in the making of Bishops, by the peoples *consent*, their *approbation* of a deed done by others must onely be vnderstood. And as for his example of *Ieroboams* election to bee King; hee knoweth well enough, that *Ieroboam* was made King in a popular mutinous tumult and rebellion; onely permitted

1 King.12.20.

permitted by God, and that in his wrath, both against these two Kings and their people. But if he will needs helpe himselfe, against all rules of Diuinitie, with such an extraordinary example for proofe of a generall Rule; why is it not as lawfull for vs Kings to oppose hereunto the example of *Iehu* his Inauguration to the Kingdome; who vpon the Prophets priuat anointment of him, and that in most secret manner, tooke presently the Kings office vpon him, without euer crauing any sort of approbation from the people? 2.King.9.2,3.

And thus may ye now clearely see, how deepe the claime of the Babylonian Monarch toucheth vs in all our common interest: for (as I haue already told) the *Pope*, nor any of his Vassals, I meane Church-men, must be subiect to no Kings nor Princes: and yet all Kings and their Vassals must not onely be subiect to the Pope, but euen to their owne people. And now, what a large libertie is by this doctrine left to Church-men, to hatch or foster any treasonable attempts against Princes; I leaue it to your considerations, since do what they will, they are accountable to none of vs: nay, all their treasonable practises must be accounted workes of pietie, and they (being iustly punished for the same) must be presently inrolled in the list of Martyrs and Saints; like as our new printed Martyrologie hath put *Garnet* and *Ouldcorne* in the Register of English *Martyrs* abroad, that were hanged at home for *Treason* against the Crowne and whole State of *England*: so as I may iustly with *Isaiah*, pronounce a *Woe to them that speake good of euill, and euill of good; which put light for darkenesse, and darkenesse for light; which iustifie the wicked for a reward, and take away the righteousnes of the righteous from him.* Isai 5.20. Verse 23.
For euen as in the time of the greatest blindnesse in Popery, though a man should find his wife or his daughter lying a bed in her Confessors armes; yet was it not lawfull for him so much as to suspect that the Frier had any errand there, but to Confesse and instruct her: Euen so, though *Iesuites* practising in Treason be sufficiently verified, and that themselues cannot but confesse it; yet must they be accounted to suffer *Martyrdome* for the Faith, and their blood worke miracles, and frame a *stramineum argumentum* vpon strawes; when their heads are standing aloft, withered by the Sunne and the winde, a publike spectacle for the eternall commemoration of their treacherie. Yea, one of the reasons, that is giuen in the Printers Epistle of the *Colonian* edition of the Cardinall or his Chaplains pamphlet, why he doth the more willingly print it, is; because that the innocencie of that most holy and constant man *Henry Garnet*, is declared and set forth in that booke; against whom, some (*he knew not who*) had scattered a false rumour of his guiltinesse of the English treason.

But, Lord, what an impudencie or wilfull ignorance is this, that he, who was so publikely and solemnely conuicted and executed, vpon his owne so cleare, vnforced and often repeated confession, of his knowledge and concealing of that horrible Treason, should now be said to haue a certaine rumor spred vpon him of his guiltinesse, by *I know not who?* with so many attributes

attributes of godlineſſe, conſtancie and innocencie beſtowed vpon him, as if publike Sentences and Executions of Iuſtice, were rumors of *I know not who*. Indeed, I muſt confeſſe, the booke it ſelfe ſheweth a great affection to performe, what is thus promiſed in the Preface thereof: for in two or three places therein, is there moſt honorable lying mention made of that ſtraw-Saint; wherein, though he confeſſe that *Garnet* was vpon the foreknowledge of the Powder-Treaſon, yet in regard it was (as he ſaith) onely vnder the Seale of Confeſſion, he ſticketh not to praiſe him for his concealing thereof, and would gladly giue him the crowne of glory for the ſame: not being aſhamed to proclaime it as a principall head of Catholique doctrine; *That the ſecret of Sacramentall confeſsion ought not to be reuealed, not for the eſchewing of whatſoeuer euill.* But how damnable this doctrine is, and how dangerouſly preiudiciall to all Princes and States; I leaue it to you to iudge, whom all it moſt highly concerneth. For although it bee trew, that when the Schoolemen came to be Doctors in the Church, and to marre the old grounds in Diuinitie by ſowing in among them their Philoſophicall diſtinctions; though they (I ſay) do maintaine, That whatſoeuer thing is told a Confeſſor vnder the vaile of confeſſion, how dangerous ſoeuer the matter be, yet he is bound to conceale the parties name: yet doe none of them, I meane of the old Schoolemen, deny; that if a matter be reuealed vnto them, the concealing whereof may breed a great or publike danger; but that in that caſe the Confeſſor may diſcloſe the matter, though not the perſon, and by ſome indirect means make it come to light, that the danger thereof may be preuented. But that no treaſon nor deuiliſh plot, though it ſhould tend to the ruine or exterminion of a whole Kingdome, muſt be reuealed, if it be told vnder Confeſſion, no not the matter ſo farre indirectly diſcloſed, as may giue occaſion for preuenting the danger thereof: though it agree with the conceit of ſome three or foure new *Ieſuited* Doctors, it is ſuch a new and dangerous head of doctrine, as no King nor State can liue in ſecuritie where that Poſition is maintained.

And now, that I may as well prooue him a lyar *in facto*, in his narration of this particular Hiſtory; as I haue ſhewed him to be *in iure*, by this his damnable and falſe ground in Diuinity: I will trewly informe you of *Garnets* caſe, which is farre otherwiſe then this Anſwerer alleadgeth. For firſt, it can neuer be accounted a thing vnder Confeſſion, which he that reueals it doth not diſcouer with a remorſe, accounting it a ſinne whereof hee repenteth him; but by the contrary, diſcouers it as a good motion, and is therein not diſſuaded by his Confeſſor, nor any penance enioyned him for the ſame: and in this forme was this Treaſon reuealed to *Garnet*, as himſelfe confeſſed. And next, though he ſtood long vpon it, that it was reuealed vnto him vnder the vaile of Confeſſion, in reſpect it was done in that time, while as the partie was making his Confeſſion vnto him; Yet at the laſt hee did freely confeſſe, that the party reuealed it vnto him as they were walking, and not in the time of Confeſſion: But

(he

(he ſaid) he deliuered it vnto him vnder the greateſt Seale that might bee, and ſo he tooke that he meant by the Seale of Confeſſion; And it had (as he thought) a relation to Confeſſion, in regard that hee was that parties Confeſſor, and had taken his Confeſſion ſometimes before, and was to take it againe within few dayes thereafter. He alſo ſaid, that he pretended to the partie, that he would not conceale it from his Superior. And further it is to be noted, that he confeſſed, that two diuers perſons conferred with him anent this Treaſon; and that when the one of them which was *Catesby*, conferred with him thereupon, it was in the other parties preſence and hearing: and what a Confeſſion can this be in the hearing of a third perſon? And how farre his laſt words (whereof our Anſwerer ſo much vaunts him) did diſproue it to haue bene vnder Confeſſion, the Earle of Northamptons booke doeth beare witneſſe.

Now as to the other parties name, that reuealed the Powder-Treaſon vnto him, it was *Greenewell* the *Ieſuite*; and ſo a *Ieſuite* reuealed to a *Ieſuite* this Treaſonable plot, the *Ieſuite* reuealer not ſhewing any remorſe, and the *Ieſuite* whom-to it was reuealed not ſo much as enioyning him any penance for the ſame. And that ye may know that more *Ieſuits* were alſo vpon the partie, *Owldcorne* the other Powder-Martyr, after the miſgiuing and diſcouery of that Treaſon, preached conſolatory doctrine to his Catholique auditorie; exhorting them not to faint for the miſgiuing of this enterpriſe, nor to thinke the worſe thereof that it ſucceeded not; alleadging diuers Preſidents of ſuch godly enterpriſes that miſgaue in like maner: eſpecially, one of *S. Lewes* King of France, who in his ſecond iourney to the *Holy-land* died by the way, the greateſt part of his armie being deſtroyed by the plague; his firſt iourney hauing likewiſe miſgiuen him by the *Soldans* taking of him: exhorting them thereupon not to giue ouer, but ſtill to hope that GOD would bleſſe their enterpriſe at ſome other time, though this did faile.

Thus ſee ye now, with what boldneſſe and impudencie hee hath belied the publiquely knowne veritie in this errand; both in auowing generally that no *Ieſuite* was any wayes guiltie of that Treaſon, for ſo he affirmeth in his booke; and alſo that *Garnet* knew nothing thereof, but vnder the Seale of Confeſſion. But if this were the firſt lye of the affaires of this State, which my fugitiue Prieſts and Ieſuits haue coyned and ſpread abroad, I could charme them of it, as the prouerbe is. But as well the walles of diuers Monaſteries and *Ieſuites* Colledges abroad, are filled with the painting of ſuch lying Hiſtories, as alſo the bookes of our ſaid fugitiues are farced with ſuch ſort of ſhameleſſe ſtuffe; ſuch are the innumerable ſorts of torments and cruell deathes, that they record their Martyrs to haue ſuffred here, ſome torne at foure Horſes; ſome ſowed in Beares skinnes, and then killed with Dogges; nay, women haue not bene ſpared (they ſay) and a thouſand other ſtrange fictions; the vanities of all which I will in two words diſcouer vnto you.

Firſt,

First, as for the cause of their punishment, I doe constantly maintaine that which I haue said in my *Apologie*: That no man, either in my time, or in the late *Queenes*, euer died here for his conscience. For let him be neuer so deuout a Papist, nay, though he professe the same neuer so constantly, his life is in no danger by the Law, if hee breake not out into some outward acte expresly against the words of the Law; or plot not some vnlawfull or dangerous practise or attempt; Priests and Popish Church-men onely excepted, that receiue Orders beyond the Seas; who for the manifold treasonable practises that they haue kindled and plotted in this countrey, are discharged to come home againe vnder paine of Treason, after their receiuing of the said Orders abroad; and yet, without some other guilt in them then their bare home-comming, haue none of them bene euer put to death. And next, for the cruell torments and strange sorts of death that they say so many of them haue bene put vnto; if there were no more but the Law and continually obserued custome of England, these many hundred yeeres, in all criminall matters, it will sufficiently serue to refute all these monstrous lies: for no tortures are euer vsed here, but the Manacles or the Racke, and these neuer but in cases of high Treason; and all sorts of Traitours die but one maner of death here, whether they be Papist or Protestant Traitors; Queene *Maries* time onely excepted. For then indeede no sorts of cruell deathes were spared vnexecuted vpon men, women and children professing our Religion: yea, euen against the Lawes of God and Nature, women with childe were put to cruell death for their profession; and a liuing childe falling out of the mothers belly, was throwen in the same fire againe that consumed the mother. But these tyrannous persecutions were done by the Bishops of that time, vnder the warrant of the Popes authoritie; and therefore were not subiect to that constant order and formes of execution, which as they are heere established by our Lawes and customes, so are they accordingly obserued in the punishment of all criminals: For all Priestes and Popish Traitours here receiue their Iudgements in the temporall Courts, and so doe neuer exceed those formes of execution which are prescribed by the Law, or approued by continuall custome. One thing is also to bee marked in this case that strangers are neuer called in question here for their religion, which is farre otherwise (I hope) in any place where the *Inquisition* domines.

But hauing now too much wearied you with this long discourse, whereby I haue made you plainely see, that the wrong done vnto mee in particular first by the *Popes Breues*, and then by these Libellers, doth as deepely interest you all in generall, that are *Kings*, free *Princes*, or *States* as it doth me in particular: I will now conclude, with my humble prayers to God, that he will waken vs vp all out of that Lethargike slumber of Securitie, wherein our Predecessors and wee haue lien so long; and that wee may first grauely consider, what we are bound in conscience to doe for the planting

planting and ſpreading of the trew worſhip of God, according to his reuealed will, in all our Dominions; therein hearing the voice of our onely Paſtor (*for his Sheepe will know his Voyce*, as himſelfe ſayeth) and not following the vaine, corrupt and changeable traditions of men. And next, that we may prouidently looke to the ſecuritie of our owne States, and not ſuffer this incroching *Babylonian Monarch* to winne ſtill ground vpon vs. And if GOD hath ſo mercifully dealt with vs, that are his Lieutenants vpon earth, as that he hath ioyned his cauſe with our intereſt, the ſpirituall libertie of the Goſpell with our temporall freedome: with what zeale and courage may wee then imbrace this worke: for our labours herein being aſſured, to receiue at the laſt the eternall and ineſtimable reward of felicitie in the kingdome of Heauen; and in the meane time to procure vnto our ſelues a temporall ſecuritie, in our temporall Kingdomes in this world. Iohn 10.27.

As for ſo many of you as are alreadie perſwaded of that Trewth which I profeſſe, though differing among your ſelues in ſome particular points; I thinke little perſwaſion ſhould moue you to this holy and wiſe Reſolution: Our Greatneſſe, nor our number, praiſed bee GOD, being not ſo contemptible, but that wee may ſhew good example to our neighbors; ſince almoſt the halfe of all Chriſtian people and of all ſorts and degrees, are of our profeſſion; I meane, all gone out of *Babylon*, euen from Kings and free Princes, to the meaneſt ſort of People. But aboue all (my louing *Brethren* and *Coſins*) keepe faſt the vnity of Faith among your ſelues; Reiect [1] queſtions of Genealogies and [2] *Aniles fabulas*, as *Paul* ſaith; Let not the fooliſh heate of your Preachers for idle Controuerſies or indifferent things, teare aſunder that Myſticall Body, whereof ye are a part, ſince the very coat of him whoſe members wee are was without a ſeame: And let not our diuiſion breed a ſlander of our faith, and be a word of reproch in the mouthes of our aduerſaries, who make *Vnitie* to be one of the ſpeciall notes of the trew Church. [1] 1.Tim.1.4. [2] Ibid c.4.7.

And as for you (my louing *Brethren* and *Coſins*) whom it hath not yet pleaſed GOD to illuminate with the light of his trewth; I can but humbly pray with *Elizeus*, that it would pleaſe GOD to open your eyes, that yee might ſee what innumerable and inuincible armies of Angels are euer prepared and ready to defend the trewth of GOD: and with *S. Paul* I wiſh, that ye were as I am in this caſe; eſpecially that yee would ſearch the Scriptures, and ground your Faith vpon your owne certaine knowledge, and not vpon the report of others; ſince euery *Man muſt bee ſafe by his owne faith*. But, leauing this to GOD his mercifull prouidence in his due time, I haue good reaſon to remember you, to maintaine the ancient liberties of your Crownes and Common-wealthes, not ſuffering any vnder GOD to ſet himſelfe vp aboue you; and therein to imitate your owne noble *predeceſſors*, who (euen in the dayes of greateſt blindneſſe) did diuers times couragiouſly oppoſe themſelues to the incroaching ambition of Popes. Yea, Acts.26.29. Abac.2.4.

ſome of your Kingdomes haue in all aages maintained, and without any interruption enioyed your libertie, againſt the moſt ambitious Popes. And ſome haue of very late had an euident proofe of the Popes ambitious aſpiring ouer your Temporall power; wherein ye haue conſtantly maintained and defended your lawfull freedome, to your immortall honour. And therefore I heartily wiſh you all, to doe in this caſe the Office of godly and iuſt Kings and earthly Iudges: which conſiſteth not onely in not wronging or inuading the Liberties of any other perſon (for to that will I neuer preſſe to perſwade you) but alſo in defending and maintaining theſe lawfull Liberties wherewith GOD hath indued you: For yee, whom GOD hath ordained to protect your people from iniuries, ſhould be aſhamed to ſuffer your ſelues to be wronged by any. And thus, aſſuring my ſelfe, that ye will with a ſetled Iudgement, free of preiudice, weigh the reaſons of this my *Diſcourſe*, and accept my plainneſſe in good part, gracing this my *Apologie* with your fauours, and yet no longer then till it ſhall be iuſtly and worthily refuted; I end, with my earneſt prayers to the ALMIGHTIE for your proſperities, and that after your happie Temporall Raignes in earth, ye may liue and raigne in Heauen with him for euer.

A CA-

A CATALOGVE OF THE LYES OF *TORTVS*, TOGETHER WITH A BRIEFE Confutation of them.

TORTVS. Edit. Politan. pag. 9.

IN the Oath of Allegiance the Popes power to excommunicate euen Hereticall Kings, is expresly denied.

CONFVTATION.

The point touching the Popes power in excommunicating Kings, is neither treated of, nor defined in the Oath of Allegiance, but was purposely declined. See the *wordes of the Oath*, and the *Præmonition. pag. 292.*

TORTVS. pag. 10.

2 *For all Catholike writers doe collect from the wordes of Christ*, Whatsoeuer thou shalt loose vpon earth, shall be loosed in heauen, *that there appertaineth to the Popes authoritie, not onely a power to absolue from sinnes, but also from penalties, Censures, Lawes, Vowes, and Oathes.*

CONFVTATION.

That all Roman-Catholike writers doe not concurre with this Libeller, in thus collecting from CHRISTS wordes, *Matth.* 16. To omit other reasons, it may appeare by this that many of them doe write, that what CHRIST promised *there*, that hee did actually exhibite to his Disciples, *Iohn* 20. when hee said, *Whose sinnes ye remit, they shall be remitted*, thereby restraining this power of loosing formerly promised, vnto loosing from sinnes, not mentioning any absolution from Lawes, Vowes and Oathes in this place. So doe *Theophylact, Anselme, Hugo Cardin. & Ferus in Matt.* 16. So doe the principall Schoolemen, *Alexand. Hales in Summa. part.* 4. *q.* 79. *memb.* 5. *&* 6. *art.* 3. *Thom. in* 4. *dist.* 24. *q.* 3. *art.* 2. *Scotus in* 4. *dist.* 19. *art.* 1. Pope

Hadrian.6.in 4.dist. q.2. de clauib.pag.302.edit.Parisien. anno 1530.who also alleadgeth for this interpretation, *Augustine* and the *interlinear Glosse.*

TORTVS. Pag.18.

3 *I abhorre all Parricide, I detest all conspiracies: yet it cannot be denied but occasions of despaire were giuen* [*to the Powder-plotters.*]

CONFVTATION.

That it was not any iust occasion of despaire giuen to the Powder-Traitours, as this Libeller would beare vs in hand, but the instructions which they had from the Iesuits, that caused them to attempt this bloody designe: See the *Premonition, pag.*291. & 335. and the booke intituled, *The proceedings against the late Traitours.*

TORTVS. Pap.26.

4 *For not onely the Catholiques, but also the Caluinist puritanes detest the taking of this Oath.*

CONFVTATION.

The Puritanes doe not decline the Oath of Supremacie, but daily doe take it, neither euer refused it. And the same Supremacie is defended by *Caluin* himselfe, *Instit. lib.*4. *cap.* 20.

TORTVS. Pag.28.

5 *First of all the Pope writeth not, that he was grieued at the calamities which the Catholikes did suffer for the keeping of the Orthodox faith in the time of the late Queene, or in the beginning of King* Iames *his reigne in England, but for the calamities which they suffer at this present time.*

CONFVTATION.

The onely recitall of the wordes of the Breue will sufficiently confute this Lye. For thus writeth the Pope, *The tribulations and calamities which ye haue continually susteined for the keeping of the Catholique faith, haue alway afflicted vs with great griefe of minde. But forasmuch as we vnderstand, that at this time all things are more grieuous, our affliction hereby is wonderfully increased.*

TORTVS. Pag.28.

6 *In the first article* [*of the Statute*] *the Lawes of Queene* Elizabeth *are confirmed.*

CONFVTATION.

There is no mention at all made of confirming the Lawes of Queene *Elizabeth*, in the first article of that Statute.

TORTVS. Pag.29.

7 *In the* 10.*Article* [*of the said Statute*] *it is added, that if the* [*Catholicks*] *refuse the third time to take the Oath being tendered vnto them, they shall incurre the danger of loosing their liues.*

CON-

CONFVTATION.

There is no mention in this whole Statute either of offering the Oath the third time, or any indangering of their liues.

TORTVS. Pag.30.

8 *In the* 12. *Article, it is enacted, that whosoeuer goeth out of the land to serue in the warres vnder forreine Princes, they shall first of all take this Oath, or els be accounted for Traitours.*

CONFVTATION.

It is no where said in that Statute, that they which shall thus serue in the warres vnder forraine Princes, before they haue taken this Oath, shall be accounted for Traitors, but onely for Felons.

TORTVS. Pag.35.

9 *Wee haue already declared, that the* [Popes] *Apostolique power in binding and loosing is denied in that* [*Oath of Alleageance.*]

CONFVTATION.

There is no Assertory sentence in that Oath, nor any word but onely conditionall, touching the power of the Pope in binding and loosing.

TORTVS. Pag.37.

10 *The* Popes *themselues, euen will they, nill they, were constrained to subiect themselues to* Nero *and* Diocletian.

CONFVTATION.

That Christians without exception, not vpon constraint but willingly and for conscience sake, did subiect themselues to the Ethnicke Emperors, it may appeare by our *Apologie, pag.*255,256. and the *Apologetickes* of the ancient Fathers.

TORTVS. Pag.47.

11 *In which words* [*of the* Breues *of* Clement the 8.] *not onely* Iames *King of Scotland, was not excluded, but included rather.*

CONFVTATION.

If the *Breues* [of *Clement*] did not exclude mee from the Kingdome, but rather did include me, why did *Garnet* burne them? why would he not reserue them that I might haue seene them, that so hee might haue obteined more fauour at my hands for him and his Catholikes?

TORTVS. Pag.60.

12 *Of those* 14. *Articles* [*conteined in the Oath of Alleagiance*] *eleuen of them concerne the Primacie of the Pope in matters Spirituall.*

CONFVTATION.

No one Article of that Oath doeth meddle with the *Primacie* of the *Pope* in matter Spirituall: for to what end should that haue bene, since we haue an expresse Oath elsewhere against the *Popes Primacie* in matters Spirituall?

TORTVS. Pag.64.

13 *Amongst other calumnies this is mentioned, that* Bellarmine *was priuie to sundry conspiracies against* Q. Elizabeth, *if not the author.*

CONFVTATION.

It is no where said [in the *Apologie*] that *Bellarmine* was either the Authour, or priuie to any conspiracies against Queene *Elizabeth*; but that he was their principall instructer and teacher, who corrupted their iudgement with such dangerous positions and principles, that it was an easie matter to reduce the generals into particulars, and to apply the dictates which hee gaue out of his chaire, as opporunitie serued, to their seuerall designes.

TORTVS. Pag.64.

14 *For he* [Bellarmine] *knoweth, that* Campian *onely conspired against Heretical impietie.*

CONFVTATION.

That the trew and proper cause of *Campians* execution, was not for his conspiring against Hereticall impietie, but for conspiring against Queene *Elizabeth* and the State of this Kingdome, it was most euident hy the iudiciall proceedings against him.

TORTVS. Pag.65.

15 *Why was* H. Garnet, *a man incomparable for learning in all kindes, and holinesse of life, put to death, but because he would not reueale that which he could not doe with a safe conscience.*

CONFVTATION.

That *Garnet* came to the knowledge of this horrible Plot not onely in confession as this Libeller would haue it, but by other meanes, neither by the relation of one alone, but by diuers, so as hee might with safe conscience haue disclosed it; See the *Premonition, pag.*334, 335, &c. and the Earle of *Northamptons* booke.

TORTVS. Pag.71.

16 *Pope* Sixtus 5. *neither commanded the French King to bee murthered, neither approoued that fact, as it was done by a priuate person.*

CONFVTATION.

The falsehood of this doeth easily appeare by the Oration of *Sixtus* 5.

TORTVS. Pag.91.

17 *That which is added concerning* Stanley *his Treason, is neither faithfully nor trewly related: for the Apologer (as his maner is) doeth miserably deprauе it, by adding many lyes.*

CONFVTATION.

That which the *Apologie* relateth concerning *Stanley* his Treason, is word for word recited out of Cardinall *Allens* Apologie for *Stanleys* treason: as it is to be seene there.

TOR-

TORTVS. Pag.93.

18 *It is very certaine that* H. Garnet *at his arraignement, did alwayes constantly auouch, that neither hee nor any Iesuite either were authors, or compartners, or aduisers, or consenting any way* [*to the Powder-Treason.*] And a little after. *The same thing hee protested at his death in a large speach, in the presence of innumerable people.*

CONFVTATION.

The booke of the proceedings against the late Traitours, and our *Premonition, pag.* 334,335,&c. doe clearely prooue the contrary of this to bee trew.

TORTVS. Pag.97.

19 *King* Iames *since he is no Catholike, neither is he a Christian.*

CONFVTATION.

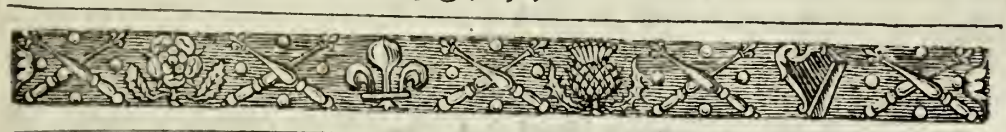
Contrary: I am a trew Catholike, a professor of the trewly ancient, Catholike, and Apostolike Faith: and therefore am a trew Christian. See the confession of my faith in the *Premonition, pag.* 302.303, *&c.*

TORTVS. Pag.98.

20 *And if the reports of them which knew him most inwardly, be trew, when hee was in Scotland, he was a Puritane, and an enemie to Protestants: Now in England he professeth himselfe a Protestant, and an enemie to the Puritans.*

CONFVTATION.

Contrary; and what a Puritane I was in *Scotland*: See my ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ and this my *Premonition, pag.* 305,306.



HIS FALSIFICATIONS IN HIS ALLEDGING OF HISTORIES,

together with a briefe declaration of their falshood

THE WORDS OF TORTVS. Pag.70.

1 *IT was certaine that he* [Henry 4. *the Emperour*] *died a naturall death.*

CONFVTATION.

It was not certaine: since sundry Historians write otherwise, that he died vpō his imprisonment by his sonne *Henry* 5. either with the noysomnesse and loathsomnesse of the prison, or being pined to death by hunger. Read *Fasciculus temporum* at the yeere 1094. *Laziardus epitom. vniuersal. Histor. c.* 198. *Paulus Langius in Chronico Citizensi* at the yeere 1105. and *Iacobus Wimphelingus epitome Rerum Germanic. c.*28.

TOR-

TORTVS. Pag.83.

2 Henry 4. *The Emperour feared indeed, but not any corporall death, but the censure of Excommunication, from the which that he might procure absolution, of his owne accord, he did thus demissely humble himselfe* [*before* Gregory 7.]

CONFVTATION.

That *Henry* 4. thus deiected himselfe before the Pope, it was neither of his owne accord, neither vpon any feare of the Popes Excommunication, which [in this particular] hee esteemed of no force, but vpon feare of the losse of his Kingdome and life, as the records of antiquitie doe euidently testifie. See *Lambertus Schafnaburg* at the yeere 1077. *Abbas Vrspergen.* at the yeere 1075. The Author of the life of *Henry* 4. *Bruno* in his History of the Saxon warre. *Laziard. in epitom. vniuersal. Histor. c.* 193. *Cuspinian. in Henr.* 4. *Sigonius de Regno Italiæ lib.* 9.

TORTVS. Pag.83.

3 *The trewth of the History* [*of* Alexander 3. *treading vpon the necke of* Fredericke Barbarossa *with his foot*] *may be iustly doubted of.*

CONFVTATION.

But no Historian doubteth of it; and many do auouch it, as *Hieronym. Bard. in victor. Naual. ex Bessarion. Chronico apud Baron. ad an.* 1177. *num.* 5. *Gerson de potestate Ecclesiæ consid.* 11. *Iacob Bergom. in supplem. Chronic. ad an.* 1160. *Nauclerus Gener.* 40. *Petrus Iustinian lib.* 2. *Rerum Venetar. Papirius Masson. lib.* 5. *de Epi, cop. vrbis.* who alledgeth for this *Gennadius* Patriarch of *Constantinople.* Besides *Alphonsus Ciacconius de vit. Pontif. in Alexand.* 3 and *Azorius* the Iesuite: *Instit. Moral. part. lib.* 5. *c.* 43.

TORTVS. Pag.83.

4 What other thing feared *Frederick Barbarossa* but excommunication?

CONFVTATION.

That *Frederick* feared onely Pope *Alexander* his Excommunication, no ancient Historian doth testifie. But many do write, that this submission of his was principally for feare of loosing his Empire and Dominions. See for this, *Martin Polon ad an.* 1166. *Platina in vita Alexan.* 3 *Laziard. in epitom. Historiæ vniuersal c.* 212. *Naucler. Generat* 40. *Iacobus Wimphelingus in epitom. Rerum Germanic. c.* 32.

TORTVS. Pag.88.

5 *Adde hereunto, that* Cuspinian. [*in relating the history of the Turkes brother who was poysoned by* Alexander 6.] *hath not the consent of other writers to witnesse the trewth of this History.*

CONFVTATION.

The same History, which is reported by *Cuspinian*, is recorded also by sundry other famous Historians. See *Francis Guicciardin. lib.* 2. *Histor. Ital. Paulus Iouius lib.* 2. *Hist. sui temporis. Sabellic. Ennead.* 10. *lib.* 9. *Continuator Palmerij*, at the yeere. 1494.

THE.

THE NOVEL DOCTRINES,
WITH A BRIEFE DECLARATION
of their Noueltie.

NOVEL DOCTRINE. Pag.9.

1 *IT is agreed vpon amongst* all, *that the Pope may lawfully depose Hereticall Princes, and free their Subiects from yeelding obedience vnto them.*

CONFVTATION.

Nay, *all* are so farre from consenting in this point, that it may much more trewly be auouched, that *none* entertained that conceit before *Hildebrand*: since he was the first brocher of this new doctrine neuer before heard of, as many learned men of that aage, and the aage next following (to omit others of succeeding aages) haue expresly testified. See for this point, the Epistle of the whole Clergie of *Liege* to Pope *Paschal* the second. See the iudgement of many Bishops of those times, recorded by *Auentine* in his historie, *lib.5.fol.*579. Also the speech vttered by *Conrade* bishop of *Vtretcht*, in the said fifth booke of *Auentine, fol.*582. And another by *Eberhardus*, Archbishop of *Saltzburge. Ibid.lib.7.p.*684. Also the iudgement of the Archbishop of *Triers, in constitut. Imperialib. à M.Haimensfeldio editis.pag.*47. The Epistle of Walthram Bishop of *Megburgh* which is extant in *Dodechine* his Appendix to the Chronicle of *Marianus Scotus*, at the yeere 1090. *Benno* in the life of *Hildebrand.* The author of the booke *De vnitate Ecclesiæ*, or *the Apologie* for *Henry* the fourth. *Sigebert* in his Chronicle, at the yeere 1088. *Godfrey* of *Viterbio* in his History entituled *Pantheon, part.*17. *Ottho Frisingensis, lib.6.c.*35. *& præfat.in lib.*7. *Frederick Barbarossa.lib.6. Gunther. Ligurin.de gestis Frederici.* and *lib.*1.*c.*10. of *Raduicus de gestis eiusdem Frederici. Vincentius in speculo historiali lib.*15.*c.*84. with sundry others.

NOVEL DOCTRINE. Pag.51.

2 *In our supernaturall birth in Baptisme wee are to conceiue of a secret and implied oath, which we take at our new birth, to yeeld obedience to the spirituall Prince, which is Christes Vicar.*

CONFVTATION.

It is to bee wondred at, whence this fellow had this strange new Diuinitie, which surely was first framed in his owne fantasticall brame. Else let him make vs a Catalogue of his Authors, that hold and teach, that all Christians, whether infants or of aage, are by vertue of an oath taken in their Baptisme, bound to yeeld absolute obedience to CHRISTS Vicar the Pope, or baptized in any but in CHRIST.

NOVEL

NOVEL DOCTRINE. Pag.94.

3 *But ſince that Catholike doctrine doth not permit for the auoidance of any miſchieſe whatſoeuer, to diſcouer the ſecret of Sacramentall confeſsion, he* [Garnet] *rather choſe to ſuffer moſt bitter death, then to violate the ſeale of ſo great a Sacrament.*

CONFVTATION.

That the ſecret of Sacramentall confeſſion is by no meanes to bee diſcloſed, no not indirectly, or in generall, ſo the perſon confeſſing bee concealed, for auoydance and preuention of no miſchiefe, how great ſoeuer: Beſides that it is a poſition moſt dangerous to all Princes and Commonwealths, as I ſhew in my *Præmonition, pag.* 333, 334. It is alſo a Nouell Aſſertion, not heard of till of late dayes in the Chriſtian world: Since the common opinion euen of the Schoolemen and Canoniſts both old and new, is vnto the contrary; witneſſe theſe Authors following: *Alexander Hales part.4.qu.78.mem.2.art.2. Thom.4.diſt.21.qu.3.art.1.ad 1. Scotus in 4.diſt.21. qu.2. Hadrian.6.in 4.diſt. vbi de Sacramen. Confeſ. edit. Pariſ.* 1530. *pag.* 289. *Dominic. Sot. in 4.diſt.18.q.4.art.5. Franciſ. de victor. ſumm. de Sacram. n.* 189. *Nauar. in Enchirid. c.* 8. *Ioſeph. Angles in Florib. part.*1. *pag.*247. *edit. Antuerp. Petrus Soto lect.* 11. *de confeſs.* The Ieſuites alſo accord hereunto, *Suarez. Tom.4.diſp. in 3.part. Thom.diſp.*33. § 3. *Gregor. de Valentia. Tom.4.diſp.7.q.*13. *punct.*3. who ſaith the common opinion of the Schoolemen is ſo.

NOVEL DOCTRINE. Pag.102.

4 *I dare boldly auow, that the Catholikes haue better reaſon to refuſe the Oath* [*of Allegeance*] *then* Eleazar *had to refuſe the eating of Swines fieſh.*

CONFVTATION.

This aſſertion implieth a ſtrange doctrine indeede, that the Popes *Breues* are to be preferred before Moſes Law: And that Papiſts are more bound to obey the Popes decree, then the Iewes were to obey the Law of God pronounced by Moſes.

NOVEL DOCTRINE. Pag.135.

5 *Churchmen are exempted from the Iuriſdiction of ſecular Princes, and therefore are no ſubiects to Kings: yet ought they to obſerue their Lawes concerning matters temporall, not by vertue of any Law, but by enforcement of reaſon, that is to ſay, not for that they are their Subiects, but becauſe reaſon will giue it, that ſuch Lawes are to be kept for the publike good, and the quiet of the Common-wealth.*

CONFVTATION.

How trew friends the Cardinall and his Chaplen are to Kings that would haue ſo many Subiects exempted from their power: See my *Præmonition, Pag.*296, 297. Alſo, Pag, 330. 331. &c. But as for this and the like new *Aphoriſmes*, I would haue theſe cunning Merchants to ceaſe to vent ſuch ſtuffe for ancient and Catholike wares in the Chriſtian world, till they haue diſprooued their owne *Venetians*, who charge them with Noueltie and forgerie in this point.

* * *

A DE-

A DECLARATION CONCERNING THE PROCEEDINGS WITH THE STATES GENERALL, OF THE UNITED PROVINCES OF THE LOW COUNTREYS,

In the cause of D. CONRADUS VORSTIUS.

TO

TO THE HONOVR OF OVR LORD AND SAVIOVR *JESVS CHRIST*,

THE ETERNALL SONNE
OF THE ETERNALL
FATHER,

THE ONELY ΘΕΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ,
MEDIATOVR, AND RECONCILER
OF MANKIND,

IN SIGNE OF THANKFVLNES,

HIS MOST HVMBLE, AND
MOST OBLIGED SERVANT,
IAMES BY THE GRACE OF GOD,
KING OF GREAT BRITAINE,
FRANCE AND IRELAND,
Defender of the FAITH,

Doeth DEDICATE, and CONSECRATE
this his DECLARATION.

That

THat it is one of the principall parts of that duetie which appertaines vnto a Christian King, to protect the trew Church within his owne Dominions, and to extirpate heresies, is a Maxime without all controuersie; in which respect those honourable Titles of *Custos & Vindex vtriusque Tabulæ, Keeper and Auenger of both the Tables of the Law*, and *Nutritius Ecclesiæ, Nurse or Father of the Church*, doe rightly belong vnto euery Emperour, King, and Christian Monarch. But what interest a Christian King may iustly pretend to meddle *in alienâ Repub. within another State or Common wealth* in matters of this nature (where Strangers are not allowed to be too curious) is the point in question, and whereof we meane at this time to treate.

For our zeale to the glory of God, being the onely motiue that induced vs (as he who is the searcher of the heart and reines can witnesse) to make sundry Instances and Requests vnto the States Generall of the *Vnited Prouinces* for the banishment of a wretched *Heretique*, or rather *Athiest*, out of their Dominions, named D. *Conradus Vorstius*, hath bene so ill interpreted, or rather wrested to a peruerse sence, by a sort of people, whose corrupted stomacke turnes all good nourishment into bad and pernitious humors, (as if it had bene some vanitie and desire of vaine glory in vs, or else an Ambition to encroach by little and little vpon the libertie of their State, which had caried vs headlong into the businesse) As both to cleare our owne honour from the darke mists of these false and scandalous imputations, as also to make it trewly appeare vnto the Christian world, in what sort wee haue proceeded herein; Wee haue thought good to publish this present Declaration, containing as well the discourse of our whole Negotiation hitherto with the States in this cause, as also the reasons which haue mooued vs to take it so to heart, and to perseuere therein as we haue done, and will doe (God willing) vntill it please him, to bring it to some good and happy end.

In Autumne last, about the end of August, being in our hunting Progresse, there came to our hands two bookes of the said *Vorstius*, the one intituled *Tractatus Theologicus de Deo*, dedicated to the Lantgraue of *Hes-*

sen, imprinted in the yeere 1610. the other his *Exegesis Apologetica* vpon that booke, dedicated to the States, and printed in the yeere 1611. Which books, assoone as we had receiued, and (not without much horror and detestation) cast our eye onely vpon some of the principall Articles of his disputations conteined in the first booke, and his Commentary thereupon in the second, God is our witnesse, that the zeale of his glory did so transport vs, as (to say with *S. Paul*) We stayed not one houre, but dispatched a Letter presently to our Ambassadour resident with the States, to this purpose following.

TRustie and welbeloued, &c. *You shall repaire to the* States Generall, *with all possible diligence in our name, telling them, that wee doubt not, but that their Ambassadours which were with vs about two yeeres since, did informe them of a forewarning, that we wished the said Ambassadours to make vnto them in our name, to beware in time, of seditious and hereticall Preachers, and not to suffer any such to creepe into their State. Our principall meaning was of* Arminius, *who though himselfe were lately dead, yet had hee left too many of his disciples behinde him. Now according to that care which wee continually haue of the weale of their State, wee haue thought good to send vnto them a new aduertisement vpon the like occasion, which is this: That there is lately come to our handes a piece of worke of one* Vorstius, *a Diuine in those parts, wherein hee hath published such monstrous blasphemie and horrible Atheisme, as out of the care that a Christian Prince, and Defender of the Faith, (as we haue euer bene) ought to haue of the good of the Church, wee hold not onely such a scandalous booke worthy to bee burnt, but euen the Authour himselfe to bee most seuerely punished. This notwithstanding wee are informed, that the States are so farre from beeing sensible of so great a scandall to the Church, as that the most part of them haue already yeelded him their free consents and voyces, for the obteining of the place of Diuinitie Reader in the Vniuersitie of* Leyden, *which the aboue-named* Arminius *of little better stuffe, lately enioyed: and though himselfe be dead, hath left his sting yet liuing among them. Hauing therefore vnderstood, that the time of Election will be about Michaelmas next, and holding our selues bound in honour and conscience, as a Christian Prince, and one who hath vouchsafed the States our Royall fauour and support in respect of their Religion, to preuent so great a mischiefe so farre as we are able: Wee will and require you to let them vnderstand, how infinitely wee shall bee displeased if such a Monster receiue aduancement in the Church. And if it bee alleadged, that hee hath recanted his Atheisticall opinions, and that thereupon he may be capable of the place, you shall tell them, that wee thinke his Recantation so slender a satisfaction for so fowle an offence, as that wee hold him rather worthy of punishment, or at least to be debarred from all promotion: Wherein though*

wee

*wee assure our selfe, that they will of their owne discretions eschew such a viper, who may make a fearefull rent not onely in their Ecclesiasticall, but also in their Politique State, yet notwithstanding all this, if they will continue their resolution to preferre him, you shall then make a protestation to them in our name, That wee will not faile to make knowen to the world publikely in print, how much wee detest such abominable Heresies, and all allowers and tolerators of them: And because the States shall know vpon what reasons we haue grounded this our Admonition, you shall receiue herewith a * Catalogue of his damnable Positions, of which no one page of the booke is free.*

Giuen vnder our Signet, &c.

* *This Catalogue is here purposely omitted for auoyding a needlesse repetition, seeing the principall points thereof are conteined in a little Collection annexed at the end of our second letter written to* Wynwood.

For obseruing, that so prodigious a Monster began to liue among them, We could do no lesse (considering the infinite obligations which wee owe vnto God) then to make Our zeale appeare against such an enemie to the Essence of the Deity. Besides, the charitie, which Wee beare to the said States Our neighbors and Confederates, professing the same Religion that we do, did enforce Vs to admonish them, to eschew and preuent in time so dangerous a contagion, which dispersing it selfe, might infect, not onely the bodie of their State, but all Christendome also; the danger whereof was so much greater to our Dominions then to many others, by how much the *Prouinces* of the said States are neerer vnto Vs in their situation.

Our Ambassadour therefore hauing sufficiently acquitted himselfe of that which Wee gaue him in charge, by exhorting them in Our Name, timely to preuent the danger which might ensue by enterteyning such a guest as VORSTIVS, (which at that time they might easily haue done, seeing he was not yet setled at *Leyden*, neither was he lodged in the house appointed for the publique Reader, nor were his wife and family yet arriued, and therefore much more easie for them to haue rid him out of their countrey, sending him backe to the place from whence he came, according to the old Prouerbe,

Turpiùs eijcitur, quàm non admittitur hospes.

It is more honest to refuse a guest, then when you haue once receiued him, to thrust him out of doores.) Yet notwithstanding all the diligence that Our Ambassadour could vse, and the oportunity which at that time was offered them to discharge him, all the answere he could procure from them, was but this, that,

Whereas a Proposition was made on the behalfe of his Maiestie of Great Britaine, *in the assembly of the Lords States Generall of the* Vnited Prouinces *by Sir* Ralph Winwood *his Maiesties Ambassadour and Councellour in the* Council *of* State *in those countreys, exhibited in writing the* 21. *of the moneth precedent (the substance thereof being first amply debated by the Deputies of the States of* Holland *and* West-Frizeland, *and thereupon mature deliberation had) The said*

Lords States Generall in answere to the said Proposition, haue most humbly requested, and by these presents doe humbly request his Maiestie to beleeue, that as, for preseruation of the libertie, rights and priuiledges of the Low-Countreys, against the vniust, tyrannicall and bloody courses contrary thereunto, practised for many yeeres vpon the consciences, bodies and fortunes of the good Inhabitants of all qualities of those Countreys *by the* Spaniards *and their Adherents, they haue bene constrained after a long patience, many Remonstrances, Requests and other submissiue proceedings vsed in vaine, to take armes for their necessary defence, (when they saw no other remedy,) as also to craue the assistance of his Maiestie particularly, and of other* Kings, Princes *and* Common wealths, *by whose fauor, but principally by his Maiesties they haue since continually sustained for many yeeres, with an exceeding great constancie and moderation as well in prosperitie as in aduersity, a heauie, chargeable and bloody warre, many terrible and cruell encounters, notable Battailes both by land and sea, matchlesse Sieges of a number of Townes, Ruines, and deuastation of Cities and Countreys, and other difficulties incident to the warre: So doe their Lordships alwayes confesse, that in* specie *the chiefe and principall reason which hath moued them at first to entertaine, and since to maintaine the said resolution, hath beene the foresaid tyrannie exercised vpon the consciences, bodies, and goods of their people, by introduction of the Inquisition and constraint in matter of Religion: For which respects their Obligation to his Maiestie is greatly increased, in that after so many demonstrations of affection, fauours, and assistances in the pursuite of their iust cause, his Maiestie is yet pleased, like a louing Father, to assure vnto them the continuance of the same Royall affection and assistance, by taking care that the trew Christian reformed Religion bee purely and sincerely taught within their Countreys, aswell in Churches as in Schooles; For which the Lords States Generall doe most humbly thanke his Maiestie, and will for their parts by all lawfull meanes, endeuour so to second his sincere and Christian intention in this particular, as his Maiestie shall receiue all good contentment.*

As concerning the businesse of Doct. Vorstius, *principally handled in the foresaid Proposition, the Lords States Generall (to make the matter more plaine) haue informed themselues, First that the* Curators *of the Vniuersitie of* Leyden *(according to their duetie, and the ancient custome euer since the foundation of that Vniuersitie,) hauing diligently made inquirie for some* Doctor *to bee chosen into the place of Diuinitie* Professor *there, at that time voyd, after mature deliberation were giuen to vnderstand, that at* Steinford *within the Dominions of the* Counts *of* Tecklenbourg, Bentem, &c. *(who were of the first* Counts *that in* Germanie *had cast off the yoke of the* Papacie, *Idolatrie, and impure religion, and imbraced the reformed Religion, which to this day they maintaine) there did remaine one* Doct. Conradus Vorstius, *who had continued in that place about fifteene yeeres a* Professor *of trew Religion, and a Minister; and that the saide* Conradus Vorstius *for his learning and other good parts was much sought after by* Prince Maurice, Lantgraue *of* Hessen, *with intent to make him* Diuinitie Professor *in some* Vniuersitie *of his Countrey. Moreouer, that hee had sufficiently, and to the great contentment, euen of those that are now become his greatest aduersaries, shewed with a Christian moderation his learning and puritie*

ritie in the holy knowledge of Diuinity, against the renowned Iesuite Bellarmine: *And that the sayd* Conradus Vorstius *was thereupon sent for by the* Curators *aforesayde, about the beginning of Iuly,* 1610. *which message beeing seconded by letters of recommendation from his* Excellencie, *and from the deputy Councelors for the States of* Holland *and* Westfrizeland, *vnto the sayd Counts of* Tecklenburg, *did accordingly take effect. In the moneth of August following, the said Election and Calling was countermined by certaine persons, to whose office or disposition the businesse did nothing at all belong: which being perceiued, and the sayd* Vorstius *charged with some vnsoundnesse of doctrine, the* Curators *did thereupon thinke fit, with the good liking of* Vorstius *himselfe, that as well in the Vniuersitie of* Leyden, *as at the* Hage, *he should appeare in his owne iustification to answere all accusers and accusations whatsoeuer. At which time there was not any one that did offer to charge him. In the moneth of May following, sixe Ministers did vndertake to prooue, that* VORSTIVS *had published false and vnsound doctrine, who afterward beeing heard in full assembly of the States of* Holland *and* Westfrizeland, *(in the presence of the* Curators, *and sixe other Ministers) on the one part, and* Vorstius *in his owne defence on the other part; and that which could bee said on either side to the seuerall points in their seuerall refutations respectiuely: The said Lords States hauing grauely deliberated vpon the allegations as well of the one part as of the other, as also heard the opinions of the said Ministers (after the maner and custome of the sayd assembly) could not see any reason, why the execution of that which was done by the* Curators *lawfully, and according to order, ought to bee hindred or impeached. In August following there being sent ouer hither certaine other* Articles, *wherewith* Vorstius *was charged, and dispersed in little printed Pamphlets amongst the people, the sayd Lords States entred into a new consultation, and there resolued, that* Vorstius *(according both to Gods Law, the Law of Nature, and the law written; as also according to the laudable vse and customes of their country,) should be heard against his new accusers, concerning those* Articles *there layed to his charge. And moreouer, it was generally declared by the States of* Holland *and* Westfrizeland *there assembled, (as euery one of them likewise in his owne particular, and the* Curators *and* Bourgmasters *of* Leyden *for their parts did specially declare:) That there was neuer any intention to permit other Religion to bee taught in the Vniuersity of* Leyden, *then the Christian Religion reformed and grounded vpon the word of God: And besides, that if the sayd* Vorstius *should bee found guilty in any of the aforesayd points whereof hee was accused, that they would not admit him to the place of Professour. The Deputies of the sayd Lords States of* Holland *and* Westfrizeland *further declaring, that they doe assuredly beleeue, that if his Maiesty of* Great Britaine *were well informed of the trew circumstances of this businesse, and of their sincere intention therein, hee would (according to his high wisedome, prudence, and benignitie) conceiue fauourably of them, and their proceedings: whereof the Lords States Generall are no lesse confident; and the rather, for that the said Deputies haue assured them, that the Lords States of* Holland *and* Westfrizeland *their Superiors would proceede in this busineße (as in all others) with all due reuerence, care, and respect vnto his Maiesties serious admonition, as becommeth them.*

And the Lords States Generall, doe request the said Lord Ambassadour to recommend this their Answere vnto his Maiestie with fauour.

Giuen at the Hage, in the Assembly of the said Lords States Generall.
1. October. 1611.

BVt before wee had receiued this answere from the States, some of *Vorstius* books were brought ouer into *England*, and (as it was reported) not without the knowledge and direction of the Authour. And about the same time one *Bertius*, a scholler of the late *Arminius*, (who was the first in our aage that infected *Leyden* with Heresie) was so impudent, as to send a Letter vnto the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with a Booke intituled, *De Apostasia Sanctorum*. And not thinking it sufficient to auow the sending of such a booke, (the title whereof onely, were enough to make it worthy the fire) hee was moreouer so shamelesse, as to maintaine in his Letter to the Archbishop, that the doctrine conteined in his booke, was agreeable with the doctrine of the Church of *England*. Let the Church of CHRIST then iudge, whether it was not high time for vs to bestirre our selues, when as this Gangrene had not onely taken holde amongst our neerest neighbours; so as *Non solùm paries proximus iam ardebat*: not onely the next house was on fire, but did also begin to creepe into the bowels of our owne Kindome; For which cause hauing first giuen order, that the said bookes of *Vorstius* should be publikely burnt, as well in *Pauls* Church-yard, as in both the Vniuersities of this Kingdome, wee thought good to renew our former request vnto the States, for the banishment of *Vorstius*, by a Letter which wee caused our Ambassadour to deliuer vnto them from vs at their Assembly in the *Hage*, the fifth of Nouember; whereunto they had referred vs in their former answere, the tenor of which Letter was as followeth:

HIgh and mightie Lords, *Hauing vnderstood by your answere to that Proposition which was made vnto you in our name by our Ambassadour there resident, That at your Assembly to bee holden in Nouember next, you are resolued then to giue order concerning the busineſſe of that wretched* D. Vorstius, *Wee haue thought good (notwithstanding the declaration which our Ambassadour hath already made vnto you in our name touching that particular,) to put you againe in remembrance thereof by this Letter, and thereby freely to discharge our selues, both in point of our duetie towards God, and of that sincere friendship which wee beare towards you.*

First We assure Our selues that you are sufficiently perswaded that no worldly respect could moue Vs to haue thus importuned you in an affaire of this nature, being drawen into it onely through Our zeale to the glory of God, and the care which Wee haue that all occasion of such great scandals as this is, vnto the trew reformed Church of

of God, might bee in due time foreseene and preuented. Wee are therefore to let you vnderstand, that Wee doe not a little wonder, that you haue not onely sought to prouide an habitation in so eminent a place amongst you, for such a corrupted person as this Vorstius is, but that you haue also afforded him your license and protection to print that Apologie which he hath dedicated vnto you; A booke wherein he doeth most impudently maintaine the execrable blasphemies, which in his former hee had disgorged; The which wee are now able to affirme out of our owne knowledge, hauing since that Letter which wee wrote vnto our Ambassadour, read ouer and ouer againe with our owne eyes (not without extreme mislike and horrour) both his bookes, the first dedicated to the Lantgraue of Hessen, and the other to you. We had well hoped, that the corrupt seed which that enemie of God Arminius did sowe amongst you some few yeeres since (whose disciples and followers are yet too bold and frequent within your Dominions) had giuen you a sufficient warning, afterwards to take heed of such infected persons, seeing your owne Countrey-men already diuided into Factions vpon this occasion, a matter so opposite to vnitie (which is indeed the onely prop and safetie of your State next vnder God) as of necessitie it must by little and little bring you to vtter ruine, if wisely you doe not prouide against it, and that in time.

It is trew that it was Our hard hap not to heare of this Arminius before he was dead, and that all the Reformed Churches of Germanie had with open mouth complained of him. But assoone as Wee vnderstood of that distraction in your State, which after his death he left behind him, We did not faile (taking the opportunitie when your last extraordinary Ambassadors were here with Vs) to vse some such speeches vnto them concerning this matter, as We thought fittest for the good of your State, and which we doubt not but they haue faithfully reported vnto you; For what need We make any question of the arrogancie of these Heretiques, or rather Atheisticall Sectaries amongst you, when one of them at this present remaining in your towne of Leyden, hath not onely presumed to publish of late a blasphemous Booke of the Apostasie of the Saints, but hath besides beene so impudent, as to send the other day a copie thereof, as a goodly present, to Our Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, together with a letter, wherein he is not ashamed (as also in his Booke) to lie so grossely, as to auowe, that his Heresies conteined in the said Booke, are agreeable with the Religion and profession of Our Church of England. For these respects therefore haue Wee cause enough very heartily to request you, to roote out with speed those Heresies and Schismes, which are beginning to bud foorth amongst you, which if you suffer to haue the reines any longer, you cannot expect any other issue thereof, then the curse of God, infamy throughout all the reformed Churches, and a perpetuall rent and distraction in the whole body of your State. But if peradventure this wretched Vorstius should denie or equiuocate vpon those blasphemous poynts of Heresie and Atheisme, which already hee hath broached, that perhaps may mooue you to spare his person, and not cause him to bee burned (which neuer any Heretique better deserued, and wherein we will leaue him to your owne Christian wisedome) but to suffer him vpon any defence or abnegation, which hee shall offer to make, still to continue and to teach amongst you, is a thing so abominable, as we assure our selues it will not once enter into any of your thoughts: For admit hee would proue himselfe innocent (which neuerthelesse

thelesse he cannot doe) in most of those points wherewith hee is charged; yet were it but the scandall of his person, which will still remaine, it were cause more then enough for you to remooue him out of your Dominions. You know what is written of Cæsars *wife, that it was not sufficient for her to be innocent, but she must also bee free from all occasion of suspicion: how much more then ought you to bee warie and cautious in a matter of so great importance as this, which concerneth the glory of God, the saluation of your soules, the soules of your people, and the safetie of your State; and not to suffer so dangerous a sparke to lie kindling amongst you? For a man may easily coniecture, that feare and the horrour of his owne actions will make him boldly denie that poyson which boyleth at his heart: For what will not hee denie, that denieth the Eternitie and Omnipotencie of God? And howbeit hee were innocent (as we haue said before) the Church of God is not so ill furnished with men of sufficiencie for that place, as that you need bee vnprouided of some other, who shall not be subiect to that scandall, wherewith hee is so tainted, as it must bee a long penance, and many yeeres of probation, that must weare it away. But especially ought you to bee very carefull, not to hazard the corruption of your youth in so famous an Vniuersitie by the doctrine of so scandalous a person, who (it is to bee feared) when hee findeth himselfe once well setled there, will returne againe to his ancient vomite.*

We will therefore conclude with this request vnto you, that you will assure your selues, that the affection onely which wee beare vnto your State, hath enforced vs to vse this libertie towards you, not doubting for our part, but that, as this which wee haue written vnto you proceedes from the sinceritie of our conscience, so our good God will bee pleased to giue you a due apprehension thereof, and that your resolution in a matter of so great consequence, may tend to his glory, to your owne honour and safetie, to the extirpation of these springing Atheismes *and* Heresies, *and to the satisfaction, not onely of vs, but of all the reformed Churches, who haue bene hitherto extremely scandalized therewith: But if on the contrary part, we faile of that wee expect at your hands (which God forbid) and that you suffer hereafter such pestilent* Heretiques *to nestle among you, who dare take vpon them that licentious libertie, to fetch againe from Hell the ancient* Heresies *long since condemned, or else to inuent new of their owne braine, contrary to the beliefe of the trew Catholike Church, wee shall then bee constrained (to our great griefe) publikely to protest against these abominations: and (as God hath honoured vs with the Title of* Defender of the Faith) *not onely to depart and separate our selues from the vnion of such false and heretical Churches, but also to exhort all other reformed Churches to ioyne with vs in a common Councel, how to extinguish and remand to hell these abominable* Heresies, *that now newly begin to put foorth againe. And furthermore for our owne particular, we shall be enforced strictly to inhibite the youth of our Dominions from repairing to so infected a place, as is the Vniuersitie of* Leyden. Sed meliora speramus & ominamur, *We hope and expect for better, assuring our selues in the mercie of our good God, that as he hath a long time preserued you from your temporall enemies, and at this time is beginning to establish your Estate to the contentment of all your friends, (but especially to ours, who haue neuer beene wanting to assist you vpon all occasions) that the same God will not leaue you for a prey to your spirituall aduersaries,*

who

who gape at nothing but your vtter destruction. And in this confidence wee will recommend you and the prosperitie of your affaires to the protection of God, remaining as we haue euer beene,

Your good friend IAMES R.

Giuen at our Pallace of Westminster the 6. of October. 1611.

Wee writ likewise at the same time, another Letter to our Ambassadour, for his direction in the whole businesse; the Copie whereof is this which followeth:

TRustie and welbeloued. Perceiuing by the States their answere to your Proposition deliuered to them in our name, concerning the matter of Vorstius, *that they haue taken time for their proceeding with him; and hauing some reason to thinke that his fauourers amongst them are stronger then were to bee wished, Wee haue thought good to renew our Admonition vnto them in this matter, by a Letter of our owne, written at good length, and in earnest maner, which you shall heerewith receiue, and at the time of their meeting for this purpose, present vnto them in our name: Insisting with them with all the earnestnesse you can, both for the remoouing of this blasphemous Monster, as also that they may now at least take some such solid order, as this licentious libertie of disputing or arguing such vnprofitable questions (whereby new opinions may bee dayly set abroach against the grounds of Diuinitie) may hereafter bee restrained as well at* Leyden, *as in all the rest of their Dominions. And for the better strengthening of this motion, wee doe herewith send you a Note of some of the most speciall Atheisticall points, wherewith his booke is full farced. But if contrary to our expectation, all our labour cannot mooue them to giue satisfaction, not to vs, but to the whole Church of God in this case; Then are you (if no better may be) to renew our Protestation vnto them, which wee sent you in our former Letter, assuring them, that our first labour shall be to publish to the world their defection from the Faith, and trew Church of Christ: Wee meane the defection of them, whom they maintaine and harbour in their bosomes: though wee purposely omitted this point in our Letter vnto them for being too harsh, except all other remedies were desperate. But we both wish and hope for better.*

Theobaldes. 6. October. 1611.

BVt before our Ambassadour had opportunitie to deliuer our Letter to the States, there were not onely certaine people more cunning then zealous, who caused a rumour to bee spread amongst the States, that we were become exceeding cold in the businesse, nay that wee had almost quite giuen it ouer; but also in the meane time, the said *Vorstius* was setled at *Leyden*, lodged in the qualitie of a publike Reader, and his wife,

wife, & his familie there arriued, as he himselfe witnesseth in his Booke called *Christiana, & modesta respõsio.* For his own words in his preface are these, *Quum igitur Diuinâ vocatione sic ferente in eâ vrbe ac Prouinciâ sedem fixerim, cunq; domo totâ nunc habitem, quæ supremam in terrâ iurisdictionem vestram agnoscit, &c.* That is to say, Since therefore (God so disposing of me,) I haue settled my selfe, and with my whole family do now inhabite in that City and prouince, which acknowledgeth your supreme authority on earth, &c. Our Ambassador therefore hauing on the one side consideration of that false report which was spred abroad of our coldnes in the busines, and on the other side obseruing how *Vorstius* was established at *Leyden* after our first Admonition and request made vnto the *States*, but before their Assembly on the fift of Nouember, hee then resolued first to present vnto them our Letter, making likewise himselfe a remonstrance to the same purpose, which We haue here set downe, together with an extract of certaine passages, collected out of the said Bookes of *Vorstius*, which We sent vnto our Ambassadour, and was by him then shewed vnto the *States*, that they might discerne the Lyon by his pawe.

M*Y Lords: If euer the King of* Great Britaine *my Master hath merited any thing of this State, (and how much he hath merited in respect of his great fauours, and Royall assistances, your Lordships acknowledging them with all gratitude can best witnesse, and best iudge) he hath surely merited at this present hauing by his Letters full of zeale and pietie, which he hath written vnto you, endeuoured to procure the establishment of that Religion onely within your Prouinces, which the Reformed Churches of* Great Britaine, France *and* Germanie, *by a mutuall consent, haue generally embraced. For what is it to his Maiestie, whether* D. Vorstius *be admitted Professor in the Vniuersitie of* Leyden, *or not? or whether the doctrine of* Arminius *bee preached in your Churches? sauing that as a Christian Prince, he desires the aduancement of the Gospel, and as your best friend and allye, the strengthening of your Commonwealth, whose first foundations were cymented with the blood of his subiects, and which in his iudgement can no way subsist, if wittingly and willingly you suffer the Reformed Religion to be either by the practises of your Doctors sophisticated, or by their malice depraued.*

If therefore Religion be as it were the Palladium *of your Common wealth, and that to preserue the one in her glory and perfection, bee to maintaine the other in her puritie, let your selues then be iudge, in how great a danger the State must needs bee at this present, so long as you permit the Schismes of* Arminius *to haue such vogue as now they haue in the principall Townes of* Holland, *and if you suffer* Vorstius *to be receiued Diuinitie Professour in the* Vniuersitie *of* Leyden (*the Seminarie of your Church*) *who in scorne of the* Holy word of GOD, *hath after his owne fancie, deuised a new Sect, patched together of seuerall pieces of all sorts of ancient and moderne Heresies.* The foole said in his heart, There is no God: *but hee that with open mouth, of set purpose, and of prepensed malice, hath let his penne runne at randome, to disgorge so many blasphemies against the* Sacred Maiestie of GOD, *this*

this fellow shall weare the garland of all that euer yet were heard of, since by the meanes of the Gospel, the light of Christian Religion hath shined vnto the world. If any man doubt of it, for a proofe, see here what his Maiestie with his owne hand hath collected out of his writings.

Out Of His Annotations.

CÆterùm, nihil vetat Deo etiam corpus ascribere, si vocabulum corporis in significatione latiore sumamus. Pag 210.

But there is nothing forbids vs to say, that God hath a Body, so as we take a body in the largest signification.

Non satis igitur circumspectè loquuntur, qui Deum vt essentiâ, sic etiam voluntate prorsus immutabilem esse affirmant. Pag.212.

They therefore doe not speake circumspectly enough, who say, that God is altogether as vnchangeable in his will, as he is in his essence.

Nusquam scriptum legimus Dei substantiam simpliciter immensam esse, immò non pauca sunt, quæ contrarium sensum habere videntur. Pag.232.

We finde it no where written, That the substance of God is simply immense: nay, there are many places, which seeme to cary a contrary meaning.

Magnitudo nulla actu infinita est: ergo nec Deus. Pag.237.

No Magnitude is actually infinite, and therefore God is not actually infinite.

Et sanè si omnia, & singula rerum euenta, præcisè & ab æterno definita fuissent, nihil opus esset continua rerum inspectione, & procuratione, quæ tamen Deo passim tribuitur. Pag.308.

And surely, if all and euery euent of things were precisely set downe, and from eternitie, there needed not then that continuall inspection and procuration, which neuertheless is euery where attributed vnto God.

Pleniùs tamen respondere videntur, qui certam quidem in genere vniuersalem Dei scientiam esse docent; Sed ita tamen, vt plures certitudinis causas in visione præsentium, ac præteritorum, quàm in visione futurorum contingentium agnoscant. Pag.441.

They therefore, who teach that there is in God a certaine vniuersall knowledge *in genere*, doe seeme to answere more fully; but so as they doe confesse likewise that there bee more causes of certaintie in the vision of things present, then in the vision of things future contingent.

Omnia etiam decreta quæ semel apud se præcisè definiuit, vno modo & actu, post factam definitionem accuratissimè nouit: sed de alijs omnibus, & singulis, quæcunque sunt & fiunt, seorsim, & per se consideratis, hoc affirmari non potest; quippe quæ non modò Pag.271.

modò successiuè in tempore, verumetiam contingenter, & sæpe conditionaliter existunt.

All things which GOD hath once decreed, and precisely determined, *vno modo & actu*, he doth after such his determination exactly know them: But this cannot be affirmed of all and euery other thing, which are, or come to passe, being considered seuerally and by themselues, because they haue their existence, not onely successiuely in time, but also contingently, and oftentimes conditionally.

OVT OF HIS APOLOGIE.

Pag 38. *PAter peculiarem quandam entitatem, seu quasi limitatam, & restrictam essentiam habere putandus est.*

It is to be vnderstood that the Father hath a certaine peculiar being, or as it were a limitted and bounded essence.

Pag.43. *Vnde porrò non difficulter efficitur, etiam interna quædam accidentia in Deo, hoc est, in ipsâ (vt sic dicere liceat) proæreticâ Dei mente, ac voluntate, reuerâ existere.*

From whence it is easily prooued, that there are really certaine internall accidents in God, that is to say, (if it be lawfull to vse such a word) in the very fore-electing minde and will of God.

In the 16. Chapter, he doeth dangerously dissent from the receiued opinion of Diuines, concerning the Vbiquitie of Gods presence.

In the 19. Chapter, pag. 99. he doth attribute vnto God, Magnitude and Quantitie.

These are in part the opinions of that great Diuine, whom they haue chosen to domineere in the Chaire at Leyden: *In opposition whereunto, I meane not to say any thing else, then that which the Romane Oratour did once pronounce in the like case:* Mala est & impia consuetudo contra Deum disputandi, siuè seriò id fit, siuè simulatè: *It is an euill and a wicked custome* (saith hee) *to dispute against God, whether it be in earnest, or in iest.*

Now my Lords, I addresse my selfe vnto your Lordships, and according vnto the charge which I haue receiued from the King my Master, I coniure you by the amitie that is betwixt his Kingdomes and your Prouinces, (the which on his part will continue alwayes inuiolable) to awaken your spirits, and to haue a carefull eye at this Assembly of Holland, (*which is already begunne*) ne quid Respublica detrimenti capiat, *That the Common wealth take no harme: which vndoubtedly, at one time or other, will be turned vpside downe, if you suffer such a dangerous contagion to harbour so neere you, and not remoue it out of your Prouinces assoone as possibly you may. The disciples of* Socinus (*with whose doctrine he hath bene suckled in his childhood*) doe

doe seeke him for their Master, and are ready to embrace him. Let him goe, hee is a Bird of their owne feather: Et dignum sanè patellâ operculum; *A couer fit for such a dish.*

On the other side, the Students in Diuinitie at Leyden *to the number of* 56. *by a duetiful Remonstrance presented vnto the States of* Holland *the* 16. *of October the last yeere, did most humbly beseech the said States, not to vse their authoritie in compelling them to receiue a Professor, who both by the attestations of the Diuinitie Colledges at* Basil *and* Heydelberg, *as also by manifest euidence out of his owne writings, is conuinced of an infinite number of Heresies.*

These reasons therefore, namely, the proofes of so many enormous and horrible Heresies maintained in his Bookes, the instance of his Maiestie grounded vpon the welfare and honour of this Countrey, the requests either of all, or of the most part of your Prouinces, the petitions of all the Ministers (excepting those onely which are of Arminius Sect) *should me thinkes preuaile so farre with my Lords the States of* Holland, *and (we hope) will so farre preuaile, as they will at the last apply themselues to the performance of that, which both the sinceritie of* Religion, *and the seruice of their Countrey requireth at their hands. Furthermore, I haue commandement from his Maiestie to mooue you in his Name, to set downe some certaine Reglement in matters of Religion throughout your Prouinces, that this licentious freedome of disputation, may by that meanes be restrained, which breeds nothing but Factions, and part-taking; and that you would absolutely take away the libertie of Prophecying, which* Vorstius *doeth so much recommend vnto you in the dedicatorie Epistle of his* Anti-Bellarmine, *the Booke whereof his Patrons doe boast so much.*

To conclude, his Maiestie doeth exhort you, seeing you haue heretofore taken Armes for the libertie of your consciences, and haue so much endured in a violent and bloody warre, the space of fourtie yeeres, for the profession of the Gospel, that now hauing gotten the vpper hand of your miseries, you would not suffer the followers of Arminius, *to make your actions an example for them to proclaime throughout the world, that wicked doctrine of the* Apostasie *of the Saints.*

To bee short, the account which his Maiestie doeth make of your amitie appeares sufficiently by the Treaties which hee hath made with your Lordships, by the succours which your Prouinces haue receiued from his crownes, by the deluge of blood, which his subiects haue spent in your warres. Religion is the onely sowder of this Amitie: For his Maiestie being, by the Grace of GOD, Defender of the Faith, *(by which Title hee doeth more value himselfe, then by the Title of* King of Great Britaine) *doeth hold himselfe obliged to defend all those, who professe the same Faith and Religion with him. But if once your zeale begin to grow colde therein, his Maiestie will then straightwayes imagine, that your friendship towards him and his subiects will likewise freeze by little and little. Thus much I had in charge to adde vnto that which his Maiestie in his owne letters hath written vnto you. You may bee pleased to consider of it, as the importance of the cause doeth require, and to resolue thereupon, that which your wisedomes shall thinke fittest for the honour and seruice of your Countrey.*

But our Ambassadour hauing, after a delay for the space of diuers

weekes, receiued this cold and ambiguous answere vnto our Letter and Proposition, that is to say, That, *The Lords States Generall hauing seriously deliberated vpon the Proposition which was made vnto them by our Ambassadour the fift of Nouember, as also vpon our Letters of the sixt of October deliuered vnto them at the same time, did very humbly giue vs thankes for the continuance of our Royall affection toward the welfare of their Countreys, and the preseruation of the trew reformed Christian Religion therein; And that the said States Generall, as also the States of* Holland *and* Westfrizeland *in their seuerall assemblies respectiuely, hauing entred into consultation (with all due reuerence and regard vnto vs) concerning those Articles wherewith* Doctor Conradus Vorstius *was charged, the Curators of the Vniuersitie of* Leyden *did thereupon take occasion to make an order prouisionall, that the said* Vorstius *should not bee admitted to the exercise of his place, which was accordingly performed; So as vpon the matter, hee was then in the Citie of* Leyden, *but as an inhabitant or Citizen. And that in case the said* Vorstius *should not bee able to cleare himselfe from those accusations which were layd to his charge, before, or in the next Assembly of the States of* Holland *and* Westfrizeland *(which was to bee holden in February following) the Lords States Generall did then assure themselues, that the States of* Holland *and* Westfrizeland *would decide the matter with good contentment. And therefore forasmuch as at that time there could be no more done in the cause, without great inconuenience and distaste to the principall Townes of the said Prouinces, our Ambassadour was required to recommend thus much in the best manner he could vnto vs, and with the most aduantage to the seruice of their Countrey.*

Vpon the coldnesse therefore of this Answere, (which hee feared would giue vs no satisfaction) hee thought it was now high time to consider what the last remedy might bee, whereof vse was to bee made for the aduancement of this businesse: and perceiuing that hee had already performed all the rest of our commandements, excepting onely to Protest in case of refusall, and esteeming such a cold answere, accompanied with so many delayes, to be no lesse in effect then an absolute refusall, hee thereupon resolued to make this Protestation in their publique assemblie, which hereafter followeth.

M*Y Lords; The Historiographers, who haue diligently looked into the Antiquities of* France, *doe obserue, that the Aduocates there in times past, were accustomed to begin their pleadings with some Latine Sentence taken out of the holy Scriptures: I shall at this time follow their example, and my Sentence shall be this:* Si peccauerit in te frater tuus, argue eum inter te & ipsum solum; si audiuerit te, lucratus es fratrem tuum; si non audiuerit te, adhibe vnum atque alterum, vt in ore duorum vel trium stet omne verbum: si non audiuerit eos, dic Ecclesiæ. *If thy brother trespasse against thee, goe and tell him his fault betweene him and thee alone; if he heare thee, thou hast wonne thy brother; but if hee heare thee not, take yet with thee one or two, that by the mouth of two or three*

three witnesses euery word may bee confirmed: and if hee refuse to heare them, tell it vnto the Church.

There is not any one of you (as I suppose) in this Assemblie, that will not acknowledge the brotherly loue wherewith the King my Master hath alwayes affected the good of your Prouinces, and the fatherly care which hee hath euer had to procure the establishment of your State. In which respect, his Maiestie hauing vnderstood, that my Lords the States of Holland *were determined to call vnto the place of Diuinitie Professour in the Vniuersitie of* Leyden, *one* Doctor Conradus Vorstius, *a person attainted by many witnesses,* iuris & facti, *of a number of Heresies (the shame whereof would light vpon the Church of God, and consequently vpon his Maiesties person and Crownes) is therewith exceedingly offended: And for the more timely preuention of an infinitie of euils, which necessarily would thereupon ensue, did giue mee in charge by expresse Letters to exhort you (which I did the 21. of September last) to wash your hands from that man, and not to suffer him to come within your Countrey. To this exhortation, your answere was, that in the carriage of this businesse, all due obseruance and regard should be had vnto his Maiestie. Neuertheless so it is, that his Maiestie hath receiued so little respect heerein, as that in stead of debarring* Vorstius *from comming into the Countrey (which euen by the lawes of friendship his Maiestie might haue required) the proceedings haue beene cleane contrary; for he is suffered to come vnto* Leyden, *hath beene receiued there with all honour, hath there taken vp his habitation, where he is treated and lodged in the qualitie of a publique Professour. His Maiestie then perceiuing, that his first motion had so little preuailed, thought good to write himselfe a Letter vnto you, to the same purpose, full of zeale and affection, perswading you by many reasons there set downe at length, not to staine your owne honour, and the honour of the reformed Churches, by calling vnto you that wretched and wicked Atheist. These Letters were presented in this Assembly the fifth of Nouember, a great number of the Deputies of the Townes of* Holland *being then present, At which time (as I was commanded by his Maiestie) I vsed some speach my selfe to the same effect. Some sixe weekes after, I receiued an Answere to my Proposition, but an Answere confused, ambiguous and wholly impertinent, by which I haue reason to conceiue, that there is no meaning at all to send* Vorstius *away, who is at this present in* Leyden, *receiued and acknowledged, respected and treated as publique Professour, whether it be to grace that Vniuersitie in stead of the deceased* Ioseph Scaliger, *I cannot tell, or whether it bee to giue him meanes to doe more mischiefe in secret, which perhaps for shame hee durst not in publique: For these reasons, according vnto that charge, which I haue receiued from the King my Master, I doe in his name, and on his behalfe Protest in this Assembly, against the wrong, iniurie, and scandall done vnto the reformed Religion by the receiuing and reteining of* Conradus Vorstius *in the Vniuersitie of* Leyden, *and against the violence offered vnto that Alliance which is betwixt his Maiestie and your Prouinces; the which beeing founded vpon the preseruation and maintenance of the reformed Religion, you haue not letted (so much as in you lies) absolutely to violate in the proceeding of this cause. Of which enormous indignities committed against the Church of* GOD *and against his Maiesties person, in preferring the presence of* Vorstius, *before his Amitie and Alliance, the*

King my Master holds himselfe bound to bee sensible, and if reparation thereof bee not made, and that speedily, (which cannot be by any other meanes then by sending Vorstius *away) his Maiestie will make it appeare vnto the world by some such Declaration, as he will cause to be printed and published how much he detests the Atheismes and Heresies of* Vorstius, *and all those that maintaine, fauour and cherish them. This is my charge, which if I had failed to performe, I had failed in my duetie, both towards the Seruice of* GOD, *which is now in question, as also toward the honour of the King my Master, who will alwayes bee ready to maintaine the puritie of the reformed Religion, though it were with the profusion of his owne blood, the blood of his children, and subiects.*

This Protestation being made, the States after some deliberation, framed vs an answere in these termes: *That howsoeuer His Maiestie of* GREAT BRITAINE *had not yet receiued that contentment which Hee might expect in this busineſſe of* Vorstius; *neuertheleſſe, they did not doubt, but that at the Aſſembly of the States of* Holland *in February next, His Maiestie should receiue entire satisfaction.* Which answere gaue some life to our hope, that at the said assembly of the States, to bee holden the fifteenth day of the next moneth of Februarie, GOD will vouchsafe so to open the eyes of those of *Holland*, as that they may be able to discerne, what a Cockatrice egge they hatch within their bosome, and that (seeing the smooth speaches of *Vorstius* doe but verifie the old Prouerbe, *Latet anguis in herbâ*, There lurkes a snake in the grasse,) they will at that assembly resolue to purge their Territories from the poison of his Heresie. Wee mention *Holland*, because the other Prouinces, namely *Frizeland* and *Zeland*, and some part of *Holland* likewise, are already so distasted with his Heresies, as of themselues they haue desired *Holland* to banish him out of the Countrey.

And certainely weeare no lesse sorie, then amazed, that the *Curators* of *Leyden*, (as appeareth by a long letter which they haue written to the States Ambassador resident with vs) can haue their vnderstanding so stupified, as to haue made choice of the person of *Vorstius* for a man well qualified, to appease the Schismes and troubles of their Church and Vniuersitie, and as an apt instrument of peace. For to shew their blindnesse in this, they need no other answere, then, *Exitus acta probat*, The issue tries the action. Seeing to our great griefe it cannot bee denied, but that there hath bene more distraction of spirits, and a greater diuision in their State since the comming of *Vorstius*, then was for many yeeres before: witnesse so many Bookes and Accusations written against him, and his answeres thereunto, witnesse also the protestation of a great number of Professors of *Leyden* against him, and many of the principall members, as well Prouinces as Townes of the Vnited body of that State, who haue accused him as before we haue said. So as if for that purpose onely, they brought him vnto their Vniuersitie, they must needes acknowledge it hath had a very vnhappie successe.

Hauing

HAuing now finished the discourse of our whole proceeding in this cause, from the beginning vntill this present, It remaineth that we set downe the reasons which perswaded vs to ingage our selues in *alienâ republicâ* in a businesse of this nature. But wee haue done that already, although but summarily, and by the way: For in that place where wee make mention of the bookes of *Vorstius* which were brought into our Kingdome, wee yeeld three Reasons, which mooued vs to take this cause to heart: First, the zeale of Gods glory, to whom we are so much bound: Secondly, charity towards our next neighbours and Allies: and Thirdly, the iust reason we had to feare the like infection within our owne Dominions.

As concerning the Glory of God; If the subiect of *Vorstius* his Heresies had not bene grounded vpon Questions of a higher qualitie then touching the number and nature of the Sacraments, the points of Iustification, of Merits, of Purgatorie, of the visible head of the Church, or any such matters, as are in controuersie at this day betwixt the Papists and vs; Nay more, If hee had medled onely with the nature and workes of GOD *ad extra*, (as the Schoolemen speake,) If (wee say) hee had soared no higher pitch (although wee should haue bene very sory to see such Heresies begin to take roote amongst our Allies and ancient confederates;) Neuertheless, wee doe freely professe, that in that case wee should neuer haue troubled our selues with the businesse in such fashion, and with that feruencie as hitherto we haue done. But this *Vorstius* mounting aloft like an *Anti-S. Iohn* with the wings of the Eagle, vp to the Heauens, and to the Throne of GOD, disputing of his Sacred and ineffable Essence, *Quæ tremenda & admiranda est, sed non scrutanda*, Which is to be trembled at, and admired, but not to be searched into; confounding *infinitie*, (one of the proper attributes of GOD,) and *immensitie*, (sometime applied to creatures,) the *essence* and *substance*, with the *hypostasis*, disputing of a first and second *creation*, *immediate* and *mediate*, making GOD to be *quale* and *quantum*, changing *eternitie*, into *euiternitie*, teaching *eternitie* to consist of a number of aages, and in the end as a sworne enemie not onely to Diuinitie, but euen to all Philosophie, both humane and naturall, denying God to be *Actus purus*, and void of qualities, but hauing in some sort (with horror be it spoken) *aliquid diuersitatis aut multiplicitatis in se ipso, etiam principium cuiusdam mutabilitatis*; That is to say, Some kind of diuersitie or multiplicitie in himselfe, yea euen a beginning of a certaine mutabilitie: Let the world then iudge whether we had not occasion hereupon, to be moued, not onely as one that maketh profession of the reformed Religion, but as a Christian at large; yea, euen as a *Theist*, or a man that acknowledgeth a GOD, or as a *Platonique* Philosopher at the least.

Secondly, for the Charitie which we owe to our neighbours and Allies; the Charitie of euery Christian ought to extend to all men, but *especially towards them that be of the Houshold of faith.* The States then being not onely our confederates, but the principall bond of our coniunction being our vniformitie in the trew Religion, we had reason to admonish them, not to permit such dangerous Heresies to spring, and take roote amongst them, which being once suffered, could produce no other effects, then the danger of their soules, a rent betwixt them and all other Christian Churches, and at the last a rupture and diuision in their Temporall State, which (next vnder God) can be maintained by nothing but Vnitie. To which resolution we were the rather induced by the example of diuers other Prouinces vnder the dominion of the said States, who did accuse *Vorstius*, and perswaded *Holland* to send him away out of their countrey, as before we haue declared.

It is trew, that if *Vorstius* had beene a natiue of *Holland*, as *Iohn* of *Leyden* was, it had beene sufficient for vs to haue giuen them a generall warning of the danger, and then to haue referred it vnto themselues, to take such course therein, as to them should seeme conuenient: But this *Vorstius* being a stranger, and sent for out of another Countrey to instruct their youth, hee can challenge no such priuiledge by reason of his birth, but that the States may lawfully discharge him, whensoeuer they please. And for his profession, it is (without doubt) lesse dangerous, to suffer a thousand Lay Heretiques to liue in a Common wealth (for that is but matter of policie, so long as they offend not in their speach, and seduce not others,) then to haue so much as one Doctour that may poison the youth: For, *Quo semel est imbuta recens seruabit odorem Testa diu*; The vessell will taste a long time after of that liquor wherewith it is first seasoned; And what shall become of the litle brookes, if their Fountaine be corrupted?

And from hence is deriued our third reason which perswaded vs to meddle in this businesse. For if generally the youth of those Countreys our neerest neighbours should happen to be infected, in what danger then were wee? especially seeing so many of the yonger sort of our Subiects doe repaire for learning sake to the Vniuersitie of *Leyden*: an Vniuersitie of long time famous, but so much the more renowned, for that, within our remembrance, it hath beene adorned with those two excellent personages *Scaliger* and *Iunius*. It is furthermore to bee noted, that the spirituall infection of *Heresie*, is so much more dangerous, then the bodily infection of the plague, by how much the soule is more noble then the body, which caused the *Apostle* S. *Iohn*, when, entring into a Bath, he met there by chance *Cerinthus* the Heretique, to turne backe againe vpon the suddaine for feare of infection. Now if that great *Apostle* the beloued of Christ did so much feare the infection of *Heresie*, as himselfe hath giuen vs a warning in one of his Epistles, *Ne dicas illi, Aue*; Bid him not God speed: haue not we then much more cause to feare the corruption of the youth of our owne Kingdomes?

But

But we very well know, that some will say *Vorstius* is not rightly vnderstood; that some consequences are violently wrested out of his words, contrary to the intention of the Author; that those things which he propounds scholastically by way of question, should not bee taken for his owne resolution; and admit pearaduenture hee may haue spoken in some phrases *minùs cautè*, not warily enough, yet that is but *Logomachie*, contention about words, and ought not to bee imputed vnto him for *Heresie*; and besies that, in his last works he hath sufficiently purged himselfe from all calumnies, and renounced all manner of *Heresies*.

To the first Obiection wee answere, that we neuer accused him by consequences, but that we find his owne words and sentences full of *Heresies*.

To the second, concerning his questions or disquisitions (as he termeth them) wee say, that in doubtfull matters, and where a man may resolue either one way or other, without danger of making shipwracke of Faith, it is not onely tolerable, but very commendable to propound questions or arguments, at leastwise in Schooles: But to deuise new questions vpon the principall Articles of our Faith, to enter not onely into the secret Cabinet of GOD, but to intrude our selues into his Essence, to prie into his most inward parts, and like the Physicians of *Pantagruel*, to visite with torch-light all the most hidden places in the Essence of GOD, wee may boldy pronounce, *Omnia hæc ad destructionem, planè nihil ad ædificationem*; All these things tend to destruction, and nothing surely to edification. S. *Augustine* speaketh against the curiositie of those people, who would needs know what GOD did before hee made the Fabrique of the world. The Iewes during their integritie, did beare another maner of reuerence to the Diuinitie, who thought themselues dead, if once they should see GOD. And their great Law-giuer *Moyses* could obtaine no more (notwithstanding his humble and instant request) then to see the hinder parts of GOD. So as to call into question, or to make doubts of these high points of the Essence of GOD, of the *Trinitie*, of the *hypostaticall* Vnion in the person of CHRIST, or to speake of them in other termes then the Church of GOD hath vniformely established, and in all aages successiuely approued, as it is conteined in all the Orthodox Creeds, and declared in the foure first Councels, is by no meanes lawfull: And to make any question or disquisition vpon these high mysteries, is as much in effect, as to make a contrary conclusion; and such a disquisition deserues the punishment of the Inquision. *Non est bonum ludere cum Sanctis, multò minùs ergo cum Deo*; It is not good to iest with Saints, much lesse therefore with GOD: and one of the first verses which our little children are taught, is this: *Mitte arcana Dei, cœlúmque inquirere quid sit*; Let the secrets of God alone, and be not too curious to enquire into heauen. For what difference is there I pray you, to say, It may be that such a Lady is a whore; or that there be probable arguments to perswade vs that she is such a one; or to say absolutely that shee is a whore? And (wee imagine) *Vorstius* would not hold him

him for his friend, that should say it were a matter very disputable whether *Vorstius* were a damnable Heretique, and should goe quicke to Hell, yea or no: not that he did beleeue him to bee such a one, but that there were many arguments probable enough to perswade a man to take him for no lesse. The nature of man, through the transgression of our first parents hath lost free-will, and reteineth not now any shadow thereof, sauing an inclination to euill, those onely excepted whom God of his meere grace hath sanctified and purged from this originall Leprosie; Insomuch as it is a very perillous thing to set abroach these new and dangerous questions, although they bee accompanied with good answeres: For the greatest part of the world, following the footsteps of our first Parents, are naturally enclined to choose the euill, and to leaue that which is good, and therefore the Diuine Poet *Du Bartas*, speaking of the destruction of *Sodome*, and loath to name the sinne for which it was destroyed, saith thus;

De peur qu' en offençant des saincts l' oreille tendre,
Ie ne les semble plus enseigner, que reprendre.

For feare that in offending of good peoples tender eare,
I rather seeme to teach them, then to wish them to forbeare.

And there is a report (I know not how trew it is) that *Bellarmines* bookes of Controuersies, are not very well receiued in *Italy*, because his obiections are too strong, and his answeres too weake. In which qualitie, as also in one other, whereof we will speake anon, *Vorstius* hath a certaine tincture of *Bellarmine*.

To the third obiection, where it is alleadged, that perhaps hee hath not bene warie ynough in some of his phrases of speach, and that it is but contention for wordes. To that we answere, as before we haue said, That it is in no sort lawfull to speake of those great Mysteries of the *Essence* of God, of the *Trinitie*, of the *Hypostaticall* vnion of natures in the Person of *Christ*, or any such high points, vnlesse wee vse the same phrases and maner of speech, which the Church of GOD hath alwayes vsed in speaking of the said Mysteries. They that will talke of *Chanaan*, must vse the language of *Chanaan*. And the sonnes of *Aaron* were seuerely punished, for presuming to bring strange fire vnto the Altar. By the difference of lesse then one letter, betweene *Siboleth* and *Shiboleth*, the ten Tribes of Israel could discerne their friends from their foes, and that by the pronuntiation onely: And the like difference of one little letter betwixt *homoousion*, and *homoiousion*, serued to make a distinction betwixt the enemies of *Christ* in the East Church, and the Church *Orthodoxall*.

As concerning the fourth and last excuse; namely, that *Vorstius* hath in his last Bookes sufficiently purged himselfe from these calumnies, and renounced all Heresies: Our answere is, That we would very heartily request the States in their next Assembly, seriously and aduisedly to consider and obserue the style which he vseth in his writings and excuses, and then shall

shall they be able to iudge what kind of spirit it is that guideth his penne.

For, to beginne with the Preface of his Booke, intituled his *Christian and modest Answere*, he makes there so light reckoning of his questions beforementioned, as if it were but about the tale of *Tobies* dogge. For in the second page of his said Preface, these be his wordes: *Omnis homo est mendax, immò vanitate ipsâ vanior, solus verò Deus est verax, &c. Quod cùm in omnibus magni momenti negotijs, tum maximè in sanctissimâ fidei causâ humiliter nobis semper agnoscendum est: ne videlicet quidquam quod primâ fronte nobis nouum, immò falsum, & absurdum videatur, facilè damnemus, nec contra quicquid vulgò receptum est, (in rebus præsertim abstrusis ac perplexis, nec tamen ad salutem scitu necessarijs) & quidem cum opinione præcisæ necessitatis, statim approbemus. In his talibus, si quis Regem, aut Principem, alioqui pientissimum, immò Reges, & Principes eiusmodi complures, (addo & Episcopos, seu Doctores Ecclesiæ, non dissimiles) aliquantulum errare dixerit, nihil opinor aduersus Regiam Maiestatem, nihil aduersus Principum, aut Episcoporum dignitatem reuerâ peccauerit, modò semper rationes suorum dictorum modestè reddere paratus sit.* That is to say, Euery man is a lyer, yea, more vaine then vanity it selfe, God onely is trew, &c. Which seeing wee ought euer humbly to acknowledge in all great and weighty causes, most of all ought we to confesse it in the most holy cause of our Faith: insomuch as we should not therefore easily condemne euery thing which at the first seemes strange, yea false and absurd vnto our eares, nor on the contrary side, ought wee foorth-with to approoue, and that with an opinion of precise necessitie, whatsoeuer is commonly receyued, especially in matters abstruse and intricate, whereof the knowledge is not necessarie to saluation. In such poynts as these, if any man shall say, that such a King, or Prince, howsoeuer otherwise most godly and religious, yea that many such Kings, and Princes (nay, I will not except Bishops, or the like Doctors of the Church) haue in some sort erred, I am of opinion, hee shall not giue any iust cause of offence, either to the Maiestie of Kings, or to the dignitie of Princes and Bishops, so as hee bee alwaies ready modestly to yeeld a reason for that which hee shall affirme. In which words, hee maintaineth two Principles: First, that euery man is a lyar, aswell in matter of Faith, as in any thing else; and next, that wee must not euer esteeme the vulgar opinion, and that which is generally receiued in matter of Faith to be the treweſt, nor alwayes condemne euery opinion for absurd, which at the first seemes vnto vs vncouth, and new. Now we pray you obserue, that this man is not accused of small scapes, and therefore beeing not charged with lesser *peccadillos*, then those which before wee haue mentioned, it necessarily followes, that in his excuse hee must vnderstand the same points whereof he is accused. And wee hope by the mercy of GOD, that no Christian (wee speake in this particular, as well for the Papists, as for our selues) shall euer be found to erre in any of those maine points: at the least wee will answere, (by the grace of God,) for one of those Kings whom he names in general. And as for his new opinions,

pinions, which he would so gladly vent abroad, the ancient Faith needes not be changed like an old garment, either in substance, or fashion.

Furthermore, in the third page of his Preface, hee vseth these words, *Sed neque plures vno aliquo semper hîc ditiores sunt. Nemo igitur vnus sibi arroget omnia. Nec numero plures vni alicui, singulare quidquam inuideant.* Neither are many men alwayes richer [*in knowledge*] then some one man. Let not therefore any one man arrogate all things to himselfe. Nor let the greater multitude enuie a particular man, for hauing some singularitie more then his fellowes. The trew principle and foundation of the error of the *Anabaptists*, taking away by this meanes, all maner of gouernment from the Church: For hauing first ouerthrowen the Monarchicall power of the Pope, he sweepes away next all manner of power both Aristocraticall and Democraticall from the Church, cleane contrary to the Apostles institution, which ordeineth, that *the spirits of the Prophets should bee subiect to the Prophets.* For if one particular man may take vpon him such a singularitie as this, how shall he bee subiect to Generall, Nationall, and Synodicall Councels? For straight will he say vnto them; Sirs, yee haue no authoritie to iudge mee, for I haue a singular gift aboue you all. And in the fift Page, these are his words: *Planissimè enim persuasus sum, Serenissimo Regi nunquam in animo fuisse, nunquam in animo fore, alienæ conscientiæ (quod ne Apostoli quidem sibi vnquam arrogârunt) siue directè, siue indirectè, siue per seipsum, siue per alios vllatenùs dominari, vel fidem nostram vlli humanæ authoritati alligare velle.* For I am absolutely perswaded, that it was neuer his Maiesties meaning, nor euer will bee, either directly, or indirectly, by himselfe, or by others, in any sort to ouer-rule another mans conscience, (which euen the Apostles neuer challenged to themselues) nor did, or will his Maiestie euer seeke to tie our Faith to any humane authoritie. Whereby hee is plainely discouered, to bee resolued not to bee subiect in any sort to the iudgement of the Church, in those matters whereof hee is accused. For hee knowes too well, that the ancient Church hath established vpon necessary consequences drawen from the holy Scripture, both a forme of beliefe, and a forme of speach concerning the holy Mysteries aforesaid: And this is the reason why hee will not in these points submit himselfe to the iudgement of any mortall man; But vpon this occasion in the seuenth page of his Preface, maintaines his Christian libertie in this maner: *Qui quidem humanas decisiones à Diuinis mysterijs scrupulosè segregem; & præsertim in audaces Scholarum hypotheses, pro Christiana libertate interdum diligentiùs inquiram:* I, who curiously make a separation betwixt the iudgements of men and the Diuine mysteries, and especially according to Christian libertie, doe sometimes more narrowly looke into the bold supositions of the Schoolemen. As if the Schoole Diuines had bene too ventrous, to explaine and to defend the Articles aforesaid, already so established by the Church: But we may trewly wish in that point, as *Bellarmine* did touching *Caluin*: *Vtinam semper sic errassent Scholastici*; Would God

God the Scholemen had alwayes so erred: For in the maine grounds of Christian Religion, they are worthy of all commendation. Reade *Aquinas* against the *Gentiles*. But in matters of controuersie, where they were to flatter the Pope in his resolutions, and to auow the new ordinances and traditions of their Church, there they yeelded (alas) vnto the iniquitie of the time, and the mysterie of iniquitie, which was euen then in working, got likewise the vpper hand ouer them. And as for this Christian libertie, which he doeth vrge so much, certainely he doeth it with no other intention, but onely vnder this faire pretext, to haue the better meanes, and with more safetie to abuse the world: For Christian libertie is neuer meant in the holy Scripture, but onely in matters indifferent, or when it is taken for our deliuerance from the thraldome of the Law, or from the burden of humane traditions, and in that sense S. *Paul* speaketh in his Epistle to the *Colossians*, *Quare oneraminiritibus?* Why are ye burdened with traditions? But to abuse Christian libertie, in presuming to propound a new doctrine vnto the world, in point of the highest and holiest mysteries of GOD, is a most audacious rashnesse, and an impudent arrogancie: Concerning which *S. Paul* saith, *Though an Angel from heauen, preach vnto you otherwise then that which we haue preached vnto you, let him bee accursed.* And *Saint Iohn* likewise commandeth vs, that wee should not so much as say, *God speed* to that man, which shall bring vs any other doctrine, as wee haue obserued before.

Now to shew that he is a forger of new opinions, by which he would faine make himselfe singular, see but his wordes immediately preceding those which a little before wee mentioned, where hee boasteth, and is wonderfully in loue with a new name which he hath taken vpon himselfe, that is to say, *Purus putus Euangelicus*, A mainly pure Gospeller; although indeed the word *pure* was neuer yet taken in a good part. For amongst the ancient *Heretiques*, there was a Sect that called themselues *Catharoi*, and there was also another Sect among the *Anabaptists*, that were called *Purimes*, from whence the *Precisians* of our Kingdomes, who out of selfe-will and fancie refuse to conforme themselues to the Orders of our Church, haue borrowed their name. And for the word *Gospeller*, although it hath been assumed in diuers places by some of our Religion, yet hath it this ill fortune, that it is more vsually receiued in those parts of *Hungary* and *Boheme*, where there are such infinite diuersities of Sects (agreeing in nothing but in their Vnion against the *Pope*) then in any other place. The holy Scripture it selfe in the *Actes of the Apostles*, mentioneth the name of *Christians*: and the ancient *Primitiue* Church did attribute vnto the faithfull, the names of *Catholique* and *Orthodox*. So as for such a fellow as *Vorstius*, to affect new Titles for his Religion, it hath surely no good relish: his intention without doubt being no other, then by this meanes to make a distinction, and in time a rupture betwixt himselfe, and the *Orthodox* professors of our Religion. And for proofe that hee is stedfastly resolued to persist in

in all these nouelties, and not to retract any thing of that which he hath written, see what hee saith in the last page saue one of his said Preface. *Opinor enim ipse (vt magni illius Erasmi verba hic æmuler) in libris meis nihil reperiri, quo deterior quispiam reddi possit.* For I am of opinion (to vse the words of that great *Erasmus*) that there is nothing to be found in my Bookes, that can make any man the worse that reads them.

As for his Booke which followes this Preface, it verifies the Prouerbe, *Dignum patellà operculum*, A couer fit for such a dish. For it is so full of distinctions, and sophisticall euasions, so stuft with *As it weres*, *in some sorts*, *in my sence*, and such words as these, as euen in that poynt hee hath also a tincture of *Bellarmine*. But God is *Vnity* it selfe, and *Veritie* is *One*, and naked, and in our vsuall manner of speech, we call it *the simple Verity*, but neuer was it yet called, *the double veritie*.

Wee haue thought good to set downe here two places of his sayd Booke, that thereby the Reader may iudge of the rest; whereof one is in the twelfth page, in these words, *Argumenta quæ adferuntur à Patribus, vel à recentioribus Theologis pro æterna Christi generatione, aut fallacia sunt, aut friuola.* The arguments which are vsed both by the Fathers and by the moderne Diuines, for the eternall generation of *Christ*, are either sophisticall or friuolous. These words (as he saith) he is charged to haue vsed, and he cannot bethinke him of any other euasion, but to adde the word *Quædam*, some arguments, *&c.* Now wee shall desire thee (good Reader) here to obserue, that this man condemning some arguments which the Fathers had gathered out of the holy Scripture, to prooue the eternall generation of Christ, as deceitfull and friuolous, hee will bee sure howsoeuer not to alleadge any other arguments, either out of the Fathers, or of his owne brayne, which shall be stronger then those which he hath reiected. And in the same fashion he behaues himselfe throughout his whole Booke: for we shew you this but for a scantling. In the other place, he directly denies, that euer he affirmed in his other Booke, that *Feare* and *Desperation* were incident to God: his wordes are these in the eighth page, *Nam metum & desperationem ne quidem vspiàm nominaui.* For I did neuer so much as name *Feare* and *Desperation*, in any place. And yet neuertheless, let any man looke vpon his other Booke, *pag.* 114. and *pag.* 450. and hee shall find two seuerall Discourses of a good length, concerning these two points. Herein hauing no other shift, he betakes himselfe to an absolute and flat Negatiue. But to the intent, that the Reader may iudge of his maner of speaking through his whole last Booke intituled, *A Christian and modest Answere*, and how he playes the Sophister therein; we haue set downe diuers of his phrases (in manner of a Table) which we haue caused to be extracted out of his said Booke.

Tract. Theol. de Deo.

¶ 1. Estne

¶ 1. *Estne Deus essentialiter immensus, & vbiq; presens?*

1 *NVsquam disertè scriptum est, substantiam Dei simpliciter, seu quouis modo, immensam & infinitam esse.* [2] *Et non pauca in S. Literis occurrunt, quæ contrarium, non dico clarè asserunt, sed tamen asserere videntur. Interim aliud est videri, aliud reuerâ esse. Respondeo tamen ex sensu meo.*

1 *Quoad Thesin, seu rem ipsam est.*

Tametsi non quoad [2] *specialem modum, seu* [3] *hypothesin scholasticam.*

4 *Quæ tamen falsa non est, verùm aliquatenùs hactenus infirmiùs asserta, & sic aliquatenùs dubia.*

[1] Pag. 16. lin. 16.
[2] Pag. 16. lin. 23.
[1] Pag. 22. lin. 23.
[2] Pag. 4. l. 19.
[3] Pag. 22. l. 26.
[4] Pag. 23. l. 1.

Is God essentially immense, *and euery where present?*

It is in no place clearely set downe, that the substance of God is simply, and euery way immense, and infinite. And there be many places in the holy Scripture, which (I doe not say, clearely affirme) yet seeme to affirme the contrary. In the meane time, it is one thing to seeme, and another thing to be indeed. Yet in mine owne sense I answere thus:

Simply, and positiuely it is.

Howsoeuer, not in that speciall maner and sort as the Scholemen hold.

Which opinion, neuertheless, I doe not say is false, but I say it hath hitherto bene somewhat weakely proued, & therefore in some sort doubtful.

¶ 2. *Estne in Deo quantitas?*

Est, sed [1] *non physica.*

Verùm [2] *hyperphysica.*

Attamen [3] *nobis planè imperceptibilis, & merè spiritualis.*

[1] Pag. 2. l. 28.
[2] Pag. 23. l. 12.
[3] Pag. 2. l. 29.

Is there Quantitie *in God?*

There is, but not a naturall Quantitie:

But a supernaturall.

Neuertheless, not possible to be perceiued by vs, but meerely spirituall.

¶ 3. *Estne Deus infinitus?*

1 *Omnia Entia certam & definitam essentiam habent, id quod Deo ipsi aliquatenus aptare licet.* [2] *Deum quolibet sensu rectè infinitum dici non posse, quum infinitudo illa quæ definitioni certæ oponitur in Deum reuerâ non cadat.*

[1] Pag. 3. l. 16.
[2] Pag. 3. l. 18.

Is God infinite?

Euery thing that hath a being hath a certaine and definite Essence, which may be applied in some kinde vnto God. That God cannot rightly in euery sence be said to be infinite, seeing that infiniteness which is opposite to certaine definiteness, cannot indeed be attributed vnto God.

¶ 4. *Estne Deus in aliquo loco?*

Est, sed non [1] *physico;*

Verùm in spatio abstractissimè sumpto, quod Deus suo diuino modo adimplet.

[1] Pag. 3. l. 22, 23.

Is God in a place?

He is, but not in a naturall place;

But *in spatio abstractissimè sumpto*, which God after his Diuine maner doeth fill.

¶ 5. *Estne Deus corporeus?*

[1] Pag.3.l.34. [1] *Propriè loquendo minimè corporeus est.*

[2] Pag.15.l.6. [2] *Sed tamen nihil absurdi erit, si Deo (impropriè loquendo) corpus ascribamus,*

[3] Pag.4.l.3. [3] *nempè quatenus vocabulum Corporis impropriè & latissimè pro verâ substantiâ*

[4] Pag.15.l.14. [4] *non prorsus absurdè sumitur,* [5] *iuxta lâtam significationem, quæ figurata, & impropria, seu mauis catachrestica est.*

[5] Pag.15.l.10.&3.

Hath God a body?

If we will speake properly, he hath none.

Yet is it no absurditie, speaking improperly, to ascribe a body vnto God, that is to say, as the word Body is taken improperly and generally, (and yet not very absurdly) for a trew substance, in a large signification which is figuratiue, and improper, or (if you will) abusiue.

¶ 6. *Estne Deus compositus è materiâ & formâ?*

[1] Pag.5.l.3. [1] *Nullo modo, propriè loquendo. Est tamen in sensu quodam improprio, vel, si mauis, per* κατάχρησιν *quandam, per quam vocabulum Corporis, item quasi materiæ & formæ, seu quasi compositionis ex genere & differentiâ, aliquando eidem attribui posse non immeritò alicui videatur.*

Is God compounded of matter *and* forme?

By no meanes, speaking properly: Although it bee trew in a certaine improper sence, or (if you please) by a certaine *Catachresis*, by the which the word *Body*, and as it were *materia & forma*, or as it were a Composition *ex genere & differentia*, may sometimes seeme to some (and not without cause) to be fitly attributed to God.

¶ 7. *Estne Deus immutabilis, vt essentiâ, sic voluntate?*

[1] Pag.15.l.15. *Non est* [1] *vt essentiâ, sic voluntate; Id est, non est æqualiter.*

Is God vnchangeable *in his* Will, *as he is in his* Essence?

He is not vnchangeable in his will, as he is in his Essence. That is, not alike vnchangeable in the one, as he is in the other.

¶ 8. *Estne Deus subiectus accidentibus?*

[1] Pag 7.l.8. [1] *Non vllis veris.*

[2] Pag.7.l.9. [2] *Tametsi per liberam voluntatem quædam accidentia latissimè sic dicta, tum ad se, tum in se recipit Deus.*

Is God subiect to accidents?

Not to any trew accidents.

Although God doeth by his Free will take to himselfe, and into himselfe, certaine accidents, so called in the largest sense.

¶ 9. *An*

¶ 9. *An Deus per discursum conijcit de futuris?*

Interdum, [1] *aliquatenus,* [2] *discursum quendam instituit, & quasi de incertis conijcit,* [3] *sed impropriè & metaphoricè, citraque omnem imperfectionem.*

[4] *Conijcit autem non coniecturâ qualis hominum esse solet, sed planè diuinâ.*

Doeth God coniecture *of things to come by* discourse?

Sometimes in some sort, he frameth to himselfe a certaine discourse, and doeth (as it were) coniecture of things vncertaine, but improperly and metaphorically, and without all imperfection.

And he doeth coniecture not in such sort as men doe, but after a meerely diuine maner.

[1] Pag.7.l.24.
[2] Pag.8.l.9.
[3] Pag.7.l.22.
[4] Pag.8.l.2.

¶ 10. *Affectus amoris, odij, &c. Deone propriè attribuuntur?*

Propriè; sed [1] *vt pro veritate potiùs, quàm pro vsitatâ nobisque notâ proprietate accipiendum sit.*

[2] *Nulli affectus cum humanâ infirmitate coniuncti propriè Deo attribuuntur; verè tamen, & suo modo propriè, hoc est, pro suæ, non pro naturæ nostræ proprietate.*

The affections *of* loue, hatred, *&c. be they properly attributed vnto God or not?*

Yes, but so as ye take it rather for a veritie, then for that property which is vulgarly vnderstood and knowne vnto vs.

No affections accompanied with humane infirmitie are properly attributed vnto God: yet trewly, and in his owne kinde properly, that is to say, as they are proper to his nature, and not to ours.

[1] Pag.8.l.16.
[2] Pag.9.l.1.

¶ 11. *Pater, habetne peculiarem quandam, seu quasi restrictam essentiam?*

[1] *Vox essentiæ, perinde vt Entis, amplissimam significationem habet, & sic nihil omninò vetat vtramque non minùs ad personas diuinas, quàm ad ipsam Deitatis naturam in sano sensu referri.*

Hath the Father *a certaine* peculiar, *or (as it were) limited* Essence?

The word *Essence*, as well as *Ens*, hath a very large signification, and we may apply both of them safely, in a good sence, as well to the Diuine persons, as to the nature of the Deitie it selfe.

[1] Pag.21.l.13.

¶ 12. *Suntne Patrum argumenta friuola, pro æternâ Christi generatione?*

Siquidem [1] *vnica vox [quædam] ab initio inseratur, argumenta à Patribus hactenùs aptata, aut fallacia, aut friuola sunt.*

Be those arguments *which the Fathers haue vsed to proue the* Eternall generation *of Christ, friuolous or no?*

If this one word [*quædam*, some,] were added to the beginning of that position, it were then trew, that the arguments which the Fathers haue at any time applied to prooue the Eternall generation of *Christ*, are either deceitfull, or friuolous.

[1] Pag.14.l.3.

¶ [13] *Estne in Deo visio præsentium, & præteritorum magis certa, quàm futurorum præuisio?*

[1] Pag. 18. l. 19, 20.

[1] *Nota modestiam meam in verbo [videntur,] opinionem duntaxat probabilem hîc afferri, non autem dogmaticam assertionem.*

[2] Pag. 18. l. 29.

Futura [2] *contingentia (comparatiuè loquendo) etiam coram Deo dici possunt minus certa quàm præterita, & præsentia.*

Whether doeth God see things past *and* present, *more certainely then things* to come?

Note here my modestie in this word [*videntur*] for in this place I deliuer onely a probable opinion, and not a dogmaticall assertion.

Things future contingent (speaking comparatiuely) may be said to bee lesse certaine, euen vnto God, then things past, and present.

By this may the Reader manifestly discerne, that there is nothing which a man, speaking in this fashion shall not be able to maintaine, and by this meanes easily prooue *quidlibet ex quolibet.* And certainely his manner of excuses and euasions are framed iust after the mould of the ancient Heretiques, and namely of *Arrius*, and *Paulus Samosatenus*, when they saw themselues pinched with the Arguments of the *Orthodoxe* Church, and had no power to resist. The same also doeth more plainely appeare by an other little booke which he hath published, intituled, *Theologicall positions*, which booke he hath made of purpose to blinde the world withall; because they are indeed but the same *Theses* or *Positions*, vpon which he hath disputed in his first wicked booke, that beareth the title *Of God and his Attributes.* For in the *Theses* themselues there is but little harme, but in his disputations thereupon are couched all the horrible Heresies: And therefore in this booke hath hee published onely his *Theses* which are iustifiable; and left out his disputations vpon the *Theses*, wherein all the poison is conteined. It is moreouer somewhat suspicious in such a tainted person as he is, that in an Appendix which hee hath placed at the end of his *Theses*, he taketh occasion to name a number of Heretiques who are aduersaries to the doctrine of his *Theses*, and those especially who haue erred concerning the Diuinitie, Humanitie, Person, or Office of CHRIST, as the *Ebionites, Cerinthians, Arrians, Praxians, Sabellians, Marcionites, Manichees, Docites, Apollinarists, Mennonites, Swenkfeldians, Nestorians, Monothelites, Eutychians, Monophysites, Iewes, Millenaries, Papists.* Amongst which rabble he doeth not once make mention of *Paulus Samosatenus*, nor of *Photinius*, who succeeded him as well in his Bishopricke as in his errour: Yet neuertheless it is reported, that *Vorstius* in his heart is not very farre from their erronious opinion.

Now in the Preface of this little booke hee hath taken vpon him very succinctly to make answere to fiue Articles which he confesseth were layd to his charge, by which answere, in our opinion, hee discouers himselfe very plainely.

The

The first point is, That hee was once accused (as himselfe saith) of the *Samosatenian* Heresie, because he had sometime both written and receiued letters from diuers of that Sect; which he confesseth he did indeed in his youth, to this end, that by that meanes hee might the more easily come by some of their bookes, but that afterward hee did forbeare all correspondencie with them. First of all then, we would be glad to know why hee forgot the Heresie of *Samosatenus* in his *Appendix*, where he names so many others, and yet confesseth in the Preface of his said booke, that he himselfe was accused of that errour. Secondly, to what end had hee in his youth so great traffique with these Heretiques? was it to enable him the better to confute them? We heare him not say so much, as indeed it was neuer his end. Surely this fellow would be an excellent cleanser of a Pest-house, for he feares no infection: *Picem contrectare non timet*, he dares handle any pitch: And yet for all that, the Prouerbe is trew; *Qui ambulat in Sole, colorabitur*; He that walketh in the Sun-shine, shall bee Sun-burnt. It
" followes then, seeing his intention was not to arme himselfe against them, that it must be of necessitie to make himselfe worthy of their Schoole, the which hee almost confesseth in the last words of his Answere to that point, where he saith thus; *Non enim (quod multi solent) alienis sensibus hic fidendum putaui, aut temerè quidquam in causa Fidei damnandum*: For I doe not thinke it fit (as many others doe) to relie in these cases vpon other mens constructions, or rashly to condemne any thing which concernes matter of Faith.

To the second Article of his Accusation, hee confesseth that hee gaue some of his *Samosatenian* bookes vnto his schollers; Surely, a goodly gift: But the caution was prettie which he gaue withall vnto them when he deliuered them the bookes; which was that they ought to reade them with iudgement, not rashly reiecting the doctrine commonly receiued. What an Epithite is heere for our holy *Orthodoxe* Faith, to terme it no otherwise then the doctrine commonly receiued? And as for his caution, not rashly to forsake the old doctrine, it is no more then the Turkes would giue vnto any Christian, that should suddenly offer to become a Mahometist. Nay what Christian did euer sollicite a Pagan, or Heretique to bee conuerted, but with this caution? Who Would perswade a man to receiue the holy Sacrament rashly? S. *Paul* commands euery man to examine himselfe diligently, before hee come to that holy Table. But on the other side, an *Orthodoxe* Christian would in this case haue said to his schollers: If you will
" reade these wicked bookes, reade them with horrour and detestation, and
" with an intent to arme your selues against such wiles and subtilties of Sa-
" than, and withall pray vnto GOD to keepe you constant in the holy Ca-
" tholique and *Orthodoxe* Faith, that these Heresies may haue no power
" once to mooue you, trusting in his mercy, and not in your owne strength.

To the third Article, he confesseth that his schollers did publish bookes of the *Socinian* Heresie; and his excuse is, that it was without his know-

ledge: But howsoeuer, he condemnes them not for hauing done it · onely this he saith, That they declared vpon their oathes, they did not fauour the Heresie.

To the fourth point, he confesseth that about ten yeeres since, he wrote a booke *De Filiatione Christi*, (for which Title onely, an Authour, so suspected as he, is worthy of the fagot,) and all his excuse is, That he wrote an Epitome vpon *Bellarmine*. Wee doubt not but hee did it for his recreation. Forsooth, a prety conceit. Yet it appeares not by his wordes, that he detests the subiect of that Booke: but saith, That no man can thereby coniecture what his opinion is of that argument, no more then they can vpon his Epitome of *Bellarmine*, which was likewise his worke. For to condemne it, had beene contrary to that which hee auowed in his other booke, neuer to repent himselfe of any thing that he hath once written, as already we haue obserued.

As for the fift and last point, he will neither confesse, nor deny the accusation: onely hee saith, That a certaine booke intituled *Dominicus Lopez*, which is (as we haue heard) a very blasphemous Treatise, was suppressed by him *pacis ergò*, for peace sake; but he is so farre from condemning it, as that he alleadgeth, the booke hath bene maintained by others, which in time shall appeare. Two things are here to bee obserued; First, that hee suppressed it *pacis ergò*, for quietnesse sake; Not therefore for the wickednesse of the subiect, The next, that in his due time · the trewth thereof shall appeare. In which last point onely, we will willingly ioyne with him, beseeching our good GOD, for his CHRISTS sake, that hee will bee pleased to discouer the trewth of this mans intentions, as well for his owne Glory, as to purge the scandall, and to auoyd the danger which may ensue vnto Christendome, by the darnell of Heresies which he hath sowne.

It is therefore to bee noted, That to all these fiue Articles his answeres are so silly and weake, as in three of them we haue found him *planè confitentem reum*, plainely pleading guiltie; blanching it onely with some poore excuses. And to the other two points his answers are doubtfull; yet neither condemning the act of his schollers, nor the last wicked booke called *Dominicus Lopez*.

Hauing now therefore briefly laied open the subtilties, friuolous distinctions, and excuses of the said *Vorstius*, we will conclude this point with this protestation; That if he had bene our owne Subiect, we would haue bid him *Excrea*, spit out: and forced him to haue produced, and confessed those wicked Heresies, that are rooted in his heart. And in case he should stand vpon his Negatiue, we would enioyne him to say (according to the ancient custome of the Primitiue Church in the like cases of Heretiques) *I renounce and from my soule detest them: Anathema, Maranatha* vpon such and such Heresies; And not to say, *For peace sake I caused this booke to be suppressed, And these bookes are to bee read with great iudgement and discretion. S. Hierome* liketh not that any man should take it patiently, to be suspected of Heresie.

And

And now to make an end of this Discourse, we doe very heartily desire all good Christians in generall, and My Lords the States in particular (to whom the managing of this affaire doeth most specially belong) to consider but two things: First what kinde of people they be that slander vs, and our sincere intention in this cause: And next, what priuate interest wee can possibly haue (in respect of any worldly honour or aduancement) herein to engage our selues in such sort as we haue done.

Concerning the first point, There are but three sorts of people, that seeke to calumniate vs vpon this occasion: That is to say; either such as are infected with the same, or the like Heresies, wherewith *Vorstius* is tainted, *& ideo fouent consimilem causam*, and therefore doe maintaine the like cause: or else such as be of the Romane Religion, who in this confusion, and libertie of prophesying would thrust in for a part; conceiuing it more reasonable, that their doctrine should be tolerated by those of our Religion, then the doctrine of *Vorstius*: or else such, as for reason of State enuie peraduenture the good amitie and correspondencie which is betwixt vs, and the Vnited Prouinces.

Touching our owne interest, the whole course of our life doeth sufficiently witnesse, that we haue alwayes bene contented with that portion which GOD hath put into our hands, without seeking to inuade the possessions of any other. Besides, in two of our bookes, as well in our ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ, as in the Preface to our *Apologie*, we haue shewed the same inclination. For in the first booke, speaking of warre, we say that a King ought not to make any inuasion vpon anothers Dominions, vntill Iustice be first denied him. And in the other booke, hauing shewed the vsurpation of the Pope, aboue all the Kings and Princes of Christendome, our conclusion is, that we will neuer goe about to perswade them to assault him within his Dominions, but onely to resume, and preserue their owne iust Priuiledges from his violent intrusion. So as (thankes be to GOD) both our *Theorique* and *Practique* agree well together, to cleare vs from this vniust and slanderous imputation. And as for the States in particular, it is very vnlikely that we (who haue all our life time held so strict an amitie with them, as for their defence wee haue bene contented to expose the liues of many of our Subiects of both Nations,) would now practise against their State, and that vpon so poore a subiect as *Vorstius*: especially, that so damnable a thing could euer enter into our heart, as vnder the vaile and pretext of the glory of GOD, to plot the aduancement of our owne priuate deseignes.

The reasons which induced vs to meddle in this businesse, we haue already declared. We leaue it now to his owne proper Iudges to consider what a nursling they foster in their bosome: A stranger, bred in the *Socinian Heresie* (as it is said;) often times accused of *Heresie* by the Churches of *Germanie*; one that hath written so wicked and scandalous bookes; maintaining and seriously protesting in the preface of his *Apologie* to the States, for

for the libertie of prophecying; and twice or thrice insisting vpon that libertie in the Preface of his *Modest Answere* (a dangerous and pernitious libertie, or rather licentiousnesse, opening a gap to all rupture, Schisme, and confusion in the Church;) yea hauing had some disciples that be Heretiques themselues, and others that accuse him of Heresie. And though there were no other cause then the silly and idle shifts wherewith hee seekes to defend himselfe in his last bookes, it were enough to conuince him, either to haue maintained a bad cause, and in that respect worthy of a farre greater punishment then to be put by his place of *Professour*; or at the least to be a person vnworthy of the name of a *Professour* in so famous an Vniuersitie, for hauing so weakely maintained a cause that is iust. For our part, GOD is our witnesse, we haue no quarrell against his person; he is a Stranger, borne farre from our dominions: he is a *Germane*, and it is well knowen, that all *Germanie* are our friends, and the most part of the great Princes there, be either neerely allied vnto vs, or our Confederates: he doth outwardly professe the same Religion which we do: he hath written against *Bellarmine*: and hath not mentioned vs, either in speach or writing (for any thing we know) but with all the honour and respect that may be. GOD knowes, the worst that we do wish him is, that he may sincerely returne into the high beaten path-way of the *Catholique* and *Orthodoxall* Faith.

And for my Lords the States (seeing wee haue discharged our conscience) we will now referre the managing of the whole Action vnto their owne discretions. For wee are so farre from prescribing them any rule herein, as we shall be very well contented (so as the businesse be well done) that there be euen no mention at all made of our intercession, in their publique Acts or Records. Their maner of proceeding, we leaue absolutely to their owne Wisedomes. *Modò prædicetur Christus*, so as CHRIST bee preached, let them vse their owne formes in the Name of GOD. For we desire that GOD should so iudge vs at the last Day, as we affect not in this Action any worldly glory, beseeching the Creatour so to open their eyes, to illuminate their vnderstandings, direct their resolutions, and, aboue all, to kindle their zeale, sanctifie their affections, & at the last so to blesse their Actions and their proceedings in this cause, as the issue thereof may tend to his Glory, to the comfort and solace of the Faithfull, to the honour of our Religion, to the confusion and extirpation (at the least, profligation) of Heresies, and, in particular, to the corroboration of the Vnion of the sayd Prouinces.

A RE-

A REMONSTRANCE FOR THE RIGHT OF KINGS, AND THE INDEPENDANCE OF THEIR CROVVNES,

AGAINST AN ORATION OF THE MOST ILLVSTRIOVS CARD. OF PERRON, PRONOVNCED IN THE Chamber of the third Estate.

IAN. 15. 1615.

THE PREFACE.

I Haue no humour to play the Curious in a forraine Common wealth, or, vnrequested, to carry any hand in my neighbours affaires. It hath more congruitie with Royall dignitie, whereof God hath giuen mee the honour, to prescribe Lawes at home for my Subiects, rather then to furnish forraine Kingdomes and people with counsels. Howbeit, my late entire affection to K. Henry IV. *of happy memorie, my most honoured brother, and my exceeding sorrow for the most detestable parricide acted vpon the sacred person of a King, so complete in all heroicall and Princely vertues; as also the remembrance of my owne*

owne dangers, incurred by the practise of conspiracies flowing from the same source, hath wrought mee to sympathize with my friends in their grieuous occurrents: no doubt so much more dangerous, as they are lesse apprehended and felt of Kings themselues, euen when the danger hangeth ouer their owne heads. Vpon whom, in case the power and vertue of my aduertisements be not able effectually to worke, at least many millions of children and people yet vnborne, shall beare me witnesse, that in these dangers of the highest nature and straine, I haue not bene defectiue: and that neither the subuersions of States, nor the murthers of Kings, which may vnhappily betide hereafter, shall haue so free passage in the world for want of timely aduertisement before. For touching my particular, my rest is vp, that one of the maynes for which God hath aduanced me vpon the loftie stage of the supreme Throne, is, that my words vttered from so eminent a place for Gods honour, most shamefully traduced and vilified in his owne Deputies and Lieutenants, might with greater facilitie be conceiued.

Now touching France, *faire was the hope which I conceiued of the States assembled in Parliament at* Paris: *That calling to minde the murthers of their Noble Kings, and the warres of the League which followed the Popes fulminations, as when a great storme of haile powreth downe after a Thunder-cracke, and a world of writings addressed to iustifie the parricides, and the dethronings of kings, they would haue ioyned heads, hearts, & hands together, to hammer out some apt and wholesome remedy against so many fearefull attempts and practises. To my hope was added no little ioy, when I was giuen to vnderstand the third* Estate *had preferred an Article or Bill, the tenor and substance whereof was concerning the meanes whereby the people might bee vnwitched of this pernicious opinion;* That Popes may tosse the French King his Throne like a tennis ball, *and* that killing of Kings is an acte meritorious to the purchase of the crowne of Martyrdome. *But in fine, the proiect was encountred with successe cleane coutrary to Expectation. For this Article of the third Estate, like a sigh of libertie breathing her last*

serue

ſerued onely ſo much the more to inthrall the Crowne, and to make the bondage more grieuous and ſenſible then before. Euen as thoſe medicines which worke no eaſe to the patient, doe leaue the diſeaſe in much worſe tearmes: ſo this remedy inuented and tendred by the third Eſtate, did onely exaſperate the preſent malady of the State; for ſo much as the operation and vertue of the wholeſome remedy was ouermatched with peccant humours, then ſtirred by the force of thwarting and croſſing oppoſition. Yea much better had it bene, the matter had not bene ſtirred at all, then after it was once on foot and in motion, to giue the Trewth leaue to lye gaſping and ſprawling vnder the violence of a forraine faction. For the opinion by which the Crownes of Kings are made ſubiect vnto the Popes will and power, was then auowed in a moſt Honourable Aſſembly, by the auerment of a Prelate in great authoritie, and of no leſſe learning: He did not plead the cauſe as a priuate perſon, but as one by repreſentation that ſtood for the whole body of the Clergie; was there applauded, and ſeconded with approbation of the Nobilitie; no reſolution taken to the contrary, or in barre to his plea. After praiſes and thankes from the Pope, followed the printing of his eloquent harangue or Oration, made in full Parliament: a ſet diſcourſe, maintaining Kings to be depoſeable by the Pope, if he ſpeake the word. The ſaid Oration was not onely Printed with the Kings priuiledge, *but was likewiſe addreſſed to mee by the Author and Orator himſelfe; who preſuppoſed the reading thereof would forſooth driue me to ſay,* Lord Cardinall, in this high ſubiect your Honour hath ſatisfied me to the full. *All this poyſed in the ballance of equall iudgement, why may not I trewly and freely affirme, the ſaid Eſtates aſſembled in Parliament, haue ſet Royall Maieſtie vpon a doubtfull chance, or left it reſting vpon vncertaine tearmes: and that now if the doctrine there maintained by the Clergie ſhould beare any pawme, it may lawfully be doubted, who is King in* France? *For I make no queſtion, hee is but a titular King that raigneth onely at an others diſcretion, and whoſe Princely head the Pope hath power to bare of his Regall Crowne.*

In

In temporall matters, how can one be Soueraigne, that may be fleeced of all his Temporalties by any superiour power? But let men at a neere sight marke the pith and marrow of the Article proposed by the third Estate, and they shall soone perceiue the skilfull Architects thereof aymed onely to make their King a trew and reall King, to bee recognised for Soueraigne within his owne Realme, and that killing their King might no longer passe the muster of workes acceptable to God.

But by the vehement instance and strong current of the Clergie and Nobles, this was borne downe as a pernicious Article, as a cause of Schisme, as a gate which openeth to all sorts of Heresies: yea, there it was maintained tooth and naile, that in case the doctrine of this Article might goe for currant doctrine, it must follow, that for many aages past in sequence, the Church hath beene the kingdome of Antichrist, and the synagogue of Satan. The Pope vpon so good issue of the cause, had reason, I trow, to addresse his Letters of triumph vnto the Nobilitie and Clergie, who had so farre aprrooued themselues faithfull to his Holinesse; and to vaunt withall, that hee had nipped Christian Kings in the Crowne, that hee had giuen them checke with mate, through the magnanimous resolution of this courageous Nobilitie, by whose braue making head, the third Estate had beene so valiantly forced to giue ground. In a scornefull reproach hee qualified the Deputies of the third Estate, nebulones ex fœce plebis, a sort or a number of knaues, the very dregges of the base vulgar, a packe of people, presuming to personate well affected Subiects, and men of deepe vnderstanding, and to reade their masters a learned Lecture. *Now it is no wonder, that, in so goood an office and loyall cariage towards their King, the third Estate hath outgone the Clergie. For the Clergie denie themselues to haue any ranke among the Subiects of the King: they stand for a Soueraigne out of the Kingdome, to whom as to the Lord Paramount they owe suite and seruice: they are bound to aduance that Monarchie, to the bodie whereof they properly apperteine as parts or members, as elsewhere I haue*

I haue receiued aduertisement from diuers parts, that in the Popes letters to the Nobitie these wordes were extant, howsoeuer they haue bin left out in the impression, & rased out of the copies of the said letters.

written

written more at large. But for the Nobilitie, the Kings right arme, to prostitute and set as it were to sale the dignitie of their King, as if the arme should giue a thrust vnto the head; I say for the Nobilitie to hold and maintaine euen in Parliament, their King is liable to deposition by any forreine power or Potentate, may it not passe among the strangest miracles and rarest wonders of the world? For that once granted, this consequence is good and necessarie; That in case the King, once lawfully deposed, shall stand vpon the defensiue, and hold out for his right, he may then lawfully be murthered. Let mee then here freely professe my opinion, and this it is: That now the French Nobilitie may seeme to haue some reason to disrobe themselues of their titles, and to transferre them by resignation vnto the third Estate. For that body of that third Estate alone hath caried a right noble heart: in as much as the could neither be tickled with promises, nor terrified by threatnings, from resolute standing to those fundamentall points and reasons of State, which most concerne the honour of their King, and the securitie of his person.

Of all the Clergie, the man that hath most abandoned, or set his honour to sale, the man to whom France is least obliged, is the Lord Cardinall *of* Perron: *a man otherwise inferiour to few in matter of learning, and in the grace of a sweete style. This man in two seuerall Orations, whereof the one was pronounced before the Nobilitie, the other had audience before the third Estate, hath set his best wits on worke, to draw that doctrine into all hatred and infamie, which teacheth Kings to be indeposeable by the Pope. To this purpose hee termes the same doctrine, a breeder of Schismes, a gate that openeth to make way, and to giue entrance vnto all heresies; in briefe, a doctrine to bee held in so high a degree of detestation, that rather then he and his fellow-Bishops will yeeld to the signing thereof, they will bee contented like Martyrs to burne at a stake. At which resolution, or obstinacie rather in his opinion, I am in a manner amased, more then I can be mooued for the like* brauado *in many other: forasmuch as hee was many yeeres together, a follower of the late King, euen when*

the King followed a contrary Religion, and was deposed by the Pope: as also because not long before, in a certaine Assemblie holden at the Iacobins in Paris, hee withstood the Popes Nuntio to his face, when the said Nuntio laboured to make this doctrine, touching the Popes temporall Soueraigntie, passe for an Article of Faith. But in both Orations, hee singeth a contrary song, and from his owne mouth passeth sentence of condemnation against his former course and profession. I suppose, not without sollide iudgemen; as one that heerein hath well accommodated himselfe to the times: For as in the reigne of the late King, hee durst not offer to broach this doctrine (such was his fore-wit;) so now he is bold to proclaime and publish it in Parliament vnder the reigne of the said Kings sonne; whose tender yeeres and late succession to the Crowne, doe make him lie the more open to iniuries, and the more facill to be circumuented: Such is now his afterwisedome.

Of these two Orations, that made in presence of the Nobilitie he hath, for feare of incurring the Popes displeasure, cautelously suppressed. For therein he hath beene somewhat prodigall in affirming this doctrine maintained by the Clergie, to bee but problematicall; and in taking vpon him to auouch, that Catholikes of my Kingdome are bound to yeeld me the honour of obedience: Whereas on the other side, he is not ignorant, how this doctrine of deposing Princes and Kings, the Pope holdeth for meerely necessarie, and approoueth not by any meanes Alleagiance to bee performed vnto mee by the Catholikes of my Kingdome. Yea if credit may be giuen vnto the abridgement of his other Oration published, wherein he paralells the Popes power in receiuing honours in the name of the Church, with the power of the Venetian Duke in receiuing honours in the name of that most renowned Rebublike; no marueile that when this Oration was dispatched to the presse, he commanded the same to be gelded of this clause and other like, for feare of giuing his Holinesse any offensue distaste.

His pleasure therefore was, and content withall, that his Oration imparted to the third Estate, should be put in Print, and of his courtesie he vouchsafed to addresse vnto me a copie of the same.

Which

Which after I had perused, I foorthwith well perceiued, what and how great discrepance there is betweene one man that perorateth from the ingenuous and sincere disposition of a sound heart, and an other that flaunteth in flourishing speech with inward checkes of his owne conscience: For euery where he contradicts himselfe, and seemes to be afraid lest men should picke out his right meaning.

First, he grants this Question is not hitherto decided by the holy Scriptures, or by the Decrees of the ancient Church, or by the analogie of other Ecclesiasticall proceedings: and neuertheleſse hee confidently doeth affirme; that whosoeuer maintaine this doctrine to be wicked and abhominable, that Popes haue no power to put Kings by their supreame Thrones, they teach men to beleeue, there hath not bene any Church for many aages past, and that indeed the Church is the very Synagogue of Antichrist.

In 12. seuerall passages the L. Card. seemeth to speake against his owne conscience. Pag. 85.

Secondly, he exhorts his hearers to hold this doctrine at least for problematicall, and not necessary: and yet herein he calls them to all humble submission vnto the iudgement of the Pope and Clergie, by whom the cause hath bene already put out of all question, as out of all hunger and cold.

Thirdly, he doeth auerre, in case this Article be authorized, it makes the Pope in good consequence to bee the Antichrist: and yet he grants that many of the French are tolerated by the Pope to dissent in this point from his Holineſse; prouided, their doctrine be not proposed as necessary, and materiall to faith; As if the Pope in any sort gaue toleration to hold any doctrine contrary to his owne, and most of all that doctrine which by consequence inferres himselfe to be the Antichrist.

Pag. 99.

Fourthly, he protesteth forwardneſse to vndergoe the flames of Martyrdome, rather then to signe this doctrine, which teacheth Kings Crownes to sit faster on their heads, then to be stirred by any Papal power whatsoeuer: and yet saith withall, the Pope winketh at the French, by his toleration to hold this dogmaticall point for problematicall. And by this meanes, the Martyrdome that hee affecteth in this cause, will prooue but a problematicall Martyrdome, whereof question might grow very well, whether it were to

be mustered with grieuous crimes, or with phrenetical passions of the braine, or with deserued punishments.

Fiftly, he denounceth Anathema, dischargeth maledictions like haile-shot, against parricides of Kings: and yet elsewhere hee layes himselfe open to speake of Kings onely so long as they stand Kings. But who doeth not know that a King deposed is no longer King? And so that limme of Satan, which murthered Henry *the* III. *then vn-king'd by the Pope, did not stabbe a King to death.*

Sixtly, he doeth not allow a King to be made away by murder: and yet he thinks it not much out of the way, to take away al meanes whereby he might be able to stand in defence of his life.

Pag. 95. 97. *Seuenthly, hee abhorreth killing of Kings by apposted throat-cutting, for feare lest body and soule should perish in the same instant: and yet he doth not mislike their killing in a pitcht field, and to haue them slaughtered in a set battaile: For he presupposeth, no doubt out of his charitable mind, that by this meanes the soule of a poore King so dispatched out of the way, shall instantly flie vp to heauen.*

Eightly, he saith a King deposed, retaineth stil a certaine internal habitude and politike impression, by vertue and efficacie whereof he may, being once reformed and become a new man, be restored to the lawfull vse and practise of Regalitie. Whereby hee would beare vs in hand, that when a forraine Prince hath inuaded and rauenously seised the kingdome into his hands, he will not onely take pittie of his predecessour to saue his life, but will also proue so kind-hearted, vpon sight of his repentance, to restore his kingdome without fraud or guile.

Ninthly, he saith euery where in his Discourse, that he dealeth not in the cause, otherwise then as a problematicall discourser, and without any resolution one way or other: and yet with might and maine hee contends for the opinion, that leaues the States and Crownes of Kings controulable by the Pope: refutes obiections, propounds the authoritie of Popes and Councils, by name the Lateran Councill vnder Innocent. III. *as also the consent of the Church. And to crosse the Churches iudgement, is, in his opinion*

to

to bring in schisme, and to leaue the world without a Church for many hundred yeeres together: which (to my vnderstanding) is to speake with resolution, and without all hesitation.

Tenthly, he acknowledgeth none other cause of sufficient validitie for the deposing of a King, besides heresie, apostasie, and infidelitie: neuertheleſſe that Popes haue power to displace Kings for heresie and apostasie, hee proueth by examples of Kings whom the Pope hath curbed with deposition, not for heresie, but for matrimoniall causes, for ciuill pretences, and for lacke of capacitie.

Eleuenthly, hee alledgeth euery where passages, as well of holy Scripture, as of the Fathers and moderne histories; but so impertinent, and with so little trewth, as hereafter wee shall cause to appeare, that for a man of his deepe learning and knowledge, it seemeth not possible so to speake out of his iudgement.

Lastly, whereas all this hath bene hudled and heaped together into one masse, to currie with the Pope: yet hee suffereth diuers points to fall from his lips, which may well distast his Holinesse in the highest degree. As by name, where he prefers the authoritie of the Councill before that of the Pope, and makes his iudgement inferiour to the iudgement of the French; as in fit place hereafter shalbe shewed. Againe, where he representeth to his hearers the decrees of Popes and Councils already passed concerning this noble subiect; and yet affirmes that he doth not debate the question, but as a Questionist, and without resolution: As if a Cardinal should be afraid to be positiue, and to speake in peremptory straines, after Popes and Councils haue once decided the Question: Or as if a man should perorate vpon hazard, in a cause for the honour whereof, he would make no difficultie to suffer Martyrdome. Adde hereunto, that his Lordship hath alwayes taken the contrary part heretofore, and this totall must needs arise, that before the third Estate, his lips looked one way, and his conscience another.

All these points, by the discourse which is to follow, and by the ripping vp of his Oration (which by Gods assistance I will vndertake) tending to the reproch of Kings, and the subuersion of kingdomes, I confidently speake it, shalbe made manifest. Yet doe

I not conceiue it can any way make for my honour, to enter the lists against a Cardinall: For I am not ignorant how farre a Cardinals Hat, commeth vnder the Crowne and Scepter of a King; For well I wot vnto what sublimitie the Scripture hath exalted Kings, when it styles them Gods; Whereas the dignitie of a Cardinall is but a late vpstart inuention of man; as I haue elsewhere prooued. But I haue imbarqued my selfe in this action, mooued thereunto: First, by the common interest of Kings in the cause it selfe: Then by the L. Cardinall, who speaketh not in this Oration as a priuate person, but as one representing the body of the Clergie and Nobilitie, by whom the cause hath bene wonne, and the garland borne away from the third Estate: Againe, by mine owne particular; because he is pleased to take me vp for a sower of dissention, and a persecutour, vnder whom the Church is hardly able to fetch her breath; yea, for one by whom the Catholikes of my Kingdome are compelled to endure all sorts of punishments; and withal he tearmes this Article of the third Estate, a monster with a fishes taile that came swimming out of England: Last of all, by the present state of France; because France being now reduced to so miserable tearmes, that it is now become a crime for a Frenchman to stand for his King; it is a necessary duetie of her neighbours to speake in her cause, and to make triall whether they can put life into the trewth now dying, and ready to be buried by the power of violence, that it may resound and ring againe from remote regions.

In the Preface to my Apologie.

I haue no purpose once to touch many prettie toyes which the ridges of his whole booke are sowen withall: Such are his allegations of Pericles, Agesilaus, Aristotle, Minos, *the* Druides, *the French Ladies,* Hannibal, Pindarus, *and Poeticall fables: All resembling the red and blew flowers that pester the corne when it standeth in the fields, where they are more noysome to the growing crop, then beautifull to the beholding eye. Such pettie matters, nothing at all beseemed the dignitie of the Assembly, and of the maine subiect, or of the Orator himselfe: For it was no* Decorum *to enter the Stage with a* Pericles *in his mouth, but with the sacred Name of God; nor should hee haue marshalled the passage of a Royall Poet,*

Poet, after the example of an heathen Oratour.

Neither will I giue any touch to his conceit of the Romane conquests, which the L. Cardinall bestoweth in the list of Gods graces and temporall blessings, as a recompence of their zeale to the seruice and worship of Idols: As if God were a recompencer of wickednes, or as if the forcible eiecting of Tenants out of their farmes and other possessions, might be reckoned among the blessings of God. Pag. 4.

Nor to that of the Milesian *Virgins, dragged stark-naked after they were dead; which the L. Cardinall drawes into his discourse for an example of the eternall torments denounced by the Lawes Ecclesiasticall, to be inflicted after this life.* Pag. 7. & 8.

Nor to his exposition of the word Problematicall; *where he giueth to vnderstand that by Problematicall, hee meaneth such things as are of no necessitie to matter of faith; and in case men shall beleeue the contradictory of the said points, they are not bound for such beleefe, to vndergoe the solemne curse of the Church, and the losse of communion: Whereas* Aristotle, *of whom all Schooles haue borrowed their tearmes, hath taught vs that euery proposition is called a Probleme, when it is propounded in a formall doubt, though in it proper nature it containes a necessary trewth, concerning the matter therof; As for example, to say in forme of question,* Whether is there but one God? *or,* Whether is man a creature indued with reason? *By which examples it is plaine, that propositions in problematicall forme, doe not forgoe the necessitie of their nature; and that many times the contradictory binds the beleeuers thereof to Anathema and losse of communion.* Pag. 13.

There is a confused heape or bundle of other like toyes, which my purpose is to passe ouer in silence, that I may now come to cast anchor, as it were in the very bottome and substance of the cause.

Aristot. 1. top. cap. 4. ἀπόφασις καὶ πρόβλημα, sound both one thing, Ἀπὸ πάσης γὰρ ἀποφάσεως πρόβλημα ποιήσεις, prouided the word πότερον or *verùm*, do stand before, as, *Vtrum homo sit animal.*

A Re-

A REMONSTRANCE FOR THE RIGHT OF KINGS, AND THE INDEPENDENCIE OF THEIR CROVVNES.

Against an Oration of the most Illustrious Cardinall of PERRON, pronounced in the Chamber of the third Estate.

The 15. of Ianuar. 1615.

THE L.Cardinall euen in the first passage of his Oration, hath laid a firme foundation, *That Ecclesiastics in France are more deepely obliged to the King, then the Nobilitie, and third Estate*: His reason; Because the Clergie doe sweetly enioy their dignities and promotions, with all their infinite wealth, of the Kings meere grace, without all danger, and with faire immunities; whereas the other two Orders hold their offices by a chargeable and burdensome title or tenure, euen to the great expence of their blood, and of their substance. But see now, how loose and weake a frame he hath erected and pinned together, vpon his firme and solide foundation: *Ergo*, the third Estate is to lay all care to prouide remedies against apposted cut-throats, vpon the Clergy; and the said remedies (as he boldly affirms) must be deriued from the laws of conscience, which may carry an effectuall acting or operatiue efficacie vpon the soule, and not from ciuil or temporall punishments. Now this consequence limpeth like a lame creple after the premises: For it is no vsuall and common matter, to see men that are deepest in obligation, performe their duties and couenants with most fidelity. Againe, were it graunted the Clergie had well hitherto demonstrated their carefull watching ouer the life and honour of their Prince; yet is it not for spirituall punishments thundred by Ecclesiastics, to bind the hands of the ciuill Magistrate, nor to stop the current of temporall

porall punishments: which ordinarily doe carrie a greater force and vertue to the bridling of the wicked, then the apprehension of Gods iudgement.

The third Estate therefore, by whom all the officers of France are properly represented, as to whom the administration of iustice and protection of the Kings rights and Honour doth appertaine, can deserue no blame in carrying so watchfull an eye, by their wholesome remedie to prouide for the safetie of the King, and for the dignitie of his Crowne. For if the Clergie shall not stand to their tackle, but shrinke when it commeth to the push of their duetie; who shall charge themselues with carefull foresight and preuention of mischiefes? Shall not the people? Now, haue not all the calamities, which the third Estate haue sought prouidently to preuent; haue they not all sprung from the Clergie, as from their proper and naturall fountaine? From whence did the last ciuill warres, wherein a world of blood was not more profusely then prodigiously and vnnaturally spilt, and wherein the parricide of King *Henrie III.* was impiously and abominably committed: from whence did those bloodie warres proceed, but from the deposing of the said King by the Head of the Church? Were they not Prelats, Curats, and Confessours; were they not Ecclesiastics, who partly by seditious preachments, and partly by secret confessions, powred many a iarre of oyle vpon this flame? Was not he that killed the forenamed King, was not he one of the Clergie? Was not *Guignard* a Iesuite? Was not *Iohn Chastel* brought vp in the same schoole? Did not *Rauaillac* that monster of men, vpon interrogatories made at his examination; among the rest, by whom he had beene so diabolically tempted and stirred vp to his most execrable attempt and act of extreme horror: did not he referre his examiners to the Sermons made the Lent next before, where they might be satisfied concerning the causes of his abominable vndertaking and execution? Are not *Bellarmine*, *Eudæmonoiohannes*, *Suarez*, *Becanus*, *Mariana*, with such other monsters, who teach the doctrine of parricides, vphold the craft of Ianus-like Equiuocations in Courts of Iustice, and in secret confessions: are they not all Clerics? are not all their bookes approoued and allowed, as it were by a corporation or grosse companie of Doctors, with their signes manuel to the said bookes? What were the heads, the chiefe promoters, the complices of the powder-conspiracie in my Kingdome? were they not Ecclesiastics? Hath not *Faux* by name, a confederate of the same damned crew; hath not he stoutly stood to the gunners part, which then he was to act in that most dolefull Tragedie, with asseueration of a conscience well assured and setled, touching the lawfulnesse of his enterprise? Did he not yeild this reason? to wit, because he had bin armed with instruction of musket proofe in the case, before he made passage ouer from the Low Countries? Is it not also the generall beleefe of that Order, that Clerics are exempted from the condition of Subiects to the King? Nay, is it not confessed by the L. Cardinall himselfe, that King-killers haue ingaged themselues Pag. 7.

themselues to vndertake the detestable act of parricide vnder a false credence of Religion, as beeing instructed by their schoolemasters in Religion? And who were they but Ecclesiasticall persons? All this presupposed as matter of trewth, I draw this conclusion: Howsoeuer no small number of the French Clergie may perhaps beare the affection of louing Subiects to their King, and may not suffer the Clericall character to deface the impression of naturall allegiance; yet, for so much as the Order of Clerics is dipped in a deeper die, and beareth a worse tincture of daungerous practises then the other Orders; the third Estate had beene greatly wanting to their excellent prouidence and wisedome, if they should haue relinquished and transferred the care of designements and proiects for the life of their King, and the safety of his Crowne, to the Clergie alone. Moreouer, the Clergie standeth bound to referre the iudgement of all matters in controuersie, to the sentence of the Pope, in this cause beeing a partie, and one that pretendeth Crownes to depend vpon his Mitre. What hope then might the third Estate conceiue, that his Holinesse would passe against his owne cause, when his iudgement of the controuersie had beene sundrie times before published and testified to the world? And whereas the plot or modell of remedies proiected by the third Estate, and the Kings Officers, hath not prooued sortable in the euent: was it because the said remedies were not good and lawfull? No verily: but because the Clergie refused to become contributors of their duty and meanes to the grand seruice. Likewise, for that after the burning of bookes, addressed to iustifie rebellious people, traytors, and parricides of Kings; neuertheless the authors of the said bookes are winked at, and backt with fauour. Lastly, for that some wretched parricides drinke off the cuppe of publike iustice; whereas to the firebrands of sedition, the sowers of this abominable doctrine, no man saith so much as blacke is their eye.

It sufficiently appeareth, as I supose, by the former passage, that his Lordship exhorting the third Estate to referre the whole care of this Regall cause vnto the Clergie, hath tacked his frame of weake ioynts and tenons to a very worthy but wrong foundation. Howbeit, he laboureth to fortifie his exhortation with a more weake and feeble reason: For to make good his proiect he affirmes, that matters and maximes out of all doubt and question, may not be shuffled together with points in controuersie. Now his rules indubitable are two · The first, It is not lawfull to murther Kings for any cause whatsoeuer: This he confirmeth by the example of *Saul* (as he saith) deposed from his Throne, whose life or limbs *Dauid* neuertheless durst not once hurt or wrong for his life: Likewise he confirmes the same by a Decree of the Councill held at Constance: His other point indubitable; The Kings of France are Soueraignes in all Temporall Soueraigntie, within the French Kingdome, and hold not by fealtie either of the Pope, as hauing receiued or obliged their Crownes vpon such tenure and condition, or of any other Prince in the whole world, Which point, neuer-

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Conc. Constan. Sess. 15.

neuertheleſſe he takes not for certaine and indubitable, but onely according to humane and hiſtoricall certaintie. Now a third point he makes to be ſo full of controuerſie, and ſo farre within the circle of diſputable queſtions, as it may not be drawne into the ranke of claſſicall and authenticall points, for feare of making a certaine point doubtfull, by ſhuffling and iumbling therewith ſome point in controuerſie. Now the queſtion ſo diſputable, as he pretendeth, is this: A Chriſtian Prince breakes his oath ſolemnely taken to God, both to liue and to die in the Catholique Religion: Say this Prince turnes Arrian, or Mahometan, fals to proclaime open warre, and to wage battell with Ieſus Chriſt: Whether may ſuch a Prince be declared to haue loſt his Kingdome, and who ſhall declare the Subiects of ſuch a Prince to be quit of their oath of allegiance? The L. Cardinall holds the affirmatiue, and makes no bones to maintaine, that all other parts of the Catholique Church, yea the French Church, euen from the firſt birth of her Theologicall Schooles, to *Caluins* time and teaching, haue profeſſed that ſuch a Prince may bee lawfully remooued from his Throne by the Pope, and by the Councill: and ſuppoſe the contrarie doctrine we e the very Quinteſſence or ſpirit of trewth, yet might it not in caſe of faith be vrged and preſſed otherwiſe then by way of problematicall diſceptation. That is the ſumme of his Lordſhips ample diſcourſe: The refuting whereof I am conſtrained to put off, and referre vnto an other place; becauſe he hath ſerued vs with the ſame diſhes ouer and ouer againe. There we ſhall ſee the L. Cardinall maketh way to the diſpatching of Kings after depoſition: that *Saul* was not depoſed, as he hath preſumed: that in the Councill of Conſtance there is nothing to the purpoſe of murthering Soueraigne Princes: that his Lordſhip, ſuppoſing the French King may be depriued of his Crowne by a ſuperiour power, doth not hold his liege Lord to be Soueraine in France: that by the poſition of the French Church from aage to aage, the Kings of France are not ſubiect vnto any cenſure of depoſition by the Pope: that his Holineſſe hath no iuſt and lawfull pretence to produce, that any Chriſtian King holds of him by fealtie, or is obliged to doe the Pope homage for his Crowne.

Well then, for the purpoſe; he dwelleth onely vpon the third point pretended queſtionable, and this hee affirmeth: If any ſhall condemne, or wrappe vnder the ſolemne curſe, the abettours of the Popes power to vnking lawfull and Soueraigne Kings; the ſame ſhall runne vpon foure dangerous rocks of apparent incongruities and abſurdities.

Firſt, he ſhall offer to force and entangle the conſciences of many deuout perſons: For he ſhall binde them to beleeue and ſweare that doctrine, the contrary whereof is beleeued of the whole Church, and hath bene beleeued by their Predeceſſors. 1 Pag. 14. „ „

Secondly, he ſhall ouerturne from top to bottome the ſacred authoritie of holy Church, and ſhall ſet open a gate vnto all ſorts of hereſie, by allowing Lay-perſons a bold libertie to be iudges in cauſes of Religion and Faith „ 2 „ „ „

" Faith: For what is that degree of boldneſſe, but open vſurping of the
" Prieſthood; what is it but putting of prophane hands vpon the Arke;
" what is it but laying of vnholy fingers vpon the holy Cenſor for perfumes?
3 " Thirdly, hee ſhall make way to a Schiſme, not poſſible to bee put by
" and auoyded by any humane prouidence. For this doctrine beeing held
" and profeſſed by all other Catholiques; how can we declare it repugnant
" vnto Gods word; how can wee hold it impious; how can wee account it
" deteſtable, but wee ſhall renounce communion with the Head and other
" members of the Church; yea, we ſhall confeſſe the Church in all aages to
" haue bene the Synagogue of Satan, and the ſpouſe of the Deuill?
4 " Laſtly, by working the eſtabliſhment of this Article, which worketh an
" eſtabliſhment of Kings Crownes; He ſhall not onely worke the intended
" remedy for the danger of Kings, out of all the vertue and efficacie there-
" of, by weakening of doctrine out of all controuerſie, in packing it vp with
" a diſputable queſtion; but likewiſe in ſtead of ſecuring the life and eſtate
" of Kings, he ſhall draw both into farre greater hazards, by the traine or ſe-
" quence of warres, and other calamities, which vſually waite and attend
" on Schiſmes.

The L. Cardinall ſpends his whole diſcourſe in confirmation of theſe foure heads, which wee now intend to ſift in order, and demonſtratiuely to prooue that all the ſaid inconueniences are meere nullities, matters of imagination, and built vpon falſe preſuppoſitions. But before wee come to the maine, the reader is to be enformed and aduertiſed, that his Lordſhip ſetteth a falſe gloſſe vpon the queſtion; and propounds the caſe not onely contrary to the trewth of the ſubiect in controuerſie, but alſo to the Popes owne minde and meaning: For he reſtraines the Popes power to depoſe Kings, onely to caſes of Hereſie, Apoſtaſie, and perſecuting of the Church; whereas Popes extend their power to a further diſtance. They depoſe Princes for infringing, or in any ſort diminiſhing the Priuiledges of Monaſteries: witneſſe *Gregorie* the firſt in the pretended Charter granted to the Abbey of *S. Medard* at *Soiſſons*; the ſaid Charter beeing annexed to his Epiſtles in the rere. The ſame hee teſtifieth in his Epiſtle to *Senator*, by name the tenth of the eleuenth booke. They depoſe for naturall dulneſſe and lacke of capacitie, wether in-bred and trew indeed, or onely pretended and imagined: witneſſe the glorious vaunt of *Gregory* VII. that *Childeric* King of France was hoyſted out of his Throne by Pope *Zachary*, *Not ſo much for his wicked life, as for his vnableneſſe to beare the weightie burden of ſo great a Kingdome*. They depoſe for collating of Benefices and Prebends: witneſſe the great quarrels and ſore contentions betweene Pope *Innocent* III. and *Iohn* King of England: as alſo betweene *Philip* the Faire and *Boniface* VIII. They depoſe for adulteries and Matrimoniall ſuites: witnes *Philip* I. for the repudiating or caſting off his lawfull wife *Bertha*, and marrying in her place with *Bertrade* wife to the Earle of Aniou. Finally, faine would I learne into what Hereſie or degree of Apoſtaſie, either

Cauſ. 15. Can Aliud. Qu. 6.

Paul Aemil. in Phi'. 3.

Henry

Henry IV. or *Frederic Barbarossa*, or *Frederic* II. Emperours were fallen, when they were smitten with Papall fulminations, euen to the depriuation of their Imperiall Thrones. What? was it for Heresie or Apostasie, that Pope *Martin* IV. bare so hard a hand against *Peter* King of Arragon, that he acquitted and released the Aragonnois from their oath of Alleagiance to *Peter* their lawfull King? Was it for Heresie or Apostasie, for Arrianisme or Mahumetisme, that *Lewis* XII. so good a King and Father of his Countrey, was put downe by *Iulius* the II? Was it for Heresie or Apostasie, that *Sixtus* V. vsurped a power against *Henrie* III. euen so farre as to denounce him vnkingd; the issue whereof was the parricide of that good King, and the most wofull desolation of a most flourishing Kingdome? But his Lordship best liked to worke vpon that ground, which to the outward shew and appearance, is the most beautifull cause that can be alleaged for the dishonouring of Kings by the weapon of deposition: making himselfe to beleeue that he acted the part of an Orator before personages not much acqainted with ancient and moderne histories, and such as little vnderstood the state of the question then in hand. It had therefore beene a good warrant for his Lordship, to haue brought some authenticall instrument from the Pope, whereby the French might haue beene secured, that his Holinesse renounceth all other causes auouchable for the degrading of Kings; and that he will henceforth rest in the case of Heresie, for the turning of Kings out of their Free-hold: as also that his Holinesse by the same or like instrument might haue certified his pleasure, that hee will not hereafter make himselfe Iudge, whether Kings bee tainted with damnable Heresie, or free from Hereticall infection. For that were to make himselfe both Iudge and Plaintiffe, that it might be in his power to call that doctrine Hereticall, which is pure Orthodoxe: and all for this end, to make himselfe master of the Kingdome, and there to settle a Successour, who receiuing the Crowne of the Popes free gift and grant, might be tyed thereby to depend altogether vpon his Holinesse. Hath not Pope *Boniface* VIII. declared in his proud Letters all those to be Heretiques, that dare vndertake to affirme, the collating of Prebends appertaineth to the King? It was that Popes grosse errour, not in the fact, but in the right. The like crime forsooth was by Popes imputed to the vnhappy Emperour *Henrie* IV. And what was the issue of the said imputation? The sonne is instigated thereby to rebell against his father, and to impeach the interrement of his dead corps, who neuer in his life had beate his braines to trouble the sweet waters of Theologicall fountaines. It is recorded by *Auentine*, that Bishop *Virgilius* was declared Heretique, for teaching the Position of Antipodes. The Bull *Exurge*, marching in the rere of the last Lateran Councel, sets downe this Position for one of *Luthers* heresies, *A new life is the best repentance*. Among the crimes which the Councel of Constance charged Pope *Iohn* XXIII. withall, one was this, that hee denied the immortalitie of the soule, and that *so much was publiquely*,

Annal. Boio. Lib. 3. Iuuanen. Episcop.

Optima pœnitentia noua vita. Conc. Constan. Sess. 2.

liquely, manifestly, and notoriously knowen. Now if the Pope shall be caried by the streame of these or the like errours, and in his Hereticall prauitie shall depose a King of the contrary opinion, I shall hardly bee perswaded, the said King is lawfully deposed.

THE FIRST INCONVENIENCE EXAMINED.

THE first inconuenience growing (in the Cardinall his conceit) by entertaining the Article of the third Estate (whereby the Kings of France are declared to be indeposeable by any superiour power spirituall or temporall) is this: *It offereth force to the conscience, vnder the penaltie of Anathema, to condemne a doctrine beleeued and practised in the Church, in the continuall current of the last eleuen hundred yeeres.* In these words he maketh a secret confession, that in the first fiue hundred yeeres, the same doctrine was neither apprehended by faith, nor approoued by practise. Wherein, to my vnderstanding, the L. Cardinall voluntarily giueth ouer the suite: For the Church in the time of the Apostles, their disciples, and successors, for 500. yeeres together, was no more ignorant what authoritie the Church is to challenge ouer Emperours and Kings, then at any time since in any succeeding age; in which as pride hath still flowed to the height of a full Sea, so puritie of religion and manners hath kept for the most part at a lowe water-marke. Which point is the rather to be considered, for that during the first 500. yeeres, the Church groned vnder the heauy burthen, both of heathen Emperours, and of hereticall Kings; the Visigot Kings in Spaine, and the Vandals in Affrica. Of whose displeasure the Pope had small reason or cause to stand in any feare, beeing so remote from their dominions, and no way vnder the lee of their Soueraignetie.

But let vs come to see, what aide the L. Cardinall hath amassed and piled together out of latter histories: prouided wee still beare in mind, that our question is not of popular tumults, nor of the rebellion of subiects making insurrections out of their owne discontented spirits and brainesicke humors, nor of lawfull Excommunications, nor of Canonicall censures and reprehensions; but onely of a iuridicall sentence of deposition, pronounced by the Pope, as armed with ordinary and lawfull power to depose, against a Soueraigne Prince.

Exam. N. 1. pag. 18 Euag. hist. Eccles. lib. 3. cap. 32.

Now then, The L. Cardinall sets on, and giues the first charge with *Anastasius* the Emperour, whom *Euphemius* Patriarke of Constantinople would neuer acknowledge for Emperour: (that is to say, would neuer consent he should be created Emperour by the helpe of his voice or suffrage) except he would first subscribe to the *Chalcedon* Creed: notwithstanding the

the great Empresse and Senate sought by violent courses and practises to make him yeeld. And when afterward the said Emperour, contrary to his oath taken, played the relaps by falling into his former heresie, and became a persecutor; he was first admonished, and then excommunicated by *Symmachus* Bishop of Rome. To this the L. Cardinall addes, that when the said Emperour was minded to choppe the poison of his hereticall assertions into the publique formes of diuine seruice, then the people of Constantinople made an vproare against *Anastasius* their Emperour; and one of his Commanders by force of armes, constrained him to call backe certaine Bishops whom he had sent into banishment before.

In this first example the L. Cardinall by his good leaue, neither comes close to the question, nor salutes it a farre off. *Euphemius* was not Bishop of Rome: *Anastasius* was not deposed by *Euphemius*; the Patriarch onely made no way to the creating of *Anastasius*. The suddaine commotion of the base multitude makes nothing, the rebellion of a Greeke Commaunder makes lesse, for the authorizing of the Pope to depose a Soueraigne Prince. The Greeke Emperour was excommunicated by Pope *Symmachus*: who knowes whether that be trew or forged? For the Pope himselfe is the onely witnesse here produced by the L. Cardinall vpon the point: and who knowes not how false, how supposititious, the writings and Epistles of the auncient Popes are iustly esteemed? But graunt it a trewth; yet *Anastasius* excommunicated by Pope *Symmachus*, is not *Anastasius* deposed by Pope *Symmachus*. And to make a full answere, I say further, that excommunication denounced by a forraine Bishop, against a party not beeing within the limits of his iurisdiction, or one of his owne flocke, was not any barre to the party from the communion of the Church, but onely a kind of publication, that he the said Bishop in his particular, would hold no further communion with any such party.

For proofe whereof, I produce the Canons of the Councils held at Carthage. In one of the said Canons it is thus prouided and ordained; If any Bishop shall wilfully absent himselfe from the vsuall and accustomed Synodes, let him not be admitted to the communion of other Churches, but *let him onely vse the benefit and libertie of his owne Church.* In an other of the same Canons thus; * If a Bishop shall insinuate himselfe to make a conueiance of his Monasterie, and the ordering thereof vnto a Monke of any other Cloister; let him be cut off, *let him be separated from the communion with other Churches, and content himselfe to liue in the communion of his owne flocke.* In the same sense *Hilarius* Bishop of Poictiers excommunicated *Liberius* Bishop of Rome, for subscribing to the Arrian Confession. In the same sense, *Iohn* Bishop of Antioch excommunicated *Cælestine* of Rome, and *Cyrill* of Alexandria, Bishops; for proceeding to sentence against *Nestorius*, without staying his comming to answere in his owne cause. In the same sense likewise, *Victor* Bishop of Rome did cut off all the Bishops of the East, not from the communion of their owne flocks, but from communion

* *Nomocan. Affric Can.77.* Ὀφείλειν τὸς τοιούτους τῶ κοινωνία τῆς ἰδίας αὐτῷ ἀρκεῖσθαι ἐκκλησίας.

* *Can.81.eiusd. Nomo.* Ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς λοιπῶν κοινωνίας χωρίζόμενος τῆ τῶ ἰδίῳ λόῳ κοινωνίᾳ ἀρκεσθήτω μόνῃ.

Anathema tibi à me Liberi. Faber. in frag. Hilarij.

with *Victor* and the Romane Church. What resemblance, what agreement, what proportion, betweene this course of excommunication, and that way of vniust fulmination which the Popes of Rome haue vsurped against Kings, but yet certaine long courses of time after that auncient course?

Examp. 2. And this may stand for a full answere likewise to the example of *Clotharius.* This ancient King of the French, fearing the censures of Pope *Agapetus*, erected the Territorie of Yuetot vnto the title of a Kingdome, by way of satisfaction for murdering of *Gualter*, Lord of Yuetot. For this example the L. Cardinall hath ransackt records of 900. yeeres antiquitie and vpward; in which times it were no hard piece of worke to shew, that Popes would not haue any hand, nor so much as a finger in the affaires and acts of the French Kings. *Gregorie* of Tours that liued in the same aage, hath recorded many acts of excesse, and violent iniuries done against Bishops by their Kings, and namely against *Prætextatus* Bishop of Roan; for any of which iniurious prankes then played, the Bishop of Rome durst not reprooue the said Kings with due remonstrance. But see heere the words of *Gregorie* himselfe to King *Chilperic*; *If any of vs, O King, shall swarue from the path of Iustice, him hast thou power to punish: But in case thou shalt at any time transgresse the lines of equitie, who shall once touch thee with reproofe? To thee wee speake, but are neuer heeded and regarded, except it be thy pleasure: and bee thou not pleased, who shall challenge thy greatnesse, but bee that iustly challengeth to bee Iustice it selfe?* The good Bishop, notwithstanding these humble remonstrances, was but roughly entreated, and packt into exile, being banished into the Isle of Guernsay. But I am not minded to make any deepe search or inquisition, into the titles of the Lords of Yuetot; whose honourable priuiledges and titles are the most honourable badges and cognizances of their Ancestours, and of some remarkeable seruice done to the Crowne of France: so farre I take them to differ from a satisfaction for sinne: And for the purpose I onely affirme, that were the credit of this historie beyond all exception, yet makes it nothing to the present question, Wherein the power of deposing, and not of excommunicating supreme Kings, is debated. And suppose the King by Charter granted the said priuiledges for feare of Excommunication; how is it prooued thereby, that Pope *Agapetus* had lawfull and ordinary power to depriue him of his Crowne? Nay, doubtlesse it was rather a meanes to eleuate and aduance the dignitie of the Crowne of France, and to style the French King, a King of Kings, as one that was able to giue the qualitie of King, to all the rest of the Nobles and Gentry of his Kingdome. Doeth not some part of the Spanish Kings greatnesse, consist in creating of his, great?

Examp. 3. pag. 22. In the next place followeth *Gregorie I.* who in the 10. Epistle of the 11. booke, confirming the priuiledges of the Hospitall at *Augustodunum* in *Bourgongne*, prohibiteth all Kings and Prelates whatsoeuer, to infringe or diminish the said priuiledges, in whole or in part. His formall and expresse

presse words bee these: *If any King, Prelate, Iudge, or any other Secular person, informed of this our Constitution, shall presume to goe or doe contrary thereunto, let him bee cast downe from his power and dignitie.* I answere; the Lord Cardinall heere wrongs himselfe very much, in taking imprecations for Decrees. Might not euen the meanest of the people vse the same tenour of words, and say? If any shall touch the life, or the most sacred Maiestie of our Kings, be he Emperour, or be he Pope, let him bee accursed; let him fall from his eminent place of authoritie; let him lose his dignitie; let him tumble into beggerie, diseases, and all kindes of calamities? I forbeare to shew how easie a matter it is for Monkes, to forge titles after their owne humour, and to their owne liking, for the vpholding and maintaining of their priuiledges. As for the purpose, the same *Gregorie* citeth in the end of his Epistles another priuiledge, of the like stuffe and stampe to the former, granted to the Abbey of *S. Medard* at Soissons: It is fenced with a like clause to the other, But of how great vntrewth, and of how little weight it is, the very date that it beareth, makes manifest proofe: For it runs, Dated the yeere of our Lords Incarnation 593. the 11. Indiction; whereas the 10. Indiction agreeth to the yeere 593. Besides, it was not *Gregories* maner to date his Epistles according to the yeere of the Lord. Againe, the said priuiledge was signed by the Bishops of Alexandria and Carthage, who neuer knew (as may well bee thought) whether any such Abbey of S. *Medard*, or citie of Soissons, was euer built in the world. Moreouer, they signed in the thickest of a crowd as it were of Italian Bishops. Lastly, hee that shall reade in this *Gregories* Epistles, with what spirit of reuerence and humilitie he speaketh of Emperours, will hardly beleeue that euer hee armed himselfe with authoritie to giue or to take away Kingdomes. Hee styles himselfe **The Emperours vnworthie seruant: presuming to speake vnto his Lord, when he knowes himselfe to bee but dust and a very worme: Hee professeth subiection vnto the Emperours commands, euen to the publishing of a certaine Law of the Emperours, which in his iudgement somewhat iarred and iustled with Gods Law*; as elsewhere I haue spoken more at large.

* *Epist. 6. l. 3. Ego autem indignus pietatis tuæ seruus. Ego verò hæc Dominus meis loquens, quid sum nisi pulvis & vermis? Ibid. Ego quidem iussioni subiectus, &c. Epist. 61. l. 2.*

The L. Cardinall next bringeth vpon the stage *Iustinian II.* Hee, being in some choller with *Sergius* Bishop of Rome, because hee would not fauour the erroneous Synode of Constantinople, would haue caused the Bishop to bee apprehended by his Constable *Zacharias*. But by the Romane *Militia*, (that is, the troupes which the Emperour then had in Italie) *Zacharias* was repulsed and hindered from his deseigne, euen with opprobrious and reproachfull termes. His Lordship must haue my shallownesse excused, if I reach not his intent by this Allegation; wherein I see not one word of deposing from the Empire, or of any sentence pronounced by the Pope.

Examp. 4.

Heere are now 712. yeeres expired after the birth of Iesus Christ: in all which long tract of time, the L. Cardinal hath not light vpon any instance, which might make for his purpose with neuer so little shew: For the example

Examp. 5. ample of the Emperor *Philippicus* by the Cardinal alledged next in ſequence, belongeth to the yeere 713. And thus lies the hiſtorie: This Emperour *Philippicus Bardanes*, was a profeſſed enemie to the worſhipping of Images, and commanded them to be broken in pieces. In that very time the Romane Empire was ouerthrowen in the Weſt, and ſore ſhaken by the Saracenes in the Eaſt. Beſides thoſe miſeries, the Emperour was alſo incumbred with a ciuill and inteſtine warre. The greateſt part of Italie was then ſeized by the Lombards, and the Emperour in Italie had nothing left ſaue onely the Exarchat of Rauenna, and the Dutchie of Rome, then halfe abandoned by reaſon of the Emperours want of forces. Pope *Conſtantine* gripes this occaſion whereon to ground his greatneſſe, and to ſhake off the yoke of the Emperour his Lord, Vndertakes againſt *Philippicus* the cauſe of Images: by a Councel declares the Emperour Heretique: Prohibites his reſcripts or coine to bee receiued, and to goe current in Rome: Forbids his Imperiall ſtatue to bee ſet vp in the Temple, according to ancient cuſtome: The tumult groweth to a height: The Pope is principall promoter of the tumult: In the heate of the tumult the Exarche of Rauenna loſeth his life. Here ſee now the mutinie of a ſubiect againſt his Prince, to pull from him by force and violence a citie of his Empire. But who ſeeth in all this any ſentence of depoſition from the Imperiall dignitie? Nay, the Pope then miſſed the cuſhion, and was diſappointed vtterly of his purpoſe: The citie of Rome ſtood firme, and continued ſtill in their obedience to the Emperour.

Examp. 6. About ſome 12. yeeres after, the Emperour *Leo Iſauricus* (whom the Lord of Perron calleth *Iconoclaſt*) falles to fight it out at ſharpe, and to proſecute worſhippers of Images with all extremitie. Vpon this occaſion, Pope *Gregory* 2. then treading in the ſteps of his predeceſſor, when he perceiued the citie of Rome to be but weakely prouided of men or munition, and the Emperour to haue his hands full in other places, found ſuch meanes to make the citie riſe in rebellious armes againſt the Emperour, that he made himſelfe in ſhort time maſter thereof. Thus farre the Lord Cardinall, whereunto my anſwere for ſatisfaction is; that degrading an Emperour from his Imperiall dignitie, and reducing a citie to reuolt againſt her Maſter, that a man at laſt may carry the piece himſelfe, and make himſelfe Lord thereof, are two ſeuerall actions of ſpeciall difference. If the free-hold of the citie had beene conueied to ſome other by the Pope depriuing the Emperour, as proprietarie thereof, this example might haue challenged ſome credit at leaſt in ſhew: but ſo to inuade the citie to his owne vſe, and ſo to ſeize on the right and authority of another, what is it but open rebellion, and notorious ambition? For it is farre from Eccleſiaſticall cenſure, when the ſpirituall Paſtor of ſoules forſooth, pulles the cloake of a poore ſinner from his backe by violence, or cuts his purſe, and thereby appropriates an other mans goods to his priuate vſe. It is to be obſerued withall, that when the Emperours were not of ſufficient ſtrength, and

Popes

Popes had power to beard and to braue Emperours, then these Papall practises were first set on foot. This Emperour notwithstanding, turned head and peckt againe: his Lieutenant entred Rome, and *Gregorie* 3. successor to this *Gregorie* 2. was glad to honour the same Emperour with style and title of his Lord: witnesse two seuerall Epistles of the said *Gregorie* 3. written to *Boniface*, and subscribed in this forme: *Dated the tenth Calends of December: In the raigne of our most pious and religious Lord, Augustus Leo, crowned of God, the great Emperour, in the tenth yeere of his raigne.*

Dat. 10. Cal. Decem Imperante Dom. piissimo Augusto Leone, à Deo coronato, magno Imp. anno decimo Imperij eius. Examp. 7.

The L. Cardinall with no lesse abuse alleadgeth Pope *Zacharie*, by whom the French, as he affirmeth, were absolued of the oath of allegiance, wherein they stood bound to *Childeric* their King: And for this instance, he standeth vpon the testimonie of *Paulus Aemilius*, and *du Tillet*, a paire of late writers. But by authors more neere that aage wherein *Childeric* raigned, it is more trewly testified, that it was a free and voluntarie act of the French, onely asking the aduise of Pope *Zacharie*, but requiring neither leaue nor absolution. *Ado* Bishop of *Vienna*, in his Chronicles hath it after this manner: *The French, following the Counsell of Embassadors, and of Pope* Zachary, *elected* Pepin *their King, and established him in the Kingdome.* *Trithemius* in his abridgement of Annals, thus: Childeric, *as one vnfit for gouernement, was turned out of his Kingdome, with common consent of the Estates and Peeres of the Realme, so aduised by Zacharie Pope of Rome.* *Godfridus* of *Viterbe* in the 17. part of his Chronicle, and *Guauguin* in the life of *Pepin*, affirme the same. And was it not an easie matter to worke *Pepin* by counsell to lay hold on the Kingdome, when he could not be hindered from fastening on the Crowne, and had already seizd it in effect, howsoeuer he had not yet attained to the name of King? Moreouer, the rudenesse of that Nation, then wanting knowledge and Schooles either of diuinitie, or of Academicall sciences, was a kind of spurre to make them runne for counsell ouer the mountaines: which neuertheless in a cause of such nature, they required not as necessary, but onely as decent and for fashion sake. The Pope also for his part was well appaied, by this meanes to draw *Pepin* vnto his part; as one that stood in some neede of his aide against the Lombards; and the more, because his Lord the Emperour of Constantinople was then brought so low, that hee was not able to send him sufficient aide, for the defence of his territories against his enemies. But had *Zacharie* (to deale plainely) not stood vpon the respect of his owne commodity, more then vpon the regard of Gods feare; he would neuer haue giuen counsell vnto the seruant, vnder the pretended colour of his Masters dull spirit, so to turne rebell against his Master. The Lawes prouide Gardians, or ouerseers, for such as are not well in their wits; they neuer depriue and spoile them of their estate: they punish crimes, but not diseases and infirmities by nature. Yea, in France it is a very auncient custome, when the King is troubled in his wits to establish a Regent, who for the time of the Kings disability, may beare the burden of the Kingdomes affaires. So was the practise

practiſe of that State in the caſe of *Charles 6.* when hee fell into a phrenſie; whom the Pope notwithſtanding his moſt grieuous and ſharpe fits, neuer offered to degrade. And to be ſhort, what reaſon, what equity will beare the children to be puniſhed for the fathers debilitie? Yet ſuch puniſhment was laid vpon *Childerics* whole race and houſe; who by this practiſe were all diſinherited of the Kingdome. But ſhall wee now take ſome view, of the L. Cardinals excuſe for this exemplarie fact? The cauſe of *Childerics* depoſing, (as the L. Cardinall ſaith) did neerely concerne and touch Religion: For *Childerics* imbecillity brought all France into danger, to ſuffer a moſt wofull ſhipwracke of Chriſtian religion, vpon the barbarous and hoſtile inuaſion of the Saracens. Admit now this reaſon had beene of iuſt weight and value, yet conſideration ſhould haue beene taken, whether ſome one or other of that Royall ſtemme, and of the Kings owne ſucceſſors neereſt of blood, was not of better capacity to rule and mannage that mighty State. The feare of vncertaine and accidentall miſchiefe, ſhould not haue driuen them to flie vnto the certaine miſchiefe of actuall and effectuall depoſition. They ſhould rather haue ſet before their eies the example of *Charles Martel*, this *Pepins* father; who in a farre more eminent danger, when the Saracens had already maſtered, and ſubdued a great part of France, valiantly encountred, and withall defeated the Saracens; ruled the Kingdome vnder the title of *Steward* of the Kings houſe, the principall Officer of the Crowne; without affecting or aſpiring to the Throne for all that great ſtep of aduantage, eſpecially when the Saracens were quite broken, and no longer dreadfull to the French Nation.

Pag. 25.

In our owne Scotland, the ſway of the Kingdome was in the hand of *Walles*, during the time of *Bruſe* his impriſonment in England, who then was lawfull heire to the Crowne. This *Walles* or *Vallas* had the whole power of the Kingdome at his becke and command. His Edicts and ordinances to this day ſtand in full force. By the deadly hatred of *Bruſe* his mortall enemie, it may be coniectured, that he might haue bene prouoked and inflamed with deſire to truſſe the Kingdome in his tallants. And notwithſtanding all theſe incitements, he neuer aſſumed or vſurped other title to himſelfe, then of Gouernour or Adminiſtratour of the Kingdome. The reaſon: Hee had not beene brought vp in this new doctrine and late diſcipline, whereby the Church is endowed with power to giue and to take away Crownes. But now (as the L. Cardinall would beare the world in hand) the ſtate of Kings is brought to a very dead lift. The Pope forſooth muſt ſend his Phyſicians, to know by way of inſpection or ſome other courſe of Art, whether the Kings braine be cract or ſound: and in caſe there be found any debilitie of wit and reaſon in the King, then the Pope muſt remooue and tranſlate the Crowne, from the weaker braine to a ſtronger: and for the acting of the ſtratageme, the name of Religion muſt be pretended. Ho, theſe Heretikes begin to crawle in the Kingdome: order muſt bee taken they bee not ſuffered by their multitudes and ſwarmes,

like

like locusts or caterpillers to pester and poison the whole Realme. Or in a case of Matrimony, thus: Ho, marriage is a Sacrament: touch the Order of Matrimonie, and Relgion is wounded. By this deuice not onely the Kings vices, but likewise his naturall diseases and infirmities are fetcht into the circle of Religion; and the L. Cardinall hath not done himselfe right, in restraining the Popes power to depose Kings, vnto the cases of Heresie, Apostasie, and persecution of the Church.

In the next place followeth *Leo* III. who by setting the Imperial Crowne vpon the head of *Charles*, absolued all the Subiects in the West, of their obedience to the Greeke Emperours, if the L. of Perron might bee credited in this Example. But indeed it is crowded among the rest by a slie tricke, and cleane contrary to the naked trewth of all histories: For it shall neuer be iustified by good historie, that so much as one single person or man (I say not one Countrey, or one people) was then wrought or wonne by the Pope to change his copy and Lord, or from a subiect of the Greeke Emperours, to turne subiect vnto *Charlemaine*. Let me see but one Towne that *Charlemaine* recouered from the Greeke Emperours, by his right and title to his Empire in the West: No, the Greeke Emperours had taken their farewell of the West Empire long before: And therefore to nicke this vpon the tallie of Pope *Leo* his Acts, that he tooke away the West from the Greeke Emperour, it is euen as if one should say, that in this aage the Pope takes the Dukedome of *Milan* from the French Kings, or the citie of Rome from the Emperours of Germanie, because their Predecessours in former aages had beene right Lords and gouernours of them both. It is one of the Popes ordinary and solemne practises to take away, much after the maner of his giuing: For as he giueth what he hath not in his right and power to giue, or bestoweth vpon others what is already their owne; euen so he taketh away from Kings and Emperors the possessions which they haue not in present hold and possession. After this maner he takes the West from the Greeke Emperors, when they hold nothing in the West, and lay no claime to any citie or towne of the West Empire. And what shall wee call this way of depriuation, but spoiling a naked man of his garments, and killing a man already dead? Trew it is the Imperiall Crowne was then set on *Charlemaines* head by *Leo* the Pope: did *Leo* therefore giue him the Empire? No more then a Bishop that crownes a King, at his Royall and solemne consecration, doeth giue him the Kingdome: For shall the Pope himselfe take the Popedome from the Bishop of *Ostia* as of his gift, because the crowning of the Pope is an Office of long time peculiar to the *Ostian* Bishop? It was the custome of Emperours, to be crowned Kings of Italy by the hands of the Archbishop of *Milan*: did he therefore giue the Kingdome of Italy to the said Emperours? And to returne vnto *Charlemaine*; If the Pope had conueyed the Empire to him by free and gracious donation, the Pope doubtlesse in the solemnitie of his coronation, would neuer haue perfourmed vnto his owne creature, an Emperour of his owne making,

king the dueties of adoration, as *Ado* that liued in the same aage, hath left it on record: *After the solemne prayses ended* (saith *Ado*) *the chiefe Bishop honoured him with adoration, according to the custome of ancient Princes.* The same is likewise put downe by *Auentine*, in the 4. booke of his Annals of *Bauaria.* The like by the President *Fauchet* in his Antiquities: and by *Monsieur Petau* Counsellour in the Court of Parliament at *Paris*, in his Preface before the Chronicles of *Eusebius*, *Hierome*, and *Sigebert.* It was therefore the people of *Rome*, that called this *Charles* the Great vnto the Imperiall dignitie, and cast on him the title of Emperour. So testifieth *Sigebert* vpon the yeere 801. *All the Romanes with one generall voice and consent, ring out acclamations of Imperiall praises to the Emperour, they crowne him by the hands of* Leo *the Pope, they giue him the style of* Cæsar *and* Augustus. *Marianus Scotus* hath as much in effect: Charles *was then called* Augustus *by the Romanes.* And so *Platina*: *After the solemne seruice,* Leo *declareth and proclaimeth* Charles *Emperour, according to the publike Decree and generall request of the people of* Rome. *Auentine*, and *Sigonius* in his 4. booke of the Kingdome of *Italie* witnesse the same. Neuerthelsse, to gratifie the L. Cardinall; Suppose Pope *Leo* dispossessed the Greeke Emperours of the West Empire: What was the cause? what infamous acte had they done? what prophane and irreligious crime had they committed? *Nicephorus* and *Irene*, who reigned in the Greeke Empire in *Charlemaines* time, were not reputed by the Pope, or taken for Heretikes. How then? The L. Cardinall helpeth at a pinch, and putteth vs in minde, that *Constantine* and *Leo*, predecessours to the said Emperours, had beene poysoned with Heresie, and stained with persecution. Here then behold an Orthodoxe Prince deposed: For what cause? for Heresie forsooth, not in himselfe, but in some of his Predecessors long before. An admirable case: For I am of a contrary minde, that he was worthy of double honour, in restoring and setting vp the trewth againe, which vnder his predecessors had endured oppression, and suffered persecution. Doubtlesse Pope *Siluester* was greatly ouerseene, and played not well the Pope, when hee winked at *Constantine* the Great, and cast him not downe from his Imperiall Throne, for the strange infidelitie and Paganisme of *Diocletian*, *of Maximian*, and *Maxentius*, whom *Constantine* succeeded in the Empire.

Perfectis laudibus, à Pontifice more Principum antiquorum adoratus est.
Auentinus Annalium Boiorum, lib. 4.
Posthæc ab eodem Pontifice vt cæteri veterum Principum, more maiorum adoratus est Magnus.
Sigeb. ad an. 801.
Marianus Scotus lib. 3. Annalium.
Plat. in vita Leon. 3.
Auent. Annal. Boio. lib. 4. Imperium transferre iure suo in Germanos, Carolúmque tacito Senatus consulto, plebiscitoq; decernunt.

From this example the L. of *Perron* passeth to *Fulke* Archbishop of *Reims*: by whom *Charles* the Simple was threatned with Excommunication, and refusing to continue any longer in the fidelity and allegiance of a subiect. To what purpose is this example? For who can be ignorant, that all aages haue brought forth turbulent and stirring spirits, men altogether forgetfull of respect and obseruance towards their Kings, especially when the world finds them shallow and simple-witted, like vnto this Prince? But in this example, where is there so much as one word of the Pope, or the deposing of Kings?

Examp 9. pag. 21.

Here the L. Cardinall chops in the example of *Philip* I. King of France, but

but mangled, and ſtrangely diſguiſed, as hereafter ſhall be ſhewed.

At laſt he leadeth vs to *Gregory* VII. ſurnamed *Hildebrand*, the ſcourge of Emperours, the firebrand of warre, the ſcorne of his aage. This Pope, after he had (in the ſpirit of pride, and in the very height of all audaciouſneſſe) thundred the ſentence of excommunication and depoſition, againſt the Emperour *Henry* IIII. after he had enterpriſed this act without all precedent example: after he had filled all Europe with blood: this Pope, I ſay, ſunke downe vnder the weight of his affaires, and died as a fugitiue at *Salerne*, ouerwhelmed with diſcontent and ſorrow of heart: Here lying at the point of giuing vp the ghoaſt, calling vnto him (as it is in *Sigebert*) a certaine Cardinall whom he much fauoured, *He confeſſeth to God, and Saint* Peter, *and the whole Church, that he had beene greatly defectiue in the Paſtorall charge committed to his care; and that by the Deuils inſtigation, he had kindled the fire of Gods wrath and hatred againſt mankind: Then hee ſent his Confeſſor to the Emperour, and to the whole Church to pray for his pardon, becauſe hee perceiued that his life was at an end.* Likewiſe Cardinall *Benno* that liued in the ſaid *Gregories* time, doth teſtifie, *That ſo ſoone as he was riſen out of his Chaire to excommunicate the Emperour from his Cathedrall ſeate: by the will of God the ſaid Cathedrall ſeate, new made of ſtrong board or plancke, did cracke and cleaue into many pieces or parts; to manifeſt how great and terrible Schiſmes had beene ſowen againſt the Church of Chriſt, by an excommunication of ſo dangerous conſequence, pronounced by the man that had ſit Iudge therein.* Now to bring and alleadge the example of ſuch a man, who by attempting an act which neuer any man had the heart or face to attempt before, hath condemned all his predeceſſors of cowardiſe, or at leaſt of ignorance; what is it elſe, but euen to ſend vs to the ſchoole of mightie robbers, and to ſeeke to correct and reforme ancient vertues by late vices? Which *Otho Friſingenſis* calling into his owne priuate conſideration, hee durſt freely profeſſe, *that hee had not reade of any Emperour before this* Henry *the IIII. excommunicated or driuen out of his Imperiall Throne and Kingdome by the chiefe Biſhop of Rome.* But if this quarrell may be tryed and fought out with weapons of examples, I leaue any indifferent reader to iudge what examples ought in the cauſe to be of chiefeſt authority and weight: whether late examples of Kings depoſed by Popes, for the moſt part neuer taking the intended effect; or auncient examples of Popes actually and effectually thruſt out of their thrones by Emperours and Kings.

Exam.11. An.1076.

Sigeb.ad an. 1085.

Otho Friſingenſ. in vita Hen.4. lib.4.cap 31.

The Emperour *Conſtantius* expelled *Liberius* Biſhop of Rome out of the citie, baniſhed him as farre as *Beroe*, and placed *Fœlix* in his roome. Indeed *Conſtantius* was an Arrian, and therein vſed no leſſe impious then vniuſt proceeding: Neuertheleſſe, the auncient Fathers of the Church, doe not blame *Conſtantius* for his hard and ſharpe dealing with a chiefe Biſhop, ouer whom hee had no lawfull power, but onely as an enemie to the Orthodoxe faith, and one that raged with extreame rigour of perſecution againſt innocent beleeuers.

Theo.lib.2. Hiſt.cap.16.

In the raigne of *Valentinian* the I. and yeare of the Lord 367. the contention

Ammia.lib.27

tion betweene *Damasus* and *Vrcisinus* competitors for the Bishopricke, filled the citie of Rome with a bloody sedition, in which were wickedly and cruelly murdered 137. persons. To meet with such turbulent actions, *Honorius* made a law extant in the Decreetalls, the words whereof be these; *If it shall happen henceforth by the temeritie of competitors, that any two Bishops be elected to the See, we straitly charge and command, that neither of both shall sit in the said See.* By vertue of this Law, the same *Honorius* in the yeare 420. expelled *Bonifacius* and *Eulalius*, competitors and Antipopes out of Rome, though not long after he reuoked *Bonifacius*, and setled him in the Papall See.

Decret. dist. 79.

Platina. Sigebertus.

Theodoric the Goth King of Italy, sent *Iohn* Bishop of Rome Embassador to the Emperour *Iustinian*, called him home againe, and clapt him vp in the close prison, where he starued to death. By the same King, *Peter* Bishop of Altine was dispatched to Rome, to heare the cause and examine the processe of Pope *Symmachus*, then indited and accused of sundry crimes.

Anastatius. Platina. Lib. Pontifi. Diaconus.

King *Theodatus* about the yeare 537. had the seruice of Pope *Agapetus*, as his Embassadour to the Emperour *Iustinian*, vpon a treatie of peace. *Agapetus* dying in the time of that seruice, *Syluerius* is made Bishop by *Theodatus*. Not long after, *Syluerius* is driuen out by *Belisarius* the Emperour his Lieutenant, and sent into banishment. After *Syluerius* next succeedeth *Vigilius*, who with currant coine purchased the Popedome of *Belisarius*. The Emperour *Iustinian* sends for *Vigilius* to Constantinople, and receiues him there with great honour. Soone after, the Emperour takes offence at his freenesse in speaking his mind, commands him to bee beaten with stripes in manner to death, and with a roape about his necke to be drawne through the city like a thiefe, as *Platina* relates the historie. *Nicephorus* in his 26. booke, and 17. chapter, comes very neere the same relation.

The Emperour *Constantius*, in the yeere 654. caused Pope *Martin* to be bound with chaines, and banished him into Chersonesus, where he ended his life. The Popes in that aage writing to the Emperours, vsed none but submissiue tearmes, by way of most humble supplications; made profession of bowing the knee before their sacred Maiesties, and of executing their commaunds with entire obedience; payed to the Emperours twenty pound weight of gold for their Inuestiture; which tribute was afterward released and remitted, by *Constantine* the *Bearded*, to Pope *Agatho*, in the yeere 679. as I haue obserued in an other place.

Platina. Baronius. Sigebertus.

Iustin. Authent. 123. cap. 3.

Nay further, euen when the power and riches of the Popes was growne to great height, by the most profuse and immense munificence of *Charlemayne* and Lewis his sonne; the Emperours of the West did not relinquish and giue ouer the making and vnmaking of Popes, as they saw cause. Pope *Adrian* 1. willingly submitted his necke to this yoke: and made this Law to be passed in a Councill, that in *Charlemayne* should rest all right and power for the Popes election, and for the gouernement of the Papall See. This Constitution is incerted in the *Decretals*, Distinct. 63. Can.

* *Hadri-*

* *Hadrianus*, and was confirmed by the practise of many yeeres.

In the yeere of the Lord 963. the Emperour *Otho* tooke away the Popedome from *Iohn* 13. and placed *Leo* 8. in his roume. In like maner, *Iohn* 14. *Gregory* 5. and *Siluester* 2. were seated in the Papall Throne by the *Othos*.

The Emperour *Henrie* 2. in the yeere 1007. deposed three Popes, namely, *Bendict* 9. *Siluester* 3. and *Gregorie* 6. whom *Platina* doeth not sticke to call, three most detestable and vile monsters. This custome continued, this practise stood in force for diuers aages, euen vntill the times of *Gregorie* 7. by whom the whole West was tossed and turmoiled with lamentable warres, which plagued the world, and the Empire by name with intolerable troubles and mischiefes. For after the said *Gregorian* warres, the Empire fell from bad to worse, and so went on to decay, till Emperours at last were driuen to beg, and receiue the Imperiall Crowne of the Pope.

The Kingdome of *France* met not with so rude entreatie, but was dealt withall by courses of a milder temper. *Gregorie* 4. about the yeere of the Lord, 832. was the first Pope that perswaded himselfe to vse the censure of Excommunication against a King of *France*. This Pope hauing a hand in the troublesome factions of the Realme, was nothing backeward to side with the sonnes of *Lewis* surnamed the Courteous, by wicked conspiracie entring into a desperate course and complot against *Lewis* their owne father; as witnesseth *Sigebert* in these words, *Pope* Gregorie *comming into* France, *ioyned himselfe to the sonnes against the Emperour their Father.* But Annals of the very same times, and hee that furbushed *Aimonius*, a Religious of S. *Benedicts* Order, doe testifie, that all the Bishops of *France* fell vpon this resolution; by no meanes to rest in the Popes pleasure, or to giue any place vnto his designe: and contrariwise, *In case the Pope should proceed to Excommunication of their King, hee should returne out of* France *to* Rome *an excommunicate person himselfe.* The Chronicle of S. *Denis* hath words in this forme: *The Lord Apostolicall returned answere, that hee was not come into* France *for any other purpose, but onely to excommunicate the King and his Bishops, if they would bee in any sort opposite vnto the sonnes of* Lewis, *or disobedient vnto the will and pleasure of his Holinesse: The Prelates enformed heereof, made answere, that in this case they would neuer yeeld obedience to the Excommunication of the said Bishops; because it was contrary to the authoritie and aduise of the ancient Canons.*

After these times, Pope *Nicolas* 1. depriued King *Lotharius* of Communion (for in those times not a word of deposing) to make him repudiate or quit *Valdrada*, and to resume or take againe *Thetberga* his former wife. The Articles framed by the French vpon this point, are to bee found in the writing of *Hincmarus*, Archbishop of *Reims*, and are of this purport; that in the iudgement of men both learned and wise, it is an ouerruled case, that as the King whatsoeuer hee shall doe, ought not by his owne Bishops to be excommunicated, euen so no forreine Bishop hath power to sit for his Iudge: because the King is to be subiect onely vnto God, and

* *Note that in the same Dist. the Can of* Greg. 4. *beginning with Cum* Hadrianus 2. *is false, and supposititious, because* Gregorie 4. *was Pope long before* Hadr. 2. *Tria teterrima monstra.*

Bochel. *Decret. Eccles. Gallican. lib.* 2. *tit.* 16.

his Imperiall authoritie, who alone had the all-ſufficient power to ſettle him in his Kingdome. Moreouer, the Clergie addreſſed letters of anſwere vnto the ſame Pope, full of ſtinging and bitter termes, with ſpeaches of great ſcorne and contempt, as they are ſet downe by *Auentine* in his Annals of *Bauaria*, not forbearing to call him *thiefe, wolfe, and tyrant.*

Annal. Boio. lib.4.

When Pope *Hadrian* tooke vpon him like a Lord, to command *Charles* the Bald vpon paine of interdiction, that hee ſhould ſuffer the Kingdome of *Lotharius* to bee fully and entirely conueyed and conferred vpon *Lewis* his ſonne; the ſame *Hincmarus*, a man of great authoritie and eſtimation in that aage, ſent his letters conteining ſundry remonſtrances touching that ſubiect: Among other matters thus he writeth, *The Eccleſiaſtics and Seculars of the Kingdome aſſembled at* Reims, *haue affirmed and now doe affirme by way of reproach, vpbraiding, and exprobation, that neuer was the like Mandate ſent before from the See of* Rome *to any of our predeceſſours.* And a little after: *The chiefe Biſhops of the Apoſtolike See, or any other Biſhops of the greateſt authoritie and holineſſe, neuer withdrew themſelues from the preſence, from the reuerend ſalutation, or from the conference of Empererours and Kings, whether Heretikes, or Schiſmatikes and Tyrants: as* Conſtantius *the Arrian,* Iulianus *the Apoſtata, and* Maximus *the Tyrant.* And yet a little after; *Wherefore if the Apoſtolike Lord bee minded to ſeeke peace, let him ſeeke it ſo, that he ſtirre no brawles, and breed no quarrels. For we are no ſuch babes to beleeue, that we can or euer ſhall attaine to Gods Kingdome, vnleſſe wee receiue him for our King in earth, whom God himſelfe recommendeth to vs from heauen.* It is added by *Hincmarus* in the ſame place, that by the ſaid Biſhops and Lords Temporall, ſuch threatning words were blowen forth, as hee is afraid once to ſpeake and vtter. As for the King himſelfe, what reckoning hee made of the Popes mandates, it appeareth by the Kings owne letters addreſſed to Pope *Hadrianus*, as we may reade euery where in the Epiſtles of *Hincmarus.* For there, after King *Charles* hath taxed and challenged the Pope of pride, and hit him in the teeth with a ſpirit of vſurpation, hee breaketh out into theſe words: *What Hell hath caſt vp this law ſo croſſe and prepoſterous? what infernall gulph hath diſgorged this law out of the darkeſt and obſcureſt dennes? a law quite contrary, and altogether repugnant vnto the beaten way ſhewed vs in the holy Scriptures, &c.* Yea, he flatly and peremptorily forbids the Pope, except he meane or deſire to be recompenſed with diſhonour and contempt, to ſend any more the like Mandates, either to himſelfe, or to his Biſhops.

Vnder the reigne of *Hugo Capetus* and *Robert* his ſonne, a Councell now extant in all mens hands, was held and celebrated at *Reims* by the Kings authoritie. There *Arnulphus* Biſhop of *Orleans*, then Prolocutor and Speaker of the Councel, calls the Pope Antichriſt, and lets not alſo to paint him forth like a monſter: as well for the deformed and vgly vices of that vnholy See, which then were in their exaltation, as alſo becauſe the Pope then wonne with preſents, and namely with certaine goodly horſes, then preſented to his Holineſſe, tooke part againſt the King, with *Arnulphus*

phus Bishop of *Reims*, then dispossessed of his Pastorall charge.

When *Philip* 1. had repudiated his wife *Bertha*, daughter to the Earle of *Holland*; and in her place had also taken to wife *Bertrade* the wife of *Fulco* Earle of *Aniou* yet being aliue; hee was excommunicated, and his Kingdome interdicted by *Vrbanus* then Pope, (though he was then bearded with an Antipope) as the L. Cardinal here giueth vs to vnderstand. But his Lordship hath skipt ouer two principall points recorded in the historie. The first is, that *Philip* was not deposed by the Pope: whereupon it is to be inferred, that in this passage there is nothing materiall to make for the Popes power against a Kings Throne and Scepter. The other point is, that by the censures of the Pope, the course of obedience due to the King before was not interrupted, nor the King disauowed, refused, or disclaimed: but on the contrary, that *Iuo* of *Chartres* taking Pope *Vrbanus* part, was punished for his presumption, dispoyled of his estate, and kept in prison: whereof he makes complaint himselfe in his 19. and 20. Epistles. The L. Cardinall besides, in my vnderstanding, for his Masters honour, should haue made no words of interdicting the whole Kingdome. For when the Pope, to giue a King chastisement, doeth interdict his Kingdome, hee makes the people to beare the punishment of the Kings offence: For during the time of interdiction, the Church doores through the whole Kingdome are kept continually shut and lockt vp: publike seruice is intermitted in all places: bels euery where silent: Sacraments not administred to the people: bodies of the dead so prostituted and abandoned, that none dares burie the said bodies in holy ground. More, it is beleeued, that a man dying vnder the curse of the interdict (without some speciall indulgence or priuiledge) is for euer damned and adiudged to eternall punishments, as one that dyeth out of the communion of the Church. Put case then the interdict holdeth and continueth for many yeares together; alas, how many millions of poore soules are damned, and goe to hell for an others offence? For what can, or what may the faltlesse and innocent people doe withall, if the King will repudiate his wife, and she yet liuing, ioyne himselfe in matrimonie to an other?

The Lord Cardinall after *Philip* the 1. produceth *Philippus Augustus*, who hauing renounced his wife *Ingeberga* daughter to the King of *Denmarke*, and marrying with *Agnes* daughter to the Duke of *Morauia*, was by Pope Innocent the third interdicted himselfe and his whole Kingdome. But his Lordshippe was not pleased to insert withall, what is auerred in the Chronicle of Saint *Denis*: that Pope *Celestinus* 3. sent forth two Legats at once vpon this errand: *Who being come into the assemblie and generall Council of all the French Prelats, became like dumbe dogs that can not barke, so as they could not bring the seruice which they had vndertaken to any good passe, because they stood in a bodily feare of their owne hydes. Not long after, the Cardinall of Capua was in the like taking: For hee durst not bring the Realme within the limits of the interdict, before hee was got out of the limits of the Kingdome. The King here-* *Examp. 11.* *Bochel. pag. 320*

with incensed, thrust all the Prelates that had giuen consent vnto these proceedings out of their Sees, confiscated their goods, &c. To the same effect is that which wee reade in *Matthew Paris.* After the Pope had giuen his Maiestie to vnderstand by the Cardinal of *Anagnia,* that his kingdome should be interdicted, vnlesse he would be reconciled to the King of England; the King returned the Pope this answere, that he was not in any sort afraid of the Popes sentence, for as much as it could not be grounded vpon any equitie of the cause: and added withall, *that it did no way appertaine vnto the Church of Rome to sentence Kings, especially the King of France.* And this was done, saith *Iohannes Tilius* Register in Court of Parliament of Paris, *by the counsell of the French Barons.*

Most notable is the example of *Philip the faire*, and hits the bird in the right eye. In the yeere 1032. the Pope dispatched the Archbishop of *Narbona* with *mandates* into France, commanding the King to release the Bishop of *Apamia* then detained in prison, for contumelious words tending to the Kings defamation, and spoken to the Kings owne head. In very deed this Pope had conceiued a secret grudge, and no light displeasure against King *Philip* before: namely, because the King had taken vpon him the collation of Benefices, and other Ecclesiastical dignities. Vpon which occasion the Pope sent letters to the King of this tenour and style: *Feare God, and keepe his Commandements: Wee would haue thee know, that in Spirituall and Temporall causes thou art subiect vnto our selfe: that collating of Benefices and Prebends, doeth not in any sort appertaine to thy office and place: that, in case as keeper of the Spiritualties, thou haue the custodie of Benefices and Prebends in thy hand when they become voyd, thou shalt by sequestration reserue the fruits of the same, to the vse and benefit of the next Incumbents and successors: and in case thou hast heretofore collated any, we ordaine the said collations to be meerely void: and so farre as herein thou hast proceeded to the fact, we reuoke the said collations. We hold them for hereticks whosoeuer are not of this beliefe.* A Legate comes to Paris, and brings these brauing letters: By some of the Kings faithfull seruants they are violently snatched and pulled out of the Legates hands: by the Earle of Artois they are cast into the fire. The good King answeres the Pope, and payes him in as good coyne as he had sent. *Philip by the grace of God King of the French, to* Boniface *calling and bearing himselfe the Soueraigne Bishop, little greeting or none at all. May thy exceeding sottishnesse vnderstand, that in Temporall causes we are not subiect vnto any mortall and earthly creature: that collating of Benefices and Prebends, by Regall right appertaineth to our office and place: that appropriating their fruits when they become void, belongeth to our selfe alone during their vacancie: that all collations by vs heretofore made, or to bee made hereafter, shall stand in force: that in the validitie and vertue of the said collations, wee will euer couragiously defend and maintaine, all Incumbents and possessors of Benefices and Prebends so by vs collated. We hold them all for sots and senselesse, whosoeuer are not of this beliefe.* The Pope incensed herewith, excommunicates the King: but no man dares publish that censure, or become bearer thereof.

The

The King notwithſtanding the ſaid proceedings of the Pope, aſſembles his Prelates, Barons, and Knights at Paris: askes the whole aſſembly, of whom they hold their Fees, with al other the Temporalties of the Church. They make anſwere with one voice, that in the ſaid matters they diſclaime the Pope, and know none other Lord beſide his Maieſtie. Meane while the Pope worketh with Germanie and the Low Countreis, to ſtirre them vp againſt France. But *Philip* ſendeth *William* of *Nogaret* into Italy. *William* by the direction and aide of *Sciarra Columnenſis*, takes the Pope at *Anagnia*, mounts him vpon a leane ill-fauoured iade, caries him priſoner to Rome; where ouercome with choller, anguiſh, and great indignation, he takes his laſt leaue of the Popedome and his life. All this notwithſtanding, the King preſently after, from the ſucceſſours of *Boniface* receiues very ample and gratious Bulls, in which the memorie of all the former paſſages and actions is vtterly aboliſhed. Witneſſe the Epiſtle of *Clement* 5. wherein this King is honoured with praiſes, for a pious and religious Prince, and his Kingdome is reſtored to the former eſtate. In that aage the French Nobilitie caried other maner of ſpirits, then the moderne and preſent Nobilitie doe: I meane thoſe by whom the L. Cardinal was applauded and aſſiſted in his Oration. Yea, in thoſe former times the Prelates of the Realme ſtood better affected towards their King, then the L. Cardinal himſelfe now ſtandeth: who could finde none other way to dally with, and to ſhift off this pregnant example, but by plaine gloſing, that hereſie and Apoſtaſie was no ground of that queſtion, or ſubiect of that controuerſie. Wherein hee not onely condemnes the Pope, as one that proceeded againſt *Philip* without a iuſt cauſe & good ground; but likewiſe giues the Pope the Lie, who in his goodly letters but a little aboue recited, hath enrowled *Philip* in the liſt of heretiques. Hee ſaith moreouer, that indeed the knot of the queſtion was touching the Popes pretence, in challenging to himſelfe the temporall Soueraigntie of France, that is to ſay, in qualifying himſelfe King of France: But indeed and indeed no ſuch matter to be found. His whole pretence was the collating of Benefices, and to pearch aboue the King, to crow ouer his Crowne in Temporall cauſes. At which pretence his Holineſſe yet aimeth, ſtill attributing and challenging to himſelfe plenarie power to depoſe the King. Now if the L. Cardinal ſhall yet proceed to cauill, that *Boniface* the eighth was taken by the French for an vſurper, and no lawfull Pope, but for one that crept into the Papacie by fraud and ſymonie; he muſt be pleaſed to ſet downe poſitiuely who was Pope, ſeeing that *Boniface* then ſate not in the Papall chaire. To conclude, If hee that creepeth and ſtealeth into the Papacie by ſymonie, by canuaſes or labouring of ſuffrages vnder hand, or by bribery, be not lawfull Pope; I dare be bold to profeſſe, there will hardly be found two lawfull Popes in the three laſt aages.

Extrauag. Meruit.

Pope *Benedict* in the yeere 1408. being in choller with *Charles* the ſixt, becauſe *Charles* had bridled and curbed the gainefull exactions and extor-

See the treatiſe of Charles du Moulin contrà parnas Dataes,

tas, wherin he reporteth a notable Decree of the Court vnder *Charles 6.*

sions of the Popes Court, by which the Realme of France had bene exhausted of their treasure, sent an excommunicatorie Bull into France, against *Charles* the King, and all his Princes. The Vniuersitie of Paris made request or motion that his Bull might be mangled, and Pope *Benedict* himselfe, by some called *Petrus de Luna*, might be declared *heretike*, *schismatike*, *and perturber of the peace.* The said Bull was mangled and rent in pieces, according to the petition of the Vniuersitie, by Decree of Court vpon the tenth of Iune, 1408. Tenne dayes after, the Court rising at eleuen in the morning, two Bul-bearers of the said excommunicatorie censure vnderwent ignominious punishment vpon the Palace or great Hal staires. From thence were led to the *Louure* in such maner as they had bene brought from thence before: drawne in two tumbrels, clad in coates of painted linnen, wore paper-mytres on their heads, were proclaimed with sound of Trumpet, and euery where disgraced with publike derision: So litle reckoning was made of the Popes thundering canons in those dayes. And what would they haue done, if the said Buls had imported sentence of deposition against King *Charles?*

Theodoric. Niemens. in memoriam vnion. Tract. 6. & somnium viridarij.

The French Church assembled at *Tours* in the yeere 1510. decreed that *Lewis* XII. might with safe conscience contemne *the abusiue Bulls, and vniust censures of Pope* Iulius *the* II. and by armes might withstand the Popes vsurpations, in case hee should proceed to excommunicate or depose the King. More, by a Councill holden at *Pisa*, this *Lewis* declared the Pope to bee fallen from the Popedome, and coyned crownes with a stampe of this inscription, *I will destroy the name of Babylon.* To this the L. of *Perron* makes answere, that all this was done by the French, as acknowledging these iars to haue sprung not from the fountaine of Religion, but from passion of state: Wherein he condemneth Pope *Iulius*, for giuing so great scope vnto his publike censures, as to serue his ambition, and not rather to aduance Religion. He secretly teacheth vs besides, that when the Pope vndertakes to depose the King of France, then the French are to sit as Iudges concerning the lawfulnesse or vnlawfulnesse of the cause; and in case they shall finde the cause to be vnlawfull, then to disanull his iudgements, and to scoffe at his thunderbolts.

Iohn d'Albret King of Nauarre, whose Realme was giuen by the foresaid Pope to *Ferdinand* King of Arragon, was also wrapped and entangled with strict bands of deposition. Now if the French had bene touched with no better feeling of affection to their King, then the subiects of Nauarre were to the Nauarrois; doubtlesse France had sought a new Lord, by vertue of the Popes (as the L. Cardinall himselfe doeth acknowledge and confesse) vniust sentence. But behold, to make the said sentence against *Iohn d'Albret* seeme the lesse contrary to equitie, the L. Cardinall pretends, the Popes donation was not indeed the principall cause, howsoeuer *Ferdinand* himselfe made it his pretence. But his Lo. giues this for the principall cause: that *Iohn d'Albret* had quitted his alliance made with condition; that in

Pag. 51.

in caſe the Kings of Nauarre ſhould infringe the ſaid alliance, and breake the league, then the kingdome of Nauarre ſhould returne to the Crowne of Arragon. This condition, betweene Kings neuer made, and without all ſhew of probabilitie, ſerueth to none other purpoſe from the Cardinals mouth, but onely to inſinuate and worke a perſwaſion in his King, that he hath no right nor lawfull pretenſion to the Crowne of Nauarre: and whatſoeuer hee now holdeth in the ſaid kingdome of Nauarre, is none of his owne, but by vſurpation and vnlawfull poſſeſſion. Thus his Lordſhip French-borne, makes himſelfe an Aduocate for the Spaniſh King, againſt his owne King, and King of the French: who ſhalbe faine, as hee ought (if this Aduocats plea may take place) to draw his title and ſtyle of King of Nauarre out of his Royall titles, and to acknowledge that all the great endeuours of his predeceſſors to recouer the ſaid Kingdome, were diſhonourable and vniuſt. Is it poſſible, that in the very heart and head Citie of France, a ſpirit and tongue ſo licentious can be brooked? What, ſhall ſo great blaſphemie (as it were) of the Kings freehold, bee powred foorth in ſo honourable an aſſembly, without puniſhment or fine? What, without any contradiction for the Kings right, and on the Kings behalfe? I may perhaps confeſſe the indignitie might bee the better borne, and the pretence alledged might paſſe for a poore excuſe, if it ſerued his purpoſe neuer ſo little. For how doeth all this touch or come neere the queſtion? in which the Popes vſurpation in the depoſing of Kings, and the reſolution of the French in reſiſting this tyrannicall practiſe, is the proper iſſue of the cauſe: both which points are neuer a whit more of the leſſe conſequence and importance, howſoeuer *Ferdinand* in his owne iuſtification ſtood vpon the foreſaid pretence. Thus much is confeſſed, and wee aske no more: Pope *Iulius* tooke the Kingdome from the one, and gaue it vnto the other: the French thereupon reſiſted the Pope, and declared him to be fallen from the Papacie.

This noble ſpirit and courage of the French, in maintayning the dignitie and honour of their Kings Crownes, bred thoſe ancient cuſtomes, which in the ſequence of many aages haue bene obſerued and kept in vſe. This for one: That no Legate of the Pope, nor any of his reſcripts nor *mandates*, are admitted and receiued in France, *without licence from the King*: and vnleſſe the Legate impart his faculties to the Kings Atturney Generall, to be peruſed and verified in Court of Parliament: where they are to be tyed by certaine modifications and reſtrictions, vnto ſuch points as are not derogatorie from the Kings right, from the liberties of the Church, and from the ordinances of the Kingdome. When Cardinal *Balua*, contrary to this ancient forme, entred France in the yeere 1484. and there without leaue of the King did execute the office, & ſpeed certaine Acts of the Popes Legate; the Court vpon motion made by the Kings Atturney Generall, decreed a Commiſſion, to be informed againſt him by two Councellors of the ſaid Court, and inhibited his further proceeding to vſe any facultie or power

Pag. 26. *Niſi de conſenſu Regis Chriſtianiſſimi.*

Bochellus.

power of the Popes Legate, vpon paine of beeing proclaimed rebell.

In the yeere 1561. *Iohannes Tanquerellus* Batchelour in Diuinitie, by order of the Court was condemned to make open confession, that hee had *indiscreetly and rashly without consideration* defended this proposition, *The Pope is the Vicar of Christ, a Monarke that hath power both Spirituall and Secular, and he may depriue Princes, which rebell against his commandements of their dignities.* Which proposition, howsoeuer he protested that he had propounded the same *onely to be argued, and not iudicially to be determined* in the affirmatiue, *Tanquerellus* neuertheless was compelled openly to recant. Here the L. Cardinall answeres; The historie of *Tanquerellus* is from the matter, because his proposition treateth neither of Heresie nor of Infidelitie: but I answere, The said proposition treateth of both, forasmuch as it maketh mention of disobedience to the Pope. For I suppose hee will not denie, that whosoeuer shall stand out in Heresie, contrary to the Popes monitorie proceedings, he shal shew but poore and simple obedience to the Pope. Moreouer, the case is cleare by the former examples, that no Pope will suffer his power to cast downe Kings, to be restrained vnto the cause of Heresie and Infidelitie.

Indiscrètè ac inconsideratè.

Doctrinaliter tantùm & non iuridicè.

In the heate of the last warres, raised by that holy-prophane League, admonitory Bulls were sent by Pope *Gregorie* 14. from *Rome*, Anno 1591. By these Bulls King *Henrie* 4. as an Heretike and relapse, was declared incapable of the Crowne of *France*, and his Kingdome was exposed to hauocke and spoile. The Court of Parliament being assembled at *Tours* the 5. of August, decreed the said admonitorie Bulls to bee cancelled, torne in pieces, and cast into a great fire by the hand of the publike executioner. The Arrest it selfe or Decree is of this tenour: *The Court duely pondering and approouing the concluding and vnanswerable reasons of the Kings Attourney Generall, hath declared, and by these present doeth declare, the admonitorie Bulls giuen at* Rome *the* 1. *of March* 1591. *to be of no validitie, abusiue, seditious, damnable, full of impietie and impostures, contrary to the holy decrees, rights, franchises, and liberties of the French Church: doeth ordeine the Copies of the said Bulls, sealed with the seale of* Marsilius Landrianus, *and signed* Septilius Lamprius, *to bee rent in pieces by the publike executioner, and by him to be burnt in a great fire to be made for such purpose, before the great gates of the common Hall or Palace, &c.* Then, euen then the L. of *Perron* was firme for the better part, and stood for his King against *Gregorie* the Pope, notwithstanding the crime of heresie pretended against *Henrie* his Lord.

All the former examples by vs alledged, are drawen out of the times after Schooles of Diuinitie were established in *France*: For I thought good to bound my selfe within those dooles and limits of time, which the L. Cardinal himselfe hath set. Who goeth not sincerely to worke and in good earnest, where he telleth vs there be three instances (as if wee had no more) obiected against Papall power, to remooue Kings out of their chaires of State: by name, *the example of* Philip *the Faire, of* Lewis XII. *and*

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and of Tanquerellus: For in very trewth all the former examples by vs produced, are no lesse pregnant and euident, howsoeuer the L. Cardinall hath bene pleased to conceale them all for feare of hurting his cause.

Nay, *France* euen in the dayes of her sorest seruitude, was neuer vnfurnished of great Diuines, by whom this vsurped power of the Pope, ouer the Temporalties and Crownes of Kings, hath beene vtterly misliked and condemned.

Robert Earle of *Flanders* was commanded by Pope *Paschal* 2. to persecute with fire and sword the Clergie of *Liege*, who then adhered and stood to the cause of the Emperour *Henrie* 4. whom the Pope had ignominiously deposed. *Robert* by the Popes order and command, was to handle the Clergie of *Liege* in like sort as before hee had serued the Clergie of *Cambray*, who by the said Earle had beene cruelly stript both of goods and life: The Pope promised the said Earle and his army pardon of their sinnes for the said execution. The Clergie of *Liege* addressed answere to the Pope at large: They cried out vpon the Church of *Rome*, and called her *Babylon*: Told the Pope home, that God had commanded to giue vnto *Cæsar* that which is *Cæsars*: that euery soule must bee subiect vnto the superiour powers: that no man is exempted out of this precept: and that euery oath of alleagiance is to be kept inuiolable; yea, that hereof they themselues are not ignorant, in as much as they by a new Schisme, and new traditions, making a separation and rent of the Priesthood from the Kingdome, doe promise to absolue of periurie, such as haue perfidiously forsworne themselues against their King. And whereas by way of despight and in opprobrious maner, they were excommunicated by the Pope, they gaue his Holinesse to vnderstand, that *Dauids heart had vttered a good matter, but* Paschals *heart had spewed vp sordid and railing words, like old bawdes and spinsters or websters of linnen, when they scold and brawle one with another.* Finally, they reiected his Papal excommunication, as a sentence giuen without discretion. This was the voyce and free speach of that Clergie, in the life time of their noble Emperour: But after hee was thrust out of the Empire by the rebellion of his owne sonne, instigated and stirred vp thereunto by the Popes perswasion and practise, and was brought vnto a miserable death; it is no matter of wonder, that for the safegard of their life, the said Clergie were driuen to sue vnto the Pope for their pardon.

Hildebert Bishop of *Cænomanum* vpon the riuer of *Sartre*, liuing vnder the reigne of King *Philip* the first, affirmeth in his Epistles 40. and 75. that *Kings are to bee admonished and instructed, rather then punished: to be dealt with by counsell, rather then by command, by doctrine and instruction, rather then by correction: For no such sword belongeth to the Church, because the sword of the Church is Ecclesiasticall discipline, and nothing else.* *Bernard* writeth to Pope *Eugenius* after this manner: *Whosoeuer they bee that are of this mind and opinion, shall neuer be able to make proofe, that any one of the Apostles did euer sit in qualitie of Iudge or Diuider of lands. I reade where they haue stood to bee iudged, but neuer where they sate*

Bibliotheca Patrum Tom. 3.

De consider. lib. 1. cap. 6.

ſate downe to giue iudgement. Againe, *Your authoritie ſtretcheth vnto crimes, not vnto poſſeſsions: becauſe you haue receiued the keies of the kingdome of heauen, not in regard of poſſeſsions, but of crimes, to keepe all that pleade by couin or colluſion, and not lawfull poſſeſſors, out of the heauenly kingdome.* A little after: *These baſe things of the earth are iudged by the Kings and Princes of this world: wherefore doe you thruſt your ſickle into an others haruest? wherefore doe you incroach and intrude vpon an others limits?* Elſewhere. *The Apoſtles are directly forbid to make themſelues Lords and rulers. Goe thou then, and beeing a Lord vſurpe Apoſtleſhip, or beeing an Apoſtle vſurpe Lordſhip. If thou needes wilt haue both, doubtleſſe thou ſhalt haue neither.*

Lib.2.cap.6.

Diſt.24.queſt.3

Iohannes Maior Doctor of *Paris*: *The Soueraigne Biſhop hath no temporall authoritie ouer Kings. The reaſon: Becauſe it followes (the contrarie being once granted) that Kings are the Popes vaſſals.* Now let other men iudge, whether he that hath power to diſpoſſeſſe Kings of all their Temporalties, hath not likewiſe authoritie ouer their Temporalties.

Comment in l.4.Sent.Diſt. 24 fol.214.

The ſame Author: *The Pope hath no manner of title ouer the French or Spaniſh Kings in temporall matters.* Where it is further added, That Pope *Innocent* 3. hath beene pleaſed to teſtifie, that Kings of *France* in Temporall cauſes doe acknowledge no ſuperiour: For ſo the Pope excuſed himſelfe to a certaine Lord of Montpellier, who in ſtead of ſuing to the King, had petitioned to the Pope for a diſpenſation for his baſtard. *But perhaps (as he ſpeaketh) it will be alledged out of the gloſſe, that hee acknowledgeth no ſuperiour by fact, and yet ought by right. But I tell you the gloſſe is an Aurelian gloſſe, which marres the text.* Amongſt other arguments, *Maior* brings this for one: *This opinion miniſtreth matter vnto Popes, to take away an others Empire by force and violence: which the Pope ſhall neuer bring to paſſe, as we reade of* Boniface 8. *againſt* Philip *the Faire: Saith beſides, That from hence proceede warres, in time of which many outragious miſchiefes are done, and that* Gerſon *calls them egregious flatterers by whom ſuch opinion is maintained.* In the ſame place *Maior* denies that *Childeric* was depoſed by Pope *Zacharie*: *The word, Hee depoſed, ſaith* Maior, *is not ſo to bee vnderſtood, as it is taken at the firſt bluſh or ſight; but hee depoſed, is thus expounded in the gloſſe, Hee gaue his conſent vnto thoſe by whom he was depoſed.*

De poteſt.Regia & Papali. cap.10.

Iohn *of* Paris: *Were it graunted that Chriſt was armed with Temporall power, yet he committed no ſuch power to Peter.* A little after: *The power of Kings is the higheſt power vpon earth: in Temporall cauſes it hath no ſuperiour power aboue it ſelfe, no more then the Pope hath in ſpiritualll matters.* This author ſaith indeede, the Pope hath power to excommunicate the King; but he ſpeaketh not of any power in the Pope to put downe the King from his regall dignity and authority: He onely ſaith, When a Prince is once excommunicated, hee may accidentally or by occaſion be depoſed: becauſe his precedent excommunication, incites the people to diſarme him of all ſecular dignity and power. The ſame Iohn on the other ſide holdeth opinion; that *in the Emperour there is inueſted a power to depoſe the Pope, in caſe the Pope ſhall abuſe his power.*

Almainus

Almainus Doctor of the *Sorbonic* schoole: *It is essentiall in the Lay-power to inflict ciuill punishment, as death, banishment, and priuation or losse of goods. But according to diuine institution, the power Ecclesiasticall can lay no such punishment vpon delinquents: nay more, not lay in prison, as to some Doctors it seemeth probable: but stretcheth and reacheth onely to spirituall punishment, as namely to excommunication: all other punishments inflicted by the spirituall power, are meerely by the Lawe positiue.* If then Ecclesiasticall power by Gods Lawe hath no authoritie to depriue any priuate man of his goods; how dares the Pope and his flatterers build their power to depriue Kings of their scepters vpon the word of God?

Almain. de potest. Eccl. & Laica Quest. 2. cap. 8. De dominio naturali ciuil & Eccl. 5. vlt. pars.

The same author in an other place: *Bee it graunted that* Constantine *had power to giue the Empire vnto the Pope; yet is it not hereupon to bee inferred, that Popes haue authority ouer the Kingdome of* France, *because that Kingdome was neuer subiect vnto* Constantine: *For the King of* France *neuer had any superiour in Temporall matters.* A little after: *It is not in any place to bee found, that God hath giuen the Pope power to make and vnmake Temporall Kings.*

Quest. 1. de potest. Eccles. & laic. c. 12 & 14

He maintaineth elsewhere, that *Zacharie* did not depose *Childeric*, but onely consented to his deposing; *and so deposed him not as by authoritie.* In the same booke, taking vp the words of *Occam*, whom he styles the Doctor: *The Emperour is the Popes Lord in things Temporall, and the Pope calls him Lord, as it is witnessed in the body of the Text.* The Lord Cardinall hath dissembled and concealed these words of Doctor *Almainus*, with many like places: and hath beene pleased to alledge *Almainus* reciting *Occams* authoritie, in stead of quoting *Almainus* himselfe in those passages, where he speaketh as out of his owne opinion, and in his owne words. A notable piece of slie and cunning conueiance: For what heresie may not be fathered and fastened vpon S. *Augustine*, or S. *Hierome*, if they should be deemed to approoue all the passages which they alledge out of other authors? And that is the reason wherefore the L. Cardinall doeth not alledge his testimonies whole and perfect, as they are couched in their proper texts, but clipt and curtaild. Thus he dealeth euen in the first passage or testimonie of *Almainus*; he brings it in mangled and pared: he hides and conceales the words added by *Almainus*, to contradict and crosse the words going before: For *Almainus* makes this addition and supply; *Howsoeuer some other Doctors doe stand for the negatiue, and teach the Pope hath power onely to declare that Kings and Princes are to be deposed.* And so much appeareth by this reason; because this ample and Soueraigne power of the Pope, might giue him occasion to be puft vp with great pride, and the same fulnesse of power might prooue extreamely hurtfull to the subiects, &c.

Quest. 2. c. 8. & sic non deposuit autoritatiue.

Quæ. 3. c. 2. Quæst. 11. can. Sacerd.

The same *Almainus* brings in *Occams* opinion in expresse tearmes deciding the question, and there ioynes his owne opinion with *Occams*. *The Doctors opinion*, saith *Almainus*, *doeth simply carrie the most probabilitie; that a Pope hath no power, neither by excommunication, nor by any other meanes, to depose a Prince from his Imperiall and Royall dignitie.* And a little before, hauing maintained

Quest. 2. de potest. Eccl & Laic. cap. 12.

In cap. 9 10. & 11.

tained the Greeke Empire was neuer transported by the Pope to the Germaines, and that when the Pope crownes the Emperour, he doeth not giue him the Empire, no more then the Archbishop of Reims when he crownes the King of France, doth giue him the kingdom; he drawes this conclusion according to *Occams* opinion: *I denie that an Emperour is bound by oath to promise the Pope allegiance. On the other side, if the Pope hold any Temporall possessions, hee is bound to sweare allegiance vnto the Emperour, and to pay him tribute.* The said *Occam* alledged by *Almainus* doeth further auerre, that *Iustinian* was acknowledged by the Pope for his superiour in Temporall causes: for as much as diuers Lawes which the Pope is bound to keepe and obserue, were enacted by *Iustinian*; as by name the Law of prescription for an hundred yeeres: which Law standeth yet in force against the Bishop of Rome. And to the end that all men may clearely see, how great distance there is betweene *Occams* opinion and the L. Cardinals, who towards the end of his Oration, exhorts his hearers at no hand to dissent from the Pope; take you here a view of *Occams* owne words, as they are alledged by *Almainus*: *The Doctour assoyles the arguments of Pope* Innocent, *by which the Pope would prooue out of these words of* CHRIST, *Whatsoeuer thou shalt binde, &c. that fulnesse of power in Temporall matters, belongeth to the Soueraigne Bishop: For* Innocent *saith, Whatsoeuer, excepteth nothing: But* Occam *assoyles* Innocents *authoritie, as not onely false, but also hereticall; and saith withall, that many things are spoken by* Innocent, *which by his leaue sauour and smell of heresie, &c.*

Quest. 1. cap. 14.

Pag. 40. The L. Cardinall with lesse fidelitie alledgeth two places out of *Thomas* his Summe. The first, in the second of his second, Quest. 10. Art. 10. in the body of the Article; In which place (let it bee narrowly examined) *Thomas* will easily bee found to speake, not of the subiection of beleeuing Subiects vnder Infidel Kings, as the Lord Cardinall pretendeth, but of beleeuing seruants that liue vnder Masters, whether Iewes or Infidels: As when a Iew keepeth seruants which professe *Iesus Christ*; or as when some of the faithfull kept in *Cæsars* house; who are not considered by *Thomas* as they were subiects of the Empire, but as they were seruants of the family. The other place is taken out of Quest. 11. and 2. Art. in the body of the article: where no such matter as the L. Cardinal alledgeth can be found.

Pag. 44. With like fidelitie he taketh *Gerson* in hand: who indeed in his booke of Ecclesiasticall power, and 12. Consider. doeth affirme, *When the abuse of Secular power redoundeth to manifest impugning of the faith, and blaspheming of the Creator; then shall it not bee amisse to haue recourse vnto the last branch of this* 12. *Consider. where, in such case as aforesaid, a certaine regitiue, directiue, regulatiue, and ordinatiue authoritie is committed to the Ecclesiasticall power.* His very words: which make no mention at all of deposing, or of any compulsiue power ouer Soueraigne Princes: For that forme of rule and gouernment whereof *Gerson* speaketh, is exercised by Ecclesiasticall censures and excommunications; not by losse of goods, of Kingdomes, or of Empires. This place then is wrested by the L. Cardinall to a contrary sense. Neither should his

Lord-

Lordſhip haue omitted, that *Gerſon*, in the queſtion of Kings ſubiection in Temporall matters, or of the dependance of their Crownes vpon the Popes power, excepteth alwayes the King of France: witneſſe that which *Gerſon* a little before the place alleadged by the Cardinall, hath plainely affirmed: *Now ſince* Peters *time*, *ſaith* Gerſon, *all Imperiall, Regall, and Secular power is not immediatly to draw vertue and ſtrength from the Soueraigne Biſhop: as in this maner the moſt Chriſtian King of France hath no Superiour, nor acknowledgeth any ſuch vpon the face of the earth.* Now here need no great ſharpeneſſe of wit for the ſearching out of this deepe myſterie; that if the Pope hath power to giue or take away Crownes for any cauſe or any pretended occaſion whatſoeuer, the Crowne of France muſt needs depend vpon the Pope.

But for as much as we are now hit in with *Gerſon*, we will examine the L.Cardinals allegations towards the end of his Oration, taken out of *Gerſons* famous Oration made before *Charles* the 6. for the Vniuerſitie of Paris: where he brings in *Gerſon* to affirme, *That killing a Tyrant is a ſacrifice acceptable to God.* But *Gerſon* (let it be diligently noted) there ſpeaketh not in his owne perſon: he there brings in ſedition ſpeaking the words: Of which wordes vttered by ſedition, and other like ſpeeches, you ſhall now heare what iudgement *Gerſon* himſelfe hath giuen. *When ſedition had ſpoken with ſuch a furious voyce, I turned away my face as if I had bene ſmitten with death, to ſhew that I was not able to endure her madneſſe any longer.* And indeed when diſſimulation on the one ſide, and ſedition on the other, had ſuggested the deuiſes of two contrary extremes, hee brings foorth *Diſcretion* as a iudge, keeping the meane betweene both extremes, and vttering thoſe words which the L.Cardinall alledgeth againſt himſelfe. *If the head,* (*ſaith* Gerſon) *or ſome other member of the ciuill body, ſhould grow to ſo deſperate a paſſe, that it would gulpe and ſwallow downe the deadly poyſon of tyrannie; euery member in his place, with all power poſsible for him to raiſe by expedient meanes, and ſuch as might preuent a greater inconuenience, ſhould ſet himſelfe againſt ſo madde a purpoſe, and ſo deadly practiſe: For if the head be grieued with ſome light paine, it is not fit for the hand to ſmite the head: no, that were but a fooliſh and a mad part: Nor is the hand forthwith to chop off or ſeparate the head from the body, but rather to cure the head with good ſpeach and other meanes, like a skilfull and wiſe Phyſitian: Yea nothing would be more cruel or more voyd of reaſon, then to ſeeke to ſtop the ſtrong and violent ſtreame of tyrannie by ſedition.* Theſe words, me thinke, doe make very ſtrongly and expreſly againſt butchering euen of Tyrannical Kings. And whereas a little after the ſaid paſſage, he teacheth to expell Tyrannie, he hath not a word of expelling the Tyrant, but onely of breaking and ſhaking off the yoke of Tyrannie. Yet for all that, he would not haue the remedies for the repreſſing of Tyrannie, to be fetcht from the Pope, who preſumeth to degrade Kings, but from *Philoſophers, Lawyers, Diuines, and perſonages of good conuerſation.* It appeareth now by all that hath bin ſaid before, that whereas *Gerſon* in the 7. Conſiderat. *againſt Flatterers,* doeth affirme:

Pag. 108. 109. 119. where the Card. takes Char. 7. for Charl. 6.

Whensoeuer the Prince doeth manifestly pursue and prosecute his naturall subiects, and shew himselfe obstinately bent with notorious iniustice, to vexe them of set purpose, and with full consent, so farre as to the fact; then this rule and law of Nature doeth take place, It is lawfull to resist and repell force by force; and the sentence of Seneca, *There is no sacrifice more acceptable to God, then a tyrant offered in sacrifice;* the words, *doeth take place*, are so to be vnderstood, as he speaketh in another passage, to wit, with or amongst seditious persons. Or else the words, *doeth take place*, doe onely signifie, *is put in practise*. And so *Gerson* there speaketh not as out of his owne iudgement.

His Lordship also should not haue balked and left out *Sigebertus*, who with more reason might haue passed for French, then *Thomas* and *Occam*, whom hee putteth vpon vs for French. *Sigebertus* in his Chronicle vpon the yeere 1088. speaking of the Emperours deposing by the Pope, hath words of this tenour: *This Heresie was not crept out of the shell in those dayes, that his Priests, who hath said to the King* Apostata, *and maketh an hypocrite to rule for the sinnes of the people, should teach the people they owe no subiection vnto wicked Kings, nor any alleagiance, notwithstanding they haue taken the oath of alleagiance*.

Now after the L. Cardinal hath coursed in this maner through the histories of the last aages (which in case they all made for his purpose, doe lacke the weight of authority) in stead of searching the will of God in the sacred Oracles of his word and standing vpon examples of the ancient Church; at last, leauing the troupe of his owne allegations, he betakes himselfe to the sharpening and rebating of the points of his aduersaries weapons.

For the purpose, he brings in his aduersaries, the champions of Kings Crownes, & makes them to speake out of his own mouth (for his Lordship saith it will be obiected) after this maner: *It may come to passe, that Popes either caried with passion, or misled by sinister information, may without iust cause fasten vpon Kings the imputation of heresie or apostasie.* Then for King-deposers he frames this answere: *That by heresie they vnderstand notorious heresie, and formerly condemned by sentence of the Church. Moreouer, in case the Pope hath erred in the fact, it is the Clergies part adhering to their King, to make remonstrances vnto the Pope, and to require the cause may be referred to the iudgement of a full Councel, the French Church then and there being present.* Now in this answere, the L. Cardinall is of another mind then *Bellarmine* his brother Cardinall: For hee goes thus farre, That a Prince condemned by vniust sentence of the Pope, ought neuertheless to quit his Kingdome, and that his Pastors vniust sentence shall not redound to his detriment; prouided that hee giue way to the said sentence, and shew himselfe not refractarie, but stay the time in patience, vntil the holy Father shall renounce his error, and reuoke his foresaid vniust sentence. In which case these two material points are to be presupposed: The one, That he who now hath seized the kingdome of the Prince displaced, wil forthwith (if the Pope shall sollicit and intercede) returne the Kingdome to the hand of the late possessor: The other, That in the

Pag. 52. & sequentibus.

Aduers. Barclaium.

the *interim* the Prince vniuſtly depoſed, ſhall not need to feare the bloody murderers mercileſſe blade and weapon. But on the other ſide, the Popes power of ſo large a ſize, as *Bellarmine* hath ſhaped, is no whit pleaſing to the L. Cardinals eye. For in caſe the King ſhould be vniuſtly depoſed by the Pope *not well informed*, he is not of the minde the Kingdome ſhould ſtoupe to the Popes beheſts, but will rather haue the Kingdome to deale by remonſtrance, and to referre the cauſe vnto the Council: Wherein he makes the Council to be of more abſolute and ſupreme authority then the Pope; a ſtraine to which the holy father will neuer lend his eare. And yet doubtleſſe, the Council required in this caſe muſt be vniuerſall; wherein the French, for ſo much as they ſtand firme for the King and his cauſe, can be no Iudges: and in that regard the L. Cardinal requireth onely the preſence of the French Church. Who ſeeth not here into what pickle the French cauſe is brought by this meanes? The Biſhops of *Italie* forſooth, of *Spaine*, of *Sicilie*, of *Germanie*, the ſubiects of Soueraignes many times at profeſſed or priuie enmitie with *France*, ſhall haue the cauſe compremitted and referred to their iudgement, whether the Kindome of *France* ſhall driue out her Kings, and ſhall kindle the flames of ſeditious troubles, in the very heart and bowels of the Realme. But is it not poſſible, that a King may lacke the loue of his owne ſubiects, and they taking the vantage of that occaſion, may put him to his trumps in his owne Kingdome? Is it not poſſible, that calumniations whereby a credulous Pope hath beene ſeduced, may in like maner deceiue ſome part of a credulous people? Is it not poſſible that one part of the people may cleaue to the Popes Faction, another may hold and ſtand out for the Kings rightfull cauſe, and ciuill warres may be kindled by the ſplene of theſe two ſides? Is it not poſſible, that his Holineſſe will not reſt in the remonſtrances of the French, and will no further purſue his cauſe? And whereas now a dayes a Generall Councill cannot be held, except it be called and aſſembled by the Popes authority; is it credible, the Pope will take order for the conuocation of a Council, by whom he ſhall be iudged? And how can the Pope be Preſident in a Councill, where himſelfe is the party impleaded? and to whom the ſifting of his owne ſentence is referred, as it were to Committies, to examine whether it was denounced according to Law, or againſt Iuſtice? But in the meane time, whileſt all theſe remonſtrances and addreſſes of the Council are on foot; behold, the Royall Maieſtie of the King hangeth as it were by looſe gimmals, and muſt ſtay the iudgement of the Council to whom it is referred. Well: what if the Councill ſhould happe to be two or three yeeres in aſſembling, and to continue or hold eighteene yeeres, like the Councill of *Trent*; ſhould not poore *France*, I beſeech you, be reduced to a very bad plight? ſhould ſhe not be in a very wiſe and warme taking? To be ſhort; His Lordſhips whole ſpeach for the vntying of this knot, not onely ſurmounteth poſſibilitie, but is ſtuft with ridiculous toyes. This I make manifeſt by his addition in the ſame paſſage. *If the Pope deceiued*

in fact, shall rashly and vniustly declare the King to be an heretike; then the Popes declaration shall not be seconded with actuall deposition, vnles the Realme shall consent vnto the Kings deposing. What needes any man to bee instructed in this doctrine? Who doth not knowe, that a King, so long as he is vpheld and maintained in his Kingdome by his people, cannot actually and effectually be deposed from his Throne? Hee that speaketh such language and phrase, in effect saith, and saith no more then this: A King is neuer depriued of his Crowne, so long as he can keepe his Crowne on his head: a King is neuer turned and stript naked, so long as he can keepe his cloathes on his backe: a King is neuer deposed, so long as he can make the stronger partie and side against his enemies: in briefe, a King is King, and shall still remaine King, so long as he can hold the possession of his Kingdome, and sit fast in his Chaire of Estate. Howbeit, let vs here by the way, take notice of these words vttered by his Lordship: *That for the deposing of a King, the consent of the people must be obtained*: For by these words the people are exalted aboue the King, and are made the Iudges of the Kings deposing.

Can. Si Papa, Dist. 40. Nisi sit à fide deuius.

But here is yet a greater matter: For that Popes may erre in faith, it is acknowledged by Popes themselues: For some of them haue condemned Pope *Honorius* for a Monothelite: S. *Hierome*, and S. *Hilarius*, and S. *Athanasius* doe testifie, that Pope *Liberius* started aside, and subscribed to *Arrianisme*: Pope *Iohn* 23. was condemned in the Councill of *Constance*, for maintaining there is neither hell nor heauen: Diuerse other Popes haue been tainted with errour in faith. If therefore any Pope hereticall in himselfe, shall depose an Orthodoxe King for heresie; can it be imagined, that he which boasts himselfe to beare all diuine and humane lawes in the priuy coffer or casket of his breast, will stoope to the remonstrances of the French, and vayle to the reasons which they shall propound, though neuer so iustifiable, and of neuer so great validitie? And how can he, that may be infected with damnable heresie (when himselfe is not alwayes free from heresie) be a iudge of heresie in a King? In this question some are of opinion, that as a man, the Pope may fall into error, but not as Pope. Very good: I demand then vpon the matter, wherefore the Pope doth not instruct and reforme the man? or wherefore the man doth not require the Popes instructions? But whether a King be deposed by that man the Pope, or by that Pope the man, is it not all one? is he not deposed? Others affirme, the Pope may erre in a question of the fact, but not in a question of the right. An egregious gullery and imposture: For if he may be ignorant whether Iesus Christ died for our sinnes, doubtles he may also be to seeke, whether we should repose all our trust and assured confidence in the death of Christ. Consider with me the Prophets of olde: They were all inspired and taught of God, to admonish and reprooue the Kings of Iudah and Israel: they neither erred in matter of fact, nor in point of right: they were as farre from being blinded and fetcht ouer by deceitfull calumniations, as from beeing seduced by the painted shew of corrupt and false doctrine: As they

Omnia iura in scrinio pectoris.

they neuer trode awry in matter of faith; ſo they neuer whetted the edge of their tongue or ſtyle againſt the faultleſſe. Had it not beene a trimme deuice in their times, to ſay, that as *Eſay* and as *Daniel* they might haue ſunke into hereſie, but not as Prophets? For doubtleſſe in this caſe, that *Eſay* would haue taken counſell of the Prophet which was himſelfe. To be ſhort; If Kings are onely ſo long to be taken for Kings, vntill they ſhall be declared heretikes, and ſhall be depoſed by the Pope; they continually ſtand in extreame danger, to vndergoe a very heauy and vniuſt ſentence. Their ſafeſt way were to know nothing, and to beleeue by proxie; leaſt, if they ſhould happen to talke of God, or to thinke of religion, they ſhould be drawne for heretikes into the Popes Inquiſition.

All the examples hitherto produced by the Lord Cardinall on a rowe, are of a latter date, they lacke weight, are drawne from the time of bondage, and make the Popes themſelues witneſſes in their owne cauſe: They deſcant not vpon the point of depoſition, but onely ſtrike out and ſound the notes of excommunication and interdiction, which make nothing at all to the muſicke of the queſtion. And therefore hee telleth vs (in kindneſſe as I take it) more oftentimes then once or twice, that hee ſpeaketh onely of the fact; as one that doeth acknowledge himſelfe to bee out of the right: Hee relates things done, but neuer what ſhould bee done: which, as the Iudicious know, is to teach nothing.

THE SECOND INCONVENIENCE EXAMINED.

THE ſecond Inconuenience like to grow, (as the Lord Cardinall ſeemeth to be halfe afraid) if the Article of the third Eſtate might haue paſſed with approbation, is couched in theſe words: *Lay-men ſhall by authoritie bee ſtrengthened with* „ *power, to iudge in matters of Religion; as alſo to determine the* „ *doctrine compriſed in the ſaid Article to haue requiſite conformitie with Gods word:* „ *yea they ſhall haue it in their hands to compell Eccleſiaſtics by neceſsitie, to ſweare,* „ *preach, and teach the opinion of the one ſide, as alſo by Sermons and publike writings to* „ *impugne the other.* This inconuenience he aggrauateth with ſwelling words, and breaketh out into theſe vehement exclamations: *O reproach, O ſcandall, O gate ſet open to a world of hereſies.* He therefore laboureth both by reaſons, and by autorities of holy Scripture, to make ſuch vſurped power of Laics, a fowle, ſhameful, and odious practiſe. In the whole, his Lordſhip toyles himſelfe in vaine, & maketh ſuppoſitions of caſtles in the aire. For in preferring this Article, the third Eſtate haue born themſelues not as iudges or vmpires, but

Pag. 86.

but altogether as petitioners : requesting the said Article might be receiued into the number of the Parliament bookes to bee presented vnto the King and his Counsell, vnto whom in all humilitie they referred the iudgment of the said Article; conceiuing all good hope the Clergie and Nobilitie would be pleased to ioyne for the furtherance of their humble petition. They were not so ignorant of State-matters, or so vnmindfull of their owne places and charges, to beare themselues in hand, that a petition put vp and preferred by the third Estate, can carry the force of a Law or Statute, so long as the other two Orders withstand the same, and so long as the King himselfe holds backe his Royall consent. Besides, the said Article was not propounded as a point of Religious doctrine; but for euer after to remaine and continue a fundamentall Law of the Common-wealth and State it selfe, the due care whereof was put into their handes, and committed to their trust. If the King had ratified the said Article with Royall consent, and had commanded the Clergie to put in execution the contents thereof; it had bene their duetie to see the Kings will and pleasure fulfilled, as they are subiects bound to giue him aide in all things, which may any way serue to procure the safetie of his life , and the tranquilitie of his Kingdome: Which if the Clergie had performed to the vttermost of their power, they had not shewed obedience as vnderlings, vnto the third Estate, but vnto the King alone; by whom such command had bene imposed, vpon suggestion of his faithfull subiects, made the more watchfull by the negligence of the Clergie ; whom they perceiue to be lincked with stricter bandes vnto the Pope, then they are vnto their King. Here then the Cardinall fights with meere shadowes , and mooues a doubt whereof his aduersaries haue not so much as once thought in a dreame: But yet, according to his great dexteritie and nimblenesse of spirit, by this deuice he cunningly takes vpon him to giue the King a lesson with more libertie; making semblance to direct his masked Oration to the Deputies of the people, when hee shooteth in effect, and pricketh at his King, the Princes also and Lords of his Counsell, whom the Cardinall comprifeth vnder the name of Laics; whose iudgment (it is not vnlikely) was apprehended much better by the Clergie, then the iudgement of the third Estate. Now these are the men whom he tearmes intruders into other mens charges, and such as open a gate for I wot not how many legions of heresies, to rush into the Church: For if it be proper to the Clergie and their Head, to iudge in this cause of the Right of Kings; then the King himselfe, his Princes, and Nobilitie, are debarred and wiped of all iudgement in the same cause, no lesse then the representatiue body of the people.

Pag. 61. Well then, the L. Cardinall showres downe like haile sundry places and testimonies of Scripture, where the people are commanded to haue their Pastors in singular loue, and to beare them all respects of due obseruance. Be it so; yet are the said passages of Scripture no barre to the people, for their vigilant circumspection, to preserue the life and Crowne of their Prince, against

against all the wicked enterprises of men stirred vp by the Clergie, who haue their Head out of the Kingdome, and hold themselues to be none of the Kings subiects: a thing neuer spoken by the sacrificing Priests and Prelates, mentioned in the passages alleadged by the Lord Cardinal. He likewise produceth two Christian Emperours, *Constantine* and *Valentinian* by name; the first refusing to meddle with iudgement in Episcopall causes: the other forbearing to iudge of subtile Questions in Diuinity, with protestation, that *Hee would neuer bee so curious, to diue into the streames, or sound the bottome of so deepe matters.* But who doth not know, that working and prouiding for the Kings indemnitie and safetie, is neither Episcopall cause, nor matter of curious and subtile inquisition? The same answere meets with all the rest of the places produced by the L. Cardinal out of the Fathers. And that one for example, out of *Gregory Nazianzenus*, is not cited by the Cardinall with faire dealing. For *Gregory* doeth not boord the Emperour himselfe, but his Deputy or L. President, on this maner: *For we also are in authoritie and place of a Ruler, we haue command aswell as your selfe*: wheras the the L. Cardinal with foule play, turnes the place in these termes, *We also are Emperours.* Which words can beare no such interpretation, as well because he to whom the Bishop then spake, was not of Imperiall dignitie; as also because if the Bishop himselfe, a Bishop of so small a citie as *Nazianzum*, had qualified himselfe Emperour, hee should haue passed all the bounds of modestie, and had shewed himselfe arrogant aboue measure. For as touching subiection due to Christian Emperours, hee freely acknowledgeth a little before, *that himselfe and his people are subiect vnto the superiour powers, yea bound to pay them tribute.* The historie of the same *Gregories* life doeth testifie, that he was drawen by the *Arrians* before the Consuls iudgement seate, and from thence returned acquitted, without either stripes or any other kinde of contumelious entreatie and vse: yet now at last vp starts a Prelate, who dares make this good Father vaunt himselfe to be an Emperour. It is willingly granted, that Emperours neuer challenged, neuer arrogated, to bee Soueraigne Iudges in controuersies of doctrine and faith; neuertheless it is clearer then the Sunnes light at high noone, that for moderation at Synods, for determinations and orders established in Councils, and for the discipline of the Church, they haue made a good and a full vse of their Imperiall authoritie. The first Council held at *Constantinople*, beares this title or inscription; *The dedication of the holy Synode to the most religious Emperour* Theodosius *the Great, to whose will and pleasure they haue submitted these Canons by them addressed and established in Councill.* And there they also beseech the Emperour, to confirme and approue the said Canons. The like hath bene done by the Council of *Trullo*, by whom the Canons of the fift and sixt Councils were put foorth and published. This was not done, because Emperours tooke vpon them to bee infallible Iudges of doctrine; but onely that Emperours might see and iudge, whether Bishops (who feele the pricke of ambition as other men doe) did pro-

Pag. 62.

Orat. ad ciues timore perculsos.

ἀρχομεν γὰρ καὶ αὐτοί.

ὑποτελεῖς φέρε.

Vide Canones Græcos à Tilio *editos.*

propound nothing in their Conuocations and Consultations, but most of all in their Determinations, to vndermine the Emperours authoritie, to disturbe the tranquilitie of the Common-wealth, and to crosse the determinations of precedent Councils. Now to take the cognizance of such matters out of the Kings hand or power; what is it but euen to transforme the King into a standing Image, to wring and wrest him out of all care of himselfe and his Kingly Charge, yea to bring him downe to this basest condition, to become onely an executioner, and (which I scorne to speake) the vnhappy hangman of the Clergies will, without any further cognizance, not so much as of matters which most neerely touch himselfe, and his Royall estate?

I grant it is for Diuinitie Scholes, to iudge how farre the power of the Keyes doth stretch: I grant againe, that Clerics both may, and ought also to display the colours and ensignes of their censures against Princes, who violating their publike and solemne oath, doe raise and make open warre against *Iesus Christ*: I grant yet againe, that in this case they need not admit Laics to be of their counsell, nor allow them any scope or libertie of iudgement. Yet all this makes no barre to Clerics, for extending the power of their keyes, many times a whole degree further then they ought; and when they are pleased, to make vse of their said power, to depriue the people of their goods, or the Prince of his Crowne: all this doeth not hinder Prince or people from taking care for the preseruation of their owne rights and estates, nor from requiring Clerics to shew their cards, and produce their Charts, and to make demonstration by Scripture, that such power as they assume and challenge, is giuen them from God. For to leaue the Pope absolute Iudge in the same cause, wherein hee is a partie, and (which is the strongest rampier and bulwarke, yea the most glorious and eminent point of his domination) to arme him with power to vnhorse Kings out of their seates; what is it else but euen to draw them into a state of despaire for euer winning the day, or preuailing in their honourable and rightful cause?

It is moreouer granted, if a King shall command any thing directly contrary to Gods word, and tending to the subuerting of the Church; that Clerics in this case ought not onely to dispense with subiects for their obedience, but also expressly to forbid their obedience: For it is alwayes better to obey God then man. Howbeit in all other matters, whereby the glory and maiestie of God is not impeached or impaired, it is the duety of Clerics to plie the people with wholesome exhortation to constant obedience, and to auert by earnest dissuasions the said people from tumultuous reuolt and seditious insurrection. This practise vnder the Pagan Emperours, was held and followed by the ancient Christians; by whose godly zeale and patience in bearing the yoke, the Church in times past grew and flourished in her happy and plentifull increase, farre greater then Poperie shall euer purchase and attaine vnto by all her cunning deuices and sleights: as namely by degrading of Kings, by interdicting of Kingdoms, by appo-

sted

ſted murders, and by Diabolicall traines of Gunne-powder-mines.

The places of Scripture alleadged in order by the Cardinal, in fauour of thoſe that ſtand for the Popes claime of power and authoritie to depoſe Kings, are cited with no more ſincerity then the former: *They alledge* (theſe are his words) *that* Samuel *depoſed King* Saul, *or declared him to bee depoſed, becauſe hee had violated the Lawes of the Iewes Religion*: His Lordſhip auoucheth elſewere, that *Saul* was depoſed, becauſe he had ſought prophanely to vſurpe the holy Prieſthood. Both falſe and contrary to the tenour of trewth in the ſacred hiſtory: For *Saul* was neuer depoſed according to the ſenſe of the word (I meane, *depoſe*) in the preſent queſtion; to wit, as depoſing is taken for deſpoiling the King of his royall dignitie, and reducing the King to the condition of a priuate perſon: But *Saul* held the title of King, and continued in poſſeſſion of his Kingdome, euen to his dying day. Yea, the Scripture ſtyles him King, euen to the periodicall and laſt day of his life, by the teſtimony of *Dauid* himſelfe, who both by Gods promiſe, and by precedent vnction, was then heire apparant as it were to the Crown, in a maner then ready to gird and adorne the temples of his head. For if *Samuel*, by Gods commandement, had then actually remooued *Saul* from his Throne, doubtleſſe the whole Church of Iſrael had committed a groſſe errour, in taking and honouring *Saul* for their King, after ſuch depoſition: doubtleſſe the Prophet *Samuel* himſelfe, making knowen the Lords Ordinance vnto the people, would haue enioyned them by ſtrict prohibition to call him no longer the King of Iſrael: Doubtleſſe, *Dauid* would neuer haue held his hand from the throat of *Saul*, for this reſpect and conſideration, becauſe he was the Lords Anointed. For if *Saul* had loſt his Kingly authority, from that inſtant when *Samuel* gaue him knowledge of his reiection; then *Dauid*, leſt otherwiſe the Body of the Kingdome ſhould want a Royall Head, was to beginne his Reigne, and to beare the Royall ſcepter in the very ſame inſtant: which were to charge the holy Scriptures with vntrewth, in as much as the ſacred hiſtorie begins the computation of the yeeres of *Dauids* Reigne, from the day of *Sauls* death. Trew it is, that in the 1. Sam. cap. 15. *Saul* was denounced by Gods owne ſentence, a man reiected, and as it were excommunicated out of the Kingdome, that hee ſhould not rule and reigne any longer as King ouer Iſrael; neuertheleſſe, the ſaid ſentence was not put in execution, before the day when God, executing vpon *Saul* an exemplarie iudgement, did ſtrike him with death. From whence it is manifeſt and cleare, that when *Dauid* was annointed King by *Samuel*, that action was onely a promiſe, and a teſtimony of the choice, which God had made of *Dauid* for ſucceſſion immediately after *Saul*; and not a preſent eſtabliſhment, inueſtment, or inſtallment of *Dauid* in the Kingdome. Wee reade the like in 1. King. cap. 19. where God commandeth *Elias* the Prophet, to annoint *Haſael* King of *Syria*: For can any man bee ſo blinde and ignorant in the ſacred hiſtorie, to beleeue the Prophets of Iſrael eſtabliſhed, or ſacred the Kings of *Syria*? For this cauſe,

Pag 66.

1. Sam. 23 20. & 24. 15. & 2. Sam. 2. 5.

1. Sam. 26. 11

1. Sam. 16. 13.

2.Sam.2.4. cause, when *Dauid* was actually established in the Kingdome, hee was annointed the second time.

In the next place he brings in the Popes champions vsing these words; 1.King.12. *Rehoboam was deposed by Ahiah the Prophet, from his Royall right ouer the tenne* " *Tribes of Israel, because his father Salomon had played the Apostata, in falling from* " *the Law of God.* This I say also is more, then the trewth of the sacred history doeth afoard: For *Ahiah* neuer spake to *Rehoboam* (for ought we reade,) nor brought vnto him any message from the Lord; As for the passage quoted by the L.Cardinal out of 3.*Reg*.chap.11. it hath not reference to the time of *Rehoboams* raigne, but rather indeed to Salomons time: nor doeth it carry the face of a iudicatorie sentence for the Kings deposing, but rather of a Propheticall prediction: For how could *Rehoboam*, before hee was made King, be depriued of the Kingdome? Last of all, but worst of all; to alleadge this passage for an example of a iust sentence in matter of deposing a King, is to approoue the disloyall treacherie of a seruant against his master, and the rebellion of *Ieroboam* branded in Scripture with a marke of perpetuall infamie for his wickednesse and impietie.

1.King.19. He goes on with an other example of no more trewth; *King Achab was* " *deposed by Elias the Prophet, because he imbraced false religion, and worshipped false* " *gods*. False too like the former; King *Achab* lost his crowne and his life both together. The Scripture, that speaketh not according to mans fancie, but according to the trewth, doeth extend and number the yeeres of *Achabs* raigne, to the time of his death. Predictions of a Kings ruine, are no sentences of deposition. *Elias* neuer gaue the subiects of *Achab* absolution from their oath of obedience; neuer gaue them the least inckling of any such absolution; neuer set vp, or placed any other King in *Achabs* throne.

Pag. 68. That of the L.Cardinall a little after, is no lesse vntrew: *That King Vzziah was driuen from the conuersation of the people by Azarias the Priest, and there-* " *by the administration of his Kingdome was left no longer in his power.* Not so: For 2.Chro.26. when God had smitten *Vzziah* with leprosie in his forehead, he withdrew himselfe, or went out into an house apart, for feare of infecting such as were whole by his contagious disease. The high Priest smote him not with any sentence of deposition, or denounced him suspended from the administration of his Kingdome. No: the dayes of his raigne are numbred in Scripture, to the day of his death. And whereas the Priest, according to the Law in the 13.of *Leuit*.iudged the King to be vncleane; he gaue sentence against him, not as against a criminall person, and thereby within the compasse of deposition; but as against a diseased body: For the Law inflicteth punishments, not vpon diseases, but vpon crimes. Hereupon, whereas it is recorded by *Iosephus* in his Antiquities, that *Vzziah* led a priuate, and in a maner, *Antiq.l.9. cap.11.* a solitarie life; the said author doeth not meane, that *Vzziah* was deposed, but onely that he disburdened himselfe of care to mannage the publique affaires.

Pag.69. The example of *Mattathias*, by whom the Iewes were stirred vp to rebel against

against *Antiochus*, is no better worth: For in that example we finde no sentence of deposition, but onely an heartning and commotion of a people then grieuously afflicted and oppressed. He that makes himselfe the ringleader of conspiracie against a King, doeth not foorthwith assume the person, or take vp the office and charge of a Iudge, in forme of Law, and iuridically to depriue a King of his Regall rights, and Royall prerogatiues. *Mattathias* was chiefe of that conspiracie, not in qualitie of Priest, but of cheiftaine, or leader in warre and a man the best qualified of all the people. Things acted by the suddaine violence of the base vulgar, must not stand for Lawes, nor yet for proofes and arguments of ordinarie power, such as the Pope challengeth to himselfe, and appropriateth to his triple-Crowne.

These be our solide answeres: we disclaime the light armour which the L.Cardinall is pleased to furnish vs withall, forsooth to recreate himselfe, in rebating the points of such weapons, as hee hath vouchsafed to put into our hands. Now it wil be worth our labour to beate by his thrusts, fetcht from the ordinary mission of the New Testament, from leprosie, stones, and locks of wooll: A leach no doubt of admirable skill, one that for subiecting the Crownes of Kings vnto the Pope, is able to extract arguments out of stones; yea, out of the leprosie, and the drie scab, onely forsooth because heresie is a kind of leprosie, and an heretike hath some affinitie with a leper. But may not his *Quoniam*, bee as fitly applyed to any contagious and inueterate vice of the minde beside heresie? His warning-piece therefore is discharged to purpose, whereby hee notifies that hee pretendeth to handle nothing with resolution: For indeed vpon so weake arguments, a resolution is but ill-fauouredly and weakely grounded. Page 67. Page 66.

His bulwarkes thus beaten downe, let vs now view the strength of our owne. First, he makes vs to fortifie on this maner: *They that are for the negatiue, doe alleadge the authoritie of* S. Paul; *Let euery soule bee subiect vnto the higher powers: For whosoeuer resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. And likewise that of* S.Peter; *Submit your selues, whether it be vnto the King, as vnto the superiour, or vnto gouernours, &c. Vpon these passages, and the like, they inferre, that obedience is due to Kings by the Law of God, and not dispensable by any Spirituall or Temporall authoritie.* Thus he brings vs in with our first weapon. But here the very chiefe sinew and strength of our argument, hee doeth wittingly balke, and of purpose conceale: To wit; That all the Emperors of whom the said holy Apostles haue made any mention in their diuine Epistles, were professed enemies to CHRIST, Pagans, Infidels, fearefull and bloody Tyrants: to whom notwithstanding *euery soule*, and therefore the Bishop of Rome for one, is commanded to submit himselfe, and to professe subiection. Thus much *Chrysostome* hath expresly taught in his Hom.23.vpon the Epistle to the Romanes; *The Apostle giues this commandement vnto all: euen to Priests also, and cloistered Monkes not onely to Secular: be thou an Apostle, an Euangelist, a Prophet, &c.* Besides, it is here worthy to be noted, that howsoeuer the Apostles rule is generall, and therefore bindeth all Page 69. " " " " " " "

all the faithfull in equall bands; yet is it particularly, directly, and of purpose addressed to the Church of Rome by S.*Paul*, as by one who in the spirit of an Apostle did foresee, that rebellion against Princes was to rise and spring from the citie of Rome. Now in case the Head of that Church by warrant of any priuiledge, contained in the most holy Register of Gods holy word, is exempted from the binding power of this generall precept or rule; did it not become his Lordship to shew by the booke, that it is a booke case, and to lay it foorth before that honourable assembly, who no doubt expected and waited to heare when it might fall from his learned lips? But in stead of any such authenticall and canonicall confirmation, he flieth to a sleight shift, and with a cauill is bold to affirme the foundation, laid by those of our side, doeth no way touch the knot of the controuersie. Let vs heare him speake: *It is not in controuersie, whether obedience be due to kings by Gods Law, so long as they are kings, or acknowledged for Kings, but our point controuerted, is whether by Gods Law it be required, that hee who hath bene once recognised and receiued for King by the body of Estates, can at any time be taken and reputed as no King, that is to say, can doe no maner of acte whereby hee may loose his right, and so cease to be saluted King.* This answere of the L. Cardinall is the rare deuise, euasion, and starting hole of the *Iesuites*: In whose eares of delicate and tender touch, King-killing soundeth very harsh; but forsooth to vn-king a King first, and then to giue him the stab, that is a point of iust and trew descant: For to kill a King, once vnking'd by deposition, is not killing of a King: For the present, I haue one of that Iesuiticall Order in prison, who hath face enough to speake this language of Ashdod, and to maintaine this doctrine of the *Iesuites* Colledges. The L. Cardinall harpes vpon the same string; He can like subiection and obedience to the King, whilest he sitteth King: but his Holinesse must haue all power, and giue order withall, to hoyst him out of his Royall Seat. I therefore now answer, that in very deed the former passages of S.*Paul* and S.*Peter* should come nothing neere the question, if the state of the question were such as he brings it, made and forged in his owne shop. But certes the state of the question is not, whether a King may doe some acte, by reason whereof hee may fall from his right, or may not any longer be acknowledged for King: For all our contention is, concerning the Popes power to vn-authorize Princes; wheras in the question framed and fitted by the L. Cardinal, not a word of the Pope. For were it granted and agreed on both sides, that a King by election might fal from his Kingdom, yet stil the knot of the question would hold, whether he can be dispossessed of his Regal authoritie, by any power in the Pope; & whether the Pope hath such fulnes of power, to strip a King of those Royall robes, rights, and reuenewes of the Crowne, which were neuer giuen him by the Pope; as also by what authoritie of holy Scripture, the Pope is able to beare out himselfe in this power, and to make it good.

Page 71. But here the L. Card. stoutly saith in his owne defence by way of reioinder; *As one text hath, Let euery soule be subiect vnto the higher powers; in like maner*

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an other text hath, Obey your Prelates, and be ſubiect vnto your Paſtors: for they watch ouer your ſoules, as men that ſhall giue an accompt for your ſoules. This reaſon is void of reaſon, and makes againſt himſelfe: For may not Prelates be obeyed and honoured, without Kings be depoſed? If Prelates preach the doctrine of the Coſpell, will they in the pulpit ſtirre vp ſubiects to rebell againſt Kings? Moreouer, whereas the vniuerſall Church in theſe daies is diuided into ſo many diſcrepant parts, that now Prelates neither doe nor can draw all one way; is it not exceeding hard, keeping our obedience towards God, to honour them all at once with due obedience? Nay; is not here offered vnto me a dart out of the L. Cardinals armorie, to caſt at himſelfe? For as God chargeth all men with obedience to Kings, and yet from that commaundement of God, the L. Cardinall would not haue it inferred, that Kings haue power to degrade Eccleſiaſticall Prelates: euen ſo God giueth charge to obey Prelates, yet doeth it not follow from hence, that Prelates haue power to depoſe Kings. Theſe two degrees of obedience agree well together, and are each of them bounded with peculiar and proper limits.

But for ſo much as in this point, we haue on our ſide the whole auncient Church, which, albeit ſhe liued and groned for many aages together vnder heathen Emperours, heretikes, and perſecuters, did neuer ſo much as whiſper a word about rebelling and falling from their Soueraigne Lords, and was neuer by any mortall creature freed from the oath of allegiance to the Emperour; the Cardinall is not vnwilling to graunt, that ancient Chriſtians in thoſe times were bound to performe ſuch fidelity and allegiance, for as much as the Church (the Cardinall for ſhame durſt not ſay the Pope) then had not abſolued them of their oath. No doubt a pleaſant dreame, or a merry conceit rather, to imagine the Biſhop of Rome was armed with power to take away the Empire of the world from *Nero*, or *Claudius*, or *Domitianus*; to whom it was not knowen, whether the citie of Rome had any Biſhop at all. Is it not a maſter-ieſt, of a ſtraine moſt ridiculous, to preſuppoſe the Grand-maſters and abſolute Lords of the whole world, had a ſent ſo dull, that they were not able to ſmell out, and to noſe things vnder their owne noſes? that they ſaw ſo little with other mens eies and their owne, that within their capitall citie, they could not ſpie that Soueraigne armed with ordinary and lawfull authority to degrade, and to turne them out of their renowned Empire? Doubtleſſe the ſaid Emperours, vaſſals belike of the Popes Empire, are to be held excuſed for not acknowledging and honouring the Pope in quality of their Lord, as became his vaſſals; becauſe they did not know there was any ſuch power in the world, as after-times haue magnified and adored vnder the qualitie of Pope: For the Biſhops of Rome in thoſe times, were of no greater authoritie, power, and meanes, then ſome of the Biſhops are in theſe daies within my Kingdomes.

But certes thoſe Popes of that primitiue aage, thought it not expedient in the ſaid times to draw their ſwords: they exerciſed their power in a more

mild and soft kind of carriage toward those miserable Emperours, for three seuerall reasons alledged by the L. Cardinall.

The first: because the Bishops then durst not by their censures whet and prouoke those Emperours, for feare of plunging the Church in a Sea of persecutions. But if I be not cleane voide of common sense, this reason serueth to charge not onely the Bishops of Rome, but all the auncient professors of Christ besides, with deepe dissimulation and hypocrisie: For it is all one as if he had professed, that all their obedience to their Soueraignes, was but counterfeit, and extorted, or wrong out of them by force; that all the submissiue supplications of the auncient Fathers, the assured testimonies and pledges of their allegiance, humilitie, and patience, were but certaine formes of disguised speech, proceeding not freely from the suggestions of fidelity, but faintly and fainedly, or at least from the strong twitches and violent conuulsions of feare. Whereupon it followes, that all their torments and punishments, euen to the death, are wrongfully honoured with the title, and crowned with the crowne of Martyrdome; because their patience proceeded not from their owne free choice and election, but was taught by the force of necessitie, as by compulsion: and whereas they had not mutinously and rebelliously risen in armes, to asswage the scorching heat and burning flames of tyrannicall persecuters, it was not for want of will, but for lacke of power. Which false and forged imputation, the Fathers haue cleared themselues of in their writings. *Tertullian* in his Apologet: *All places are full of Christians, the cities, isles, castles, burroughs, armies, &c. If we that are so infinite a power, and multitude of men, had broken from you into some remote nooke or corner of the world, the cities no doubt had become naked and solitarie: there had beene a dreadfull and horrible silence ouer the face of the whole Empire: the great Emperours had beene driuen to seeke out newe cities, and to discouer newe nations, ouer whom to beare Soueraigne sway and rule; there had remained more enemies to the State, then subiects and friends.* Cyprian also against Demetrianus: *None of vs all, howsoeuer we are a people mighty and without number, haue made resistance against any of your vniust and wrongfull actions, executed with all violence; neither haue sought by rebellious armes, or by any other sinister practises, to crie quittance with you at any time for the righting of our selues.* Certaine it is, that vnder *Iulianus*, the whole Empire in a manner professed the Christian Religion; yea, that his Leiftenants and great Commanders, as *Iouinianus*, and *Valentinianus* by name, professed Christ: Which two Princes not long after attained to the Imperiall dignitie, but might haue solicited the Pope sooner to degrade *Iulianus* from the Imperiall Throne. For say that *Iulians* whole army had renounced the Christian Religion: (as the L. Cardinall against all shew and appearance of trewth would beare vs in hand, and contrary to the generall voice of the said whole army, making this profession with one consent when *Iulian* was dead, *Wee are all Christians*:) yet *Italie* then persisting in the faith of Christ, and the army of *Iulian* then lying quartered in *Persia*, the vtmost limit of the Empire to the East, the Bishop of Rome

Tert. Apol. cap. 37. Hesterni sumus & omnia vestra implevimus.

Cypr. cont. Demetr.

Socr. lib 3. cap. 19. Theod. lib. 4. cap. 1. Sozom. lib. 6. cap. 1.

Rome had fit opporunitie to draw the ſword of his authoritie (if hee had then any ſuch ſword hanging at his Pontificall ſide) to make *Iulian* feele the ſharpe edge of his weapon, and thereby to pull him downe from the ſtately pearch of the Romane Empire. I ſay moreouer, that by this generall and ſudden profeſſion of the whole *Cæſarian* armie, *Wee are all Chriſtians*, it is clearely teſtified, that if his armie or ſouldiers were then addicted to Paganiſme, it was wrought by compulſion, and cleane contrary to their ſetled perſwaſion before: and then it followes, that with greater patience they would haue borne the depoſing of *Iulian*, then if hee had ſuffered them to vſe the libertie of their conſcience. To bee ſhort in the matter; S. *Auguſtine* makes all whole, and by his teſtimony doth euince, that *Iulians* armie perſeuered in the faith of Chriſt. *The ſouldiers of Chriſt ſerued a Heathen Emperour: But when the cauſe of Chriſt was called in queſtion, they acknowledged none but Chriſt in heauen: When the Emperor would haue them to ſerue, and to perfume his idols with frankincenſe, they gaue obedience to God, rather then to the Emperour.* After which words, the very ſame words alleadged by the L. Cardinall againſt himſelfe doe follow; *They did then diſtinguiſh betweene the Lord Eternal, and the Lord temporall: neuertheleſſe, they were ſubiect vnto the Lord temporall, for the Lord Eternall.* It was therefore to pay God his duetie of obedience, and not for feare to incenſe the Emperour, or to draw perſecution vpon the Church (as the L. Cardinal would make vs beleeue) that Chriſtians of the Primitiue Church, and Biſhops by their cenſures, durſt not anger and prouoke their Emperours. But his Lordſhip by his coloured pretences doeth manifeſtly prouoke and ſtirre vp the people to rebellion, ſo ſoone as they know their own ſtrength to beare out a rebellious practiſe: Whereupon it followes, that in caſe their conſpiracie ſhall take no good effect, all the blame and fault muſt lie, not in their diſloyalty and treaſon, but in the bad choice of their times for the beſt aduantage, and in the want of taking a trew ſight of their owne weakeneſſe. Let ſtirring ſpirits be trained vp in ſuch practicall precepts, let deſperate wits be ſeaſoned with ſuch rules of diſcipline; and what need we, or how can wee wonder they contriue Powder-conſpiracies, and practiſe the damnable art of parricides?

Auguſt. in Pſal. 124.

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After *Iulian*, his Lordſhip falles vpon *Valentinian* the younger, who maintaining Arrianiſme with great and open violence, might haue bene depoſed by the Chriſtians from his Empire, and yet (ſay wee) they neuer dream'd of any ſuch practiſe. Heere the L. Cardinall maketh anſwere: *The Chriſtians mooued with reſpect vnto the freſh memory both of the brother and father, as alſo vnto the weake eſtate of the ſonnes young yeeres, abſtained from all counſels and courſes of ſharper effect and operation.* To which anſwere I replie: theſe are but friuolous coniectures, deuiſed and framed to ticle his owne fancie: For had *Valentinianus* the younger beene the ſonne of an *Arrian*, and had then alſo attained to threeſcore yeeres of aage, they would neuer haue borne themſelues in other faſhion then they did, towards their Emperour. Then the Cardinall goeth on: The people would not abandon the

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factious and seditious party, but were so firme or obstinate rather for the faction, that *Valentinian* for feare of the tumultuous vproares was constrained to giue way, and was threatened by the souldiers, that except hee would adhere vnto the Catholikes, they would yeeld him no assistance, nor stand for his partie. Now this answere of the L. Cardinall makes nothing to the purpose, concerning the Popes power to pull downe Kings from their stately nest. Let vs take notice of his proper consequence. *Valentinian* was afraid of the popular tumult at *Milan*: the Pope therefore hath power to curbe Hereticall Kings by deposition. Now marke what distance is betweene *Rome* and *Milan*, what difference betweene the people of *Milan*, and the Bishop of *Rome*; betweene a popular tumult, and a iudicatorie sentence; betweene fact and right, things done by the people or souldiers of *Milan*, and things to be done according to right and law by the Bishop of *Rome*; the same distance, the same difference (if not farre greater) is betweene the L. Cardinals antecedent and his consequent, betweene his reason, and the maine cause or argument which we haue in hand. The mad commotion of the people was not heere so much to bee regarded, as the sad instruction of the Pastour, of their good and godly Pastour S. *Ambrose* so farre from hartening the people of *Milan* to rebel, that being Bishop of *Milan*, he offered himselfe to suffer Martydome: *If the Emperour abuse his Imperiall authority*, (for so *Theodoret* hath recited his words) *to tyrannize thereby, heere am I ready to suffer death.* And what resistance he made against his L. Emperor, was onely by way of supplication in these termes; *Wee beseech thee, O* Augustus, *as humble suppliants; we offer no resistance: we are not in feare, but we flie to supplication.* Againe, *If my patrimony be your marke, enter vpon my patrimony if my body, I wil goe and meet my torments. Shall I be drag'd to prison or to death? I will take delight in both. Item,* in his Oration to *Auxentius*; *I can afflict my soule with sorrow, I can lament, I can send forth grieuous groanes: My weapons against either of both, souldiers or Goths, are teares: A Priest hath none other weapons of defence: I neither can resist, nor ought in any other maner to make resistance.*

Epist. lib. 5. Epist. 33.

Epist. lib. 5.

Iustinian the Emperour in his old aage fell into the heresie of the *Aphthartodocites.* Against *Iustinian*, though few they were that fauoured him in that heresie, the Bishop of *Rome* neuer darted with violence any sentence of excommunication, interdiction, or deposition.

The *Ostrogot* Kings in *Italie*, the *Visigot* in *Spaine*, the *Vandal* in *Africa* were all addicted to the *Arrian* impietie, and some of them cruelly persecuted the trew professours. The *Visigot* and *Vandall* were no neighbours to *Italie*. The Pope thereby had the lesse cause to feare the stings of those waspes, if they had bene angred. The Pope for all that neuer had the humour to wrestle or iustle with any of the said Kings in the cause of deposing them from their Thrones. But especially the times when the *Vandals* in *Affricke*, and the *Goths* in *Italie* by *Belisarius* and *Narses*, professours of the Orthodoxe Faith, were tyred with long warres, and at last were vtterly defeated in bloody battels, are to bee considered. Then were the times

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or neuer, for the Pope to vnſheath his weapons, and to vncaſe his arrowes of depoſition; then were the times to draw them out of his quiuer, and to ſhoot at all ſuch *Arrian* heads; then were the times by diſpenſations to releaſe their ſubiects of their oathes, by that peremptorie meanes to aide and ſtrengthen the Catholique cauſe: But in that aage the ſaid weapons were not knowne to haue bene hammered in the Pontificall forge.

Gregorie the I. made his boaſts, that he was able to ruine the Lombards, (for many yeeres together ſworne enemies to the Biſhops of Rome) their ſtate preſent, and the hope of all their future proſperitie. But he telleth vs, that by the feare of God before his eyes and in his heart, he was bridled and reſtrained from any ſuch intent; as elſewhere we haue obſerued: *If I would haue medled with practiſing and procuring the death of the Lombards, the whole nation of the Lombards at this day had bene robbed of their Kings, Dukes, Earles, they had bene reduced to the tearmes of extreame confuſion.* He might at leaſt haue depoſed their King, (if the credit of the L. Cardinals iudgement be currant) without polluting or ſtayning his owne conſcience.

In Apol. pro iuram fidel. His owne words *lib. 7. Epiſt. 1.*

What can we tearme this aſſertion of the L. Cardinal, but open charging the moſt ancient Biſhops of Rome with crueltie, when they would not ſuccour the Church of CHRIST oppreſſed by tyrants, whoſe oppreſſion they had power to repreſſe by depoſing the oppreſſors. Is it credible, that IESVS CHRIST hath giuen a Commiſſion to S. *Peter* and his ſucceſſors for ſo many aages, without any power to execute their Commiſſion, or to make any vſe thereof by practiſe? Is it credible, that hee hath giuen them a ſword to bee kept in the ſcabbard, without drawing once in a thouſand yeeres? Is it credible, that in the times when Popes were moſt deboſhed, abandoning themſelues to all ſorts of corrupt and vitious courſes, as is teſtified by their owne flatterers and beſt affected ſeruants; is it credible that in thoſe times they began to vnderſtand the vertue & ſtrength of their Commiſſion? For if either feare or lacke of power, was the cauſe of holding their hands, and voluntarie binding of themſelues to the Peace or good behauiour: wherefore is not ſome one Pope at leaſt produced, who hath complained that he was hindered from executing the power that CHRIST had conferred vpon his Pontificall See? Wherefore is not ſome one of the ancient and holy Fathers alledged, by whom the Pope hath bene aduiſed and exhorted to take courage, to ſtand vpon the vigor and ſinewes of his Papall Office, to vnſheath and vncaſe his bolts of thunder againſt vngodly Princes, and grieuous enemies to the Church? wherefore liuing vnder Chriſtian and gracious Emperours, haue they not made knowne the reaſons, why they were hindred from drawing the pretended ſword; leſt long cuſtome of not vſing the ſword ſo many aages, might make it ſo to ruſt in the ſcabbard, that when there ſhould be occaſion to vſe the ſaid ſword, it could not be drawne at all; and leſt ſo long cuſtome of not vſing the ſame, ſhould confirme preſcription to their greater preiudice? If weakeneſſe be a iuſt let, how is it come to paſſe, that Popes haue enterpriſed to depoſe

Philip the Faire, Lewis the XII. and ELIZABETH my predeceſſor of happy memorie; (to let paſſe others) in whom experience hath well proued, how great inequalitie was betweene their ſtrengths? Yea, for the moſt part from thence grow moſt grieuous troubles and warres, which iuſtly recoile and light vpon his owne head; as happened to *Gregorie* the VII. and *Boniface* the VIII. This no doubt is the reaſon, wherefore the Pope neuer ſets in (for feare of ſuch inconueniences) to blaſt a King with lightning and thunder of depoſition, but when hee perceiues the troubled waters of the Kingdome by ſome ſtrong faction ſetled in his Eſtate, or when the King is confined and bordered by ſome Prince more potent, who thirſteth after the prey, and is euer gaping for ſome occaſion to picke a quarrell. The King ſtanding in ſuch eſtate, is it not as eaſie for the Pope to pull him downe, as it is for a man with one hand to thruſt downe a tottering wall, when the groundſill is rotten, the ſtuddes vnpind and nodding or bending towards the ground? But if the King ſhall beare downe and breake the faction within the Realme; if hee ſhall get withall the vpper hand of his enemies out of the Kingdome; then the holy Father preſents him with pardons neuer ſued for, neuer asked, and in a fathers indulgence forſooth, giues him leaue ſtill to hold the Kingdome, that hee was not able by all his force to wreſt and wring out of his hand, no more then the club of *Hercules* out of his fiſt. How many worthy Princes, incenſed by the Pope, to conſpire againſt Soueraigne Lords their Maſters, and by open rebellion to worke ſome change in their Eſtates, haue miſcarried in the action, with loſſe of life, or honour, or both? For example; *Rodulphus* Duke of *Sueuia* was eg'd on by the Pope, againſt *Henry* III I. of that name Emperour. How many maſſacres, how many deſolations of Cities and townes, how many bloody battels enſued thereupon? Let hiſtories bee ſearched, let iuſt accompts be taken, and beſide ſieges layde to Cities, it will appeare by trew computation, that *Henry* the IIII. and *Frederic* the firſt, fought aboue threeſcore battels, in defence of their owne right againſt enemies of the Empire, ſtirred vp to armes by the Pope of Rome. How much Chriſtian blood was then ſpilt in theſe bloody battels, it paſſeth mans wit, penne, or tongue to expreſſe. And to giue a little touch vnto matters at home; doeth not his Holineſſe vnderſtand right well the weakeneſſe of Papiſts in my Kingdome? Doeth not his Holineſſe neuertheleſſe animate my Papiſts to rebellion, and forbid my Papiſts to take the Oath of Allegiance? Doeth not his Holineſſe by this meanes draw (ſo much as in him lyeth) perſecution vpon the backes of my Papiſts as vpon rebels, and expoſe their life as it were vpon the open ſtall, to be ſold at a very eaſie price? All theſe examples, either ioynt or ſeuerall, are manifeſt and euident proofes, that feare to draw miſchiefe and perſecution vpon the Church, hath not barred the Popes from thundering againſt Emperours and Kings, whenſoeuer they conceiued any hope, by their fulminations to aduance their greatneſſe.

Laſt

Last of all; I referre the matter to the most possessed with preiudice, euen the very aduersaries, whether this doctrine, by which people are trained vp in subiection vnto Infidel or hereticall Kings, vntill the subiects be of sufficient strength to mate their Kings, to expell their Kings, and to depose them from their Kingdomes, doth not incense the Turkish Emperours and other Infidell Princes, to roote out all the Christians that drawe in their yoke, as people that waite onely for a fit occasion to rebell, and to take themselues ingaged for obedience to their Lords, onely by constraint and seruile feare. Let vs therefore now conclude with *Ozius*, in that famous Epistle speaking to *Constantius* an Arrian heretike: *As hee that by secret practise or open violence would bereaue thee of thy Empire, should violate Gods ordinance: so bee thou touched with feare, least, by vsurping authoritie ouer Church matters. thou tumble not headlong into some hainous crime.* Where this holy Bishop hath not vouchsafed to insert and mention the L. Cardinals exception; to wit, the right of the Church alwaies excepted and saued, when she shall be of sufficient strength to shake off the yoke of Emperours. Neither speaks the same holy Bishop of priuate persons alone, or men of some particular condition and calling; but hee setteth downe a generall rule for all degrees, neuer to impeach Imperiall Maiestie vpon any pretext whatsoeuer.

Apud Athan. in Epist. ad solitar. vitam agentes.

As his Lordships first reason drawne from weakenesse is exceeding weake: so is that which the L. Cardinall takes vp in the next place: *He telleth vs there is very great difference betweene Pagan Emperours, and Christian Princes: Pagan Emperours who neuer did homage to Christ, who neuer were by their subiects receiued, with condition to acknowledge perpetuall subiection vnto the Empire of Christ; who neuer were bound by oath and mutuall contract betweene Prince and subiect. Christian Princes who slide backe by Apostasie, degenerate by Arrianisme, or fall away by Mahometisme.* Touching the latter of these two, (as his Lordshippe saith) *If they shall as it were take an oath, and make a vowe contrary to their first oath and vow made and taken when they were installed, and contrary to the condition vnder which they receiued the Scepter of their Fathers; if they withall shall turne persecutors of the Catholike religion*; touching these I say, the L. Cardinal holds, that without question they may bee remooued from their Kingdomes: He telleth vs not by whom, but euery where he meaneth by the Pope. Touching Kings deposed by the Pope vnder pretence of stupidity, as *Childeric*; or of matrimoniall causes, as *Philip* I. or for collating of benefices, as *Philip* the Faire; not one word: By that point he easily glideth, and shuffles it vp in silence, for feare of distasting the Pope on the one side, or his auditors on the other.

The 2. reason. Pag. 77.

Now in alledging this reason, his Lordship makes all the world a witnes, that in deposing of Kings, the Pope hath no eye of regard to the benefit and securitie of the Church: For such Princes as neuer suckt other milke then that of Infidelitie, and persecution of Religion, are no lesse noisome and pernicious vermin to the Church, then if they had sucked of the Churches

ches breasts. And as for the greatnesse of the sinne or offence, it seemes to me there is very little difference in the matter. For a Prince that neuer did sweare any religious obedience to *Iesus Christ*, is bound no lesse to such obedience, then if he had taken a solemne oath: As the sonne that rebelliously stands vp against his father, is in equall degree of sinne, whether he hath sworne or not sworne obedience to his father; because he is bound to such obedience, not by any voluntarie contract or couenant, but by the law of Nature. The commaundement of God to kisse the Sonne, whom the Father hath confirmed and ratified King of Kings, doeth equally bind all Kings, as well Pagans as Christians. On the other side, who denies, who doubts, that *Constantius* Emperour at his first steppe or entrance into the Empire, did not sweare and bind himselfe by solemne vowe, to keepe the rules and to maintaine the precepts of the Orthodox faith, or that he did not receiue his fathers Empire vpon such condition? This notwithstanding, the Bishop of *Rome* pulled not *Constantius* from his Imperiall throne, but *Constantius* remooued the Bishop of *Rome* from his Papall See. And were it so, that an oath taken by a King at his consecration, and after violated, is a sufficient cause for the Pope to depose an Apostate or hereticall Prince; then by good consequence the Pope may in like sort depose a King, who beeing neither dead in Apostasie, nor sicke of Heresie, doeth neglect onely the due administration of iustice to his loyall subiects: For his oath taken at consecration importeth likewise, that he shall minister iustice to his people. A point wherein the holy Father is held short by the L. Cardinall, who dares prescribe new lawes to the Pope, and presumes to limit his *fulnesse of power*, within certaine meeres and head-lands, extending the Popes power only to the deposing of Christian Kings, when they turne Apostats forsaking the Catholike faith; and not such Princes as neuer breathed any thing but pure Paganisme, and neuer serued vnder the colours of Iesus Christ. Meane while his Lordship forgets, that King *Attabaliba* was deposed by the Pope from his Kingdome of *Peru*, and the said Kingdome was conferred vpon the King of *Spaine*, though the said poore King of *Peru*, neuer forsooke his heathen superstition; and though the turning of him out of his terrestriall Kingdome was no way to conuert him vnto the faith of Christ. Yea his Lordship a little after telleth vs himselfe, that *Be the Turkes possession in the conquests that he maketh ouer Christians neuer so auncient, yet by no long tract of time whatsoeuer, can he gaine so much as a thumbes breadth of prescription:* that is to say, the Turke for all that is but a disseisor, one that violently and wilfully keeps an other man from his owne, and by good right may be dispossessed of the same: whereas notwithstanding the Turkish Emperours neuer fauoured nor sauoured Christianitie. Let vs runne ouer the examples of Kings whom the Pope hath dared and presumed to depose; and hardly will any one be found, of whom it may be trewly auouched, that he hath taken an oath contrary to his oath of subiection to *Iesus Christ*, or that he hath wilfully cast himselfe into Apostaticall defection.

Pag. 77.

And

And certes to any man that weighs the matter with due consideration, it wil be found apparantly false, that Kings of *France* haue bene receiued of their subiects at any time, with condition to serue IESVS CHRIST. They were actually Kings before they came forth to the solemnitie of their sacring, before they vsed any stipulation or promise to their subiects. For in hereditary kingdoms, (nothing more certaine, nothing more vncontrouleable) the Kings death instantly maketh liuery and seisin of the Royaltie, to his next successour. Nor is it materiall to replie, that a King succeeding by right of inheritance, takes an oath in the person of his predecessor. For euery oath is personall, proper to the person by whom it is taken: and to God no liuing creature can sweare, that his owne sonne or his heire shall proue an honest man. Well may the father, and with great solemnitie, promise that he will exhort his heire apparant with all his power and the best of his endeauours, to feare God and to practise piety. If the fathers oath be agreeable to the dueties of godlinesse, the sonne is bound thereby, whether he take an oath, or take none. On the other side, if the fathers oath come from the puddles of impietie, the sonne is bound thereby to goe the contrary way. If the fathers oath concerne things of indifferent nature, and such as by the variety or change of times, become either pernicious or impossible; then it is free for the Kings next successor and heire, prudently to fit and proportion his Lawes vnto the times present, and to the best benefit of the Common-wealth.

When I call these things to mind with some attention, I am out of all doubt, his Lordship is very much to seeke, in the right sense and nature of his Kings oath taken at his Coronation, to defend the Church, and to perseuere in the Catholike faith: For what is more vnlike and lesse credible then this conceit, that after *Clouis* had reigned 15. yeeres in the state of Paganisme, and then receiued holy Baptisme, he should become Christian vpon this condition, That in case hee should afterward reuolt from the Faith, it should then bee in the power of the Church, to turne him out of his Kingdome? But had any such conditionall stipulation beene made by *Clouis*, in very good earnest and trewth; yet would hee neuer haue intended, that his deposing should bee the acte of the Romane Bishop, but rather of those (whether Peeres or people, or whole body of the State) by whom he had bene aduanced to the Kingdome. Let vs heare the trewth, and this is the trewth: It is farre from the customary vse in *France*, for their Kings to take any such oath, or to vse any such stipulation with their subiects. If any King or Prince wheresoeuer, doth vse an oath or solemne promise in these expresse termes, *Let me lose my Kingdome, or my life, be that day my last both for life and reigne, when I shall first reuolt from the Christian Religion*: By these words he calleth vpon God for vengeance, hee vseth imprecation against his owne head: but hee makes not his Crowne to stoupe by this meanes to any power in the Pope, or in the Church, or in the people.

And touching inscriptions vpon coynes, of which point his Lordship spea-

ſpeaketh by the way; verely the nature of the money or coine (the ſtamping and minting whereof is one of the marks of the Prince his dignity and Soueraignty) is not changed by bearing the letters of Chriſts Name on the reuerſe or on the front. Such characters of Chriſts Name, are aduertiſements and inſtructions to the people, that in ſhewing and yeelding obedience vnto the King, they are obedient vnto Chriſt; & thoſe Princes likewiſe, who are ſo wel aduiſed, to haue the moſt ſacred Names inſcribed and printed in their coines, doe take and acknowledge *Ieſus Chriſt* for ſupreme King of Kings. The ſaid holy characters are no repreſentation or profeſſion, that any Kings Crowne dependeth vpon the Church, or can be taken away by the Pope. The L. Cardinal indeed ſo beareth vs in hand. But he inuerts the words of *Ieſus Chriſt*, and wrings them out of the right ioynt: For Chriſt without all ambiguitie and circumlocution, by the image and inſcription of the money, doeth directly and expreſſely prooue *Cæſar* to bee free from ſubiection, and entirely Soueraigne. Now if ſuch a ſupreme and Soueraigne Prince, at any time ſhall bandie and combine againſt God, and thereby ſhall become a rebellious and perfidious Prince; doubtleſſe for ſuch diſloyaltie he ſhall deſerue, that God would take from him all hope of life eternall: and yet hereby neither Pope nor people hath reaſon to bee puft vp, in their power to depriue him of his temporall Kingdome.

Page 76. The L. Cardinall ſaith beſides; *The champions of the Popes power to depoſe Kings, doe expound that commandement of* S. Paul, *whereby euery ſoule is made ſubiect vnto the ſuperiour powers, to bee a prouiſionall precept or caution accommodated to the times; and to ſtand in force, onely vntll the Church were growen in ſtrength vnto ſuch a ſcantling, that it might be in the power of the faithfull, without ſhaking the pillars of Chriſtian ſtate, to ſtand in the breach, and cautelouſly to prouide that none but Chriſtian Princes might be receiued; according to the Law in Deut. Thou ſhalt make thee a King from among thy brethren.* The reaſon whereupon they ground, is this: *Becauſe* Paul *ſaith, It is a ſhame for Chriſtians to be iudged vnder vniuſt Infidels, in mattrs or buſineſſe, which they had one againſt another: For which inconuenience,* Iuſtinian *after prouided by Law; when hee ordeined that no Infidel nor Heretike might be admitted to the adminiſtration of iuſtice in the Common-wealth.*

In which words of the Cardinall, the word *Receiued*, is to bee obſerued eſpecially and aboue the reſt: For by chopping in that word, hee doeth nimbly and with a tricke of *Legier-demain*, transforme or change the very ſtate of the queſtion. For the queſtion or iſſue of the cauſe, is not about receiuing, eſtabliſhing, or chooſing a Prince; (as in thoſe Nations where the Kingdome goes by election) but about doing homage to the Prince, when God hath ſetled him in the Kingdome, and hath caſt it vpon a Prince by hereditary ſucceſſion: For that which is writtten, *Thou ſhalt make thee a King*, doeth no way concerne and touch the people of *France* in theſe dayes: becauſe the making of their King hath not of long time been tyed to their election. The paſſage therefore in Deuter. makes nothing to the purpoſe; no more then doth *Iuſtinians* law: For it is our free and voluntary con-

confession, that a Christian Prince is to haue speciall care of the Lawes, and to prouide that no vnbeleeuer be made Lord Chiefe-Iustice of the Land, that no Infidel be put in trust with administration of Iustice to the people. But here the issue doeth not direct vs to speake of Delegates, of subordinate Magistrates, and such as are in Commission from the Prince, but of the supreame Prince himselfe, the Soueraigne Magistrate ordained by nature, and confirmed by succession. Our question is, whether such a Prince can be vnthroned by the Pope, by whom he was not placed in the Throne; and whether the Pope can despoile such a Prince, of that Royaltie which was neuer giuen him by the Pope, vnder any pretended colour and imputation of heresie, of stupiditie, or infringing the priuiledges of Monasteries, or transgressing the Lawes and lines of holy Matrimonie.

Now that S. *Pauls* commandement which bindeth euery soule in the bands of subiection vnto the higher powers, is no precept giuen by way of *prouiso*, and onely to serue the times, but a standing and a perpetuall rule, it is hereby more then manifest. S. *Paul* hath grounded this commandement vpon certaine reasons, not onely constant and permanent by their proper nature, but likewise necessary for euery state, condition, and reuolution of the times. His reasons; *Because all powers are ordained of God: because resisting of powers is resisting the ordinance of God: because the Magistrate beares the sword to execute iustice: because obedience and subiection to the Magistrate is necessary, not onely for feare of his wrath, or feare of punishment, but also for conscience sake.* It is therefore a case grounded vpon conscience, it is not a Law deuised by humane wisedome; it is not fashionable to the qualities of the times. Apostolicall instructions for the right informing of maners, are not changeable according to times and seasons. To vse the L. Cardinals language, and to follow his fancie in the matter, is to make way for two pestiferous mischiefes: First, let it be free and lawfull for Christians, to hold the commanding rules of GOD for prouisionall cautions, and what followes? Men are ledde into the broad way of impietie, and the whole Scripture is wiped of all authoritie. Then againe, for the other mischiefe: The glorious triumphes of most blessed Martyrs in their vnspeakable torments and sufferings, by the L. Cardinals position shall bee iudged vnworthy to weare the title and Crowne of Martyrdome. How so? Because (according to his new fiction) they haue giuen place to the violence and furie of heathen Magistrates, not in obedience to the necessary and certaine Commandement of God, but rather to a prouisionall direction, accōmodated to the humours of the times. And therfore the L. Cardinal hath vsed none other clay wherewith to dawbe ouer his deuise, but plaine falsification of holy Scripture: For he makes the Apostle say to the Corinthians, *It is a shame for Christians to bee iudged vnder vnbeleeuing Magistrates*; whereas in that whole context of Paul, there is no such matter. For when the Apostle saith, *I speake it euen to your shame*; he doeth not say it is a shame for a beleeuer to be iudged vnder an Infidel, but he makes them ashamed of their

πρὸς ἐντροπὴν λέγω.

their vngodly course, and vnchristian practise, that in suing and impleading one another, they layd their actions of cõtention in the Courts of vnbeleeuing Iudges. The shame was not in bearing that yoke which God had charged their necks withall, but in deuouring and eating vp one an other with Writs of *habeas corpus*, and with other Processes; as also in vncouering the shame, in laying open the shamefull parts and prankes played by Christians, before Infidels, to the great scandall of the Church. Here I say the L. Cardinall is taken in a tricke of manifest falsification. If therefore a King when he falls to play the heretike, deserueth to be deposed; why should not a Cardinall when he falls to play the iuggler with holy Scripture, deserue to be disrobed?

Meane while the indifferent Reader is to consider, how greatly this doctrine is preiudicial, and how full of danger, to Christians liuing vnder hereticall or Pagan Princes. For make it once knowne to the Emperour of Turkes, let him once get neuer so little a smacke of this doctrine; that Christians liuing vnder his Empire doe take Gods commandement, for obedience to Princes whom they count Infidels, to be onely a prouisional precept for a time, and wait euery houre for all occasions to shake off the yoke of his bondage; doubtlesse he will neuer spare with all speed to roote the whole stocke, with all the armes and branches of Christians out of his dominions. Adde hereunto the L. Cardinals former determination; that possession kept neuer so long by the Turke in his Conquests ouer Christians, gaines him not by so long tract of time one inch of prescription; and it will appeare, that his Lordship puts the Turkish Emperour in minde, and by his instruction leades the said Emperour as it were by the hand, to haue no maner of affiance in his Christian subiects; and withall to afflict his poore Christians with all sorts of most grieuous and cruell torments. In this regard the poore Christians of Græcia and Syria, must needs be very little beholden to his Lordship. As for my selfe, and my Popish Subiects, to whom I am no lesse then an heretike forsooth am not I by this doctrine of the Cardinall, pricked and whetted against my naturall inclination, to turne clemencie into rigour; seeing that by his doctrine my subiects are made to beleeue, they owe me subiection onely by way of *prouiso*, and with waiting the occasion to worke my vtter destruction and finall ruine; the rather, because Turkes, miscreants, and heretikes are marshalled by the Cardinall in the same ranke; and heretikes are counted worse, yea more iustly deposeable, then Turkes and Infidels, as irreligious breakers and violaters of their oath? Who seeth not here how great indignitie is offered to me a Christian King, paralleld with Infidels, reputed worse then a Turke, taken for an vsurper of my Kingdomes, reckoned a Prince, to whom subiects owe a forced obedience by way of prouision, vntill they shall haue meanes to shake off the yoke, and to bare my temples of the Crowne, which neuer can be pulled from the sacred Head, but with losse of the head it selfe?

Touching

Touching the warres vndertaken by the *French, English*, and *Germaines*, in their expedition for Ierusalem, it appeares by the issue and euent of the said warres, that God approoued them not for honourable. That expedition was a deuise and inuention of the Pope, whereby he might come to be infeoffed in the Kingdomes of Christian Princes. For then all such of the *French*, *English* or *Germaines*, as vndertooke the Croisade, became the Popes meere vassals. Then all robbers by the high way-side, adulterers, cut-throats, and base bankerupts, were exempted from the Secular and Ciuill power, their causes were sped in Consistorian Courts, so soone as they had gotten the Crosse on their cassocks or coat-armours, and had vowed to serue in the expedition for the Leuant. Then for the Popes pleasure and at his commaundement, whole countryes were emptied of their Nobles and common souldiers. Then they made long marches into the Leuant: For what purpose? Onely to die vpon the points of the *Saracens* pikes, or by the edge of their barbarous courtelasses, battle-axes, fauchions, and other weapons, without any benefit and aduantage to themselues or others. Then the Nobles were driuen to sell their goodly Mannors, and auncient demaines to the Church-men, at vnder prises and low rates; the very roote from which a great part of the Church and Church-mens reuenewes hath sprung and growne to so great height. Then, to be short, his most bountifull Holinesse gaue to any of the riffe-raffe-ranke, that would vndertake this expedition into the Holy land, a free and full pardon for all his sinnes, besides a degree of glory aboue the vulgar in the Celestiall Paradise. Military vertue, I confesse, is commendable and honourable; prouided it bee employed for iustice, and that generous noblenesse of valiant spirits bee not vnder a colour and shadow of piety, fetcht ouer with some casts or deuises of Italian cunning.

See the Bull of Innoc. 3. at the end of the Latter. Conc.

Now let vs obserue the wisedome of the Lord Cardinall through this whole discourse. His Lordship is pleased in his Oration, to cite certaine few passages of Scripture, culls and picks them out for the most gracefull in shewe: leaues out of his list whole troupes of honourable witnesses, vpon whose testimonie, the Popes themselues and their principall adherents doe build his power to depose Kings, and to giue order for all Temporall causes. Take a sight of their best and most honourable witnesses. *Peter* said to Christ, *See here two swords*; and Christ answered, *It is sufficient.* Christ said to *Peter*, *Put vp thy sword into thy sheath.* God said to *Ieremie*, *I haue established thee ouer Nations and Kingdomes.* *Paul* said to the Corinthians, *The Spirituall man discerneth all things.* Christ said to his Apostles, *Whatsoeuer yee shall loose vpon earth*: by which words the Pope hath power forsooth to loose the oath of allegiance. *Moses* said, *In the beginning God created the heauen and the earth.* Vpon these passages, Pope *Boniface* 8. grapling and tugging with *Philip* the Faire, doth build his Temporall power. Other Popes and Papists auouch the like authorities. Christ said of himselfe, *All things are giuen to me of my Father, and all power is giuen vnto me in heauen and in*

Ier. 1.

1. Cor. 2.

Extrauag. Vnam Sanctam.

earth. The Deuils said, *If thou cast vs out, send vs into this herd of swine.* Christ said to his Disciples, *Yee shall finde the colt of an asse bound, loose it and bring it vnto me.* By these places the aduersaries prooue, that Christ disposed of Temporall matters; and inferre thereupon, why not Christs Vicar as well as Christ himselfe. The places and testimonies now following are very expresse: *In stead of thy fathers shall be thy children: thou shalt make them Princes through all the earth.* Item, Iesus Christ not onely commaunded *Peter* to *feed his lambs*; but said also to *Peter*, *Arise, kill, and eat*: the pleasant glosse, the rare inuention of the L. Cardinall *Baronius*. Christ said to the people, *If I were lift vp from the earth, I will draw all things vnto me.* who lets, what hinders this place from fitting the Pope? *Paul* said to the Corinthians, *Know ye not that we shall iudge the Angels? how much more then the things that pertaine vnto this life?* A little after, *Haue not we power to eate?* These are the chiefe passages, on which as vpon maine arches, the roofe of Papall Monarchie, concerning Temporall causes, hath rested for three or foure aages past. And yet his Lordship durst not repose any confidence in their firme standing to beare vp the said roofe of Temporall Monarchie, for feare of making his auditors to burst with laughter. A wise part without question, if his Lordship had not defiled his lips before, with a more ridiculous argument drawne from the leprosie and drie scab.

Psal.45.

Ioh.12.

Let vs now by way of comparison behold Iesus Christ paying tribute vnto *Cæsar*, and the Pope making *Cæsar* to pay him tribute: Iesus Christ perswading the Iewes to pay tribute vnto an heathen Emperour, and the Pope dispensing with subiects for their obedience to Christian Emperours: Iesus Christ refusing to arbitrate a controuersie of inheritance partable betweene two priuate parties, and the Pope thrusting in himselfe without warrant or Commission to bee absolute Iudge in the deposing of Kings: Iesus Christ professing that his Kingdome is not of this world, and the Pope establishing himselfe in a terrene Empire. In like manner the Apostles forsaking all their goods to followe Christ, and the Pope robbing Christians of their goods; the Apostles persecuted by Pagan Emperours, and the Pope now setting his foote on the very throate of Christian Emperours, then proudly treading Imperiall Crownes vnder his feete. By this comparison, the L. Cardinals allegation of Scripture in fauour of his Master the Pope, is but a kind of puppet-play, to make Iesus Christ a mocking stocke, rather then to satisfie his auditors with any sound precepts and wholesome instructions. Hereof he seemeth to giue some inckling himselfe: For after he hath beene plentifull in citing authorities of Scripture, and of newe Doctors, which make for the Popes power to depose Kings; at last he comes in with a faire and open confession, that neither by diuine Oracles, nor by honourable antiquitie, this controuersie hath beene yet determined: and so pulls downe in a word with one hand, the frame of worke that he had built and set vp before with an other; discouering withall, the reluctation and priuie checkes of his owne conscience.

Pag.85.

There

There yet remaineth one obiection, the knot whereof the L. Cardinall in a maner sweateth to vntie. His words be these: *The champions for the negatiue flie to the analogie of other proceedings and practises in the Church: They affirme that priuate persons, masters or owners of goods and possessions among the common people, are not depriued of their goods for Heresie; and consequently that Princes much more should not for the same crime bee depriued of their estates.* For answere to this reason, he brings in the defendants of deposition, speaking after this maner; *In the Kingdome of* France *the strict execution of lawes decreed in Court against Heretikes, is fauourably suspended and stopped, for the preseruation of peace and publike tranquilitie.* He saith elsewhere; *Connuence is vsed towards these Heretikes in regard of their multitude, because a notable part of the French Nation and State is made all of Heretikes.* I suppose that out of speciall charitie, he would haue those Heretikes of his owne making, forewarned what courteous vse and entreaty they are to expect; when he affirmeth that execution of the lawes is but suspended: For indeed suspensions hold but for a time. But in a cause of that nature and importance, I dare promise my selfe, that my most honoured brother the King of *France*, will make vse of other counsell: will rather seeke the amitie of his neighbour Princes, and the peace of his Kingdome: will beare in mind the great and faithfull seruice of those, who in matter of religion dissent from his Maiestie, as of the onely men that haue preserued and saued the Crowne for the King his father, of most glorious memorie. I am perswaded my brother of *France* wil beleeue, that his liege people pretended by the L. Cardinall to bee heretikes, are not halfe so bad as my Romane Catholike subiects, who by secret practises vndermine my life, serue a forreine Souereigne, are discharged by his Bulls of their obedience due to me their naturall Souereigne, are bound (by the maximes and rules published and maintained in fauour of the Pope, before this full and famous assemblie of the Estate at *Paris*; if the said maximes be of any weight and authoritie) to hold mee for no lawfull King, are there taught and instructed, that *Pauls* commandemement concerning subiection vnto the higher Powers, aduerse to their professed religion, is onely a prouisionall precept, framed to the times, and watching for the opportunitie to shake off the yoake. All which notwithstanding, I deale with such Romane-Catholikes by the rules and wayes of Princely clemencie; their heinous and pernicious error, in effect no lesse then the capitall crime of high treason, I vse to call some disease or distemper of the mind. Last of all, I beleeue my said brother of *France* will set downe in his tables, as in record, how little hee standeth ingaged to the L. Cardinall in this behalfe: For those of the reformed Religion professe and proclaime, that next vnder God, they owe their preseruation and safetie to the wisedome and benignity of their Kings. But now comes the Cardinall, and he seekes to steale this perswasion out of their hearts: He tells them in open Parliament, and without any going about bushes, that all their welfare and securitie standeth in their multitude, and in the feare which others conceiue

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to trouble the State, by the ſtrict execution of lawes againſt Heretikes.

Note by the way that here the Church of Rome is called a Sect.

He addeth moreouer, that *In caſe a third Sect ſhould peepe out and growe vp in* France, *the profeſſors thereof ſhould ſuffer confiſcation of their goods, with loſſe of life it ſelfe; as hath bene practiſed at* Geneua *againſt* Seruetus, *and in* England *againſt* Arians. My anſwere is this, That puniſhments for heretikes, duely and according to Law conuicted, are ſet downe by decrees of the ciuill Magiſtrate, bearing rule in the countrey where the ſaid heretikes inhabite, and not by any ordinances of the Pope. I ſay withall, the L.Cardinall hath no reaſon to match and parallell the reformed Churches with *Seruetus* and the *Arians*: For thoſe heretikes were powerfully conuicted by Gods word, and lawfully condemned by the ancient Generall Councils, where they were permitted and admitted to plead their owne cauſe in perſon. But as for the trewth profeſſed by me, and thoſe of the reformed Religion, it was neuer yet hiſſed out of the Schooles, nor caſt out of any Council, (like ſome Parliament bills) where both ſides haue bene heard with like indifferencie. Yea, what Council ſoeuer hath bene offered vnto vs in theſe latter times, it hath bene propoſed with certaine preſuppoſitions: as, That his Holineſſe (beeing a partie in the cauſe, and conſequently to come vnder iudgement as it were to the barre vpon his triall) ſhall be the Iudge of Aſſize with Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Determiner*: it ſhall bee celebrated in a citie of no ſafe acceſſe, without ſafe conduct or conuoy to come or goe at pleaſure, and without danger: it ſhall be aſſembled of ſuch perſons with free ſuffrage and voyce, as vphold this rule, (which they haue already put in practiſe againſt *Iohn Hus* and *Hierome* of *Prage*) that faith giuen, and oath taken to an Heretike, muſt not be obſerued.

Now then to reſume our former matter; If the Pope hitherto hath neuer preſumed, for pretended hereſie to confiſcate by ſentence, either the lands or the goods of priuate perſons, or common people of the French Nation, wherefore ſhould hee dare to diſpoſſeſſe Kings of their Royall thrones? wherefore takes he more vpon him ouer Kings, then ouer priuate perſons; wherefore ſhall the ſacred heads of Kings be more churliſhly, vnciuilly, and rigorouſly handled, then the hoods of the meaneſt people? Here the L.Cardinal in ſtead of a direct anſwer, breakes out of the liſts, alledging cleane from the purpoſe examples of heretikes puniſhed, not by the Pope but by the ciuill Magiſtrate of the Countrey: But *Bellarmine* ſpeakes to the point with a more free and open heart: hee is abſolute and reſolute in this opinion, that his Holineſſe hath plenary power to diſpoſe all Temporall eſtates and matters in the whole world; *I am confident* (ſaith *Bellarmine*) *and I ſpeake it with aſſurance, that our Lord* Ieſus Chriſt *in the dayes of his mortalitie, had power to diſpoſe of all Temporall things yea, to ſtrip Souereigne Kings and abſolute Lords of their Kingdomes and Seignories: and without all doubt hath granted and left euen the ſame power vnto his Vicar, to make vſe thereof whenſoeuer he ſhall thinke it neceſſary for the ſaluation of ſoules.* And ſo his Lordſhip ſpeaketh without exception of any thing at all: For who doth not know, that *Ieſus Chriſt*

Contr. Barclaium, cap. 27.

Christ had power to dispose no lesse of priuate mens possessions, then of whole Realmes and Kingdomes at his pleasure, if it had beene his pleasure to display the ensignes of his power? The same fulnesse of power is likewise in the Pope. In good time: belike his Holinesse is the sole heire of Christ, in whole and in part. The last Lateran Council fineth a Laic that speaketh blasphemie, for the first offence (if he be a gentleman) at 25. ducats, and at 50. for the second. It presupposeth and taketh it for graunted, that the Church may rifle and ransacke the purses of priuate men, and cast lots for their goods. The Councill of *Trent* diggeth as deepe for the same veine of gold and siluer. It ordaines; *That Emperours, Kings, Dukes, Princes, and Lords of cities, castles, and territories holding of the Church, in case they shall assigne any place within their limits or liberties for the duell betweene two Christians shall be deprived of the said citie, castle, or place, where such duell shall be performed, they holding the said place of the Church by any kind of tenure: that all other Estates held in fee where the like offence shall be committed, shall forthwith fall and become forfeited to their immediate and next Lords: that all goods, possessions, and estates, as well of the combatants themselues, as of their seconds shall bee confiscate.* This Councill doeth necessarily presuppose, it lieth in the hand and power of the Church, to dispose of all the lands and estates, held in fee throughout all Christendome; (because the Church forsooth can take from one, and giue vnto another all estates held in fee whatsoeuer, as well such as hold of the Church, as of secular Lords) and to make ordinances for the confiscation of all priuate persons goods. By this Canon the Kingdome of *Naples* hath need to looke well vnto it selfe For one duell it may fall into the Exchecquer of the Romane Church; because that Kingdome payeth a Reliefe to the Church, as a Royaltie or Seignorie that holdeth in fee of the said Church. And in *France* there is not one Lordship, not one Mannor, not one farme which the Pope by this meanes cannot shift ouer to a new Lord. His Lordship therefore had carried himselfe and the cause much better, if in stead of seeking such idle shifts, he had by a more large assertion maintained the Popes power to dispose of priuate mens possessions, with no lesse right and authoritie then of Kingdomes: For what colour of reason can bee giuen, for making the Pope Lord of the whole, and not of the parts? for making him Lord of the forrest in grosse, and not of the trees in parcell? for making him Lord of the whole house, and not of the parlour or the dining chamber?

Sess. 9.

Sess. 25. cap. 19.

His Lordship alleadgeth yet an other reason, but of no better weight: *Betweene the power of priuate owners ouer their goods, and the power of Kings ouer their estates, there is no little difference: For the goods of priuate persons are ordained for their owners, and Princes for the benefit of their Common-wealths.* Heare he now answere. If this Cardinal-reason hath any force to inferre, that a King may lawfully be deprived of his Kingdome for heresie, but a priuate person cannot for the same crime be turned out of his mansion house; then it shall follow by the same reason, that a Father for the same cause may

bee depriued of all power ouer his children, but a priuate owner cannot be depriued of his goods in the like case: because goods are ordeined for the benefit and comfort of their owners, but fathers are ordeined for the good and benefit of their children: But most certain it is, that Kings representing the image of God in earth and Gods place, haue a better and closer seate in their chaires of Estate, then any priuate persons haue in the saddle of their inheritances and patrimonies, which are dayly seene for sleight causes, to flit and to fall into the hands of new Lords: Whereas a Prince being the Head, cannot bee loosed in the proper ioynt, nor dismounted; like a cannon when the carriage thereof is vnlockt, without a sore shaking and a most grieuous dislocation of all the members, yea, without subuerting the whole bodie of the State, whereby priuate persons without number are inwrapped together in the same ruine; euen as the lower shrubs and other brush-wood are crushed in pieces altogether by the fall of a great oake. But suppose his Lordships reason were somewhat ponderous and solide withall, yet a King (which would not bee forgotten) is endowed not onely with the Kingdome, but also with the ancient Desmenes and Crowne-lands, for which none can be so simple to say, The King was ordeined and created King; which neuertheleſſe he loseth when hee loseth his Crowne. Admit againe this reason were of some pith, to make mighty Kings more easily deposeable then priuate persons from their patrimonies; yet all this makes nothing for the deriuing and fetching of deposition from the Popes Consistorie. What hee neuer conferred, by what right or power can he claime to take away?

But see heere no doubt a sharpe and subtile difference put by the L. Cardinall betweene a Kingdome, and the goods of priuate persons. *Goods*, as
" his Lordship saith, *are without life: they can be constrained by no force, by no ex-*
" *ample, by no inducement of their owners to lose eternall life: Subiects by their Prin-*
" *ces may.* Now I am of the contrary beliefe, That an hereticall owner, or master of a family, hath greater power and meanes withall, to seduce his owne seruants and children, then a Prince hath to peruert his owne subiects; and yet for the contagion of Heresie, and for corrupt religion, children are not remoued from their parents, nor seruants are taken away from their masters. Histories abound with examples of most flourishing Churches, vnder a Prince of contrary religion. And if things without life or soule are with lesse danger left in an heretikes hands; why then shall not an hereticall King with more facilitie and lesse danger keepe his Crowne, his Royall charge, his lands, his customes, his imposts, &c? For will any man, except he bee out of his wits, affirme these things to haue any life or soule? Or why shall it bee counted folly, to leaue a sword in the hand of a mad Bedlam? Is not a sword also without life and soule? For my part, I should rather be of this minde; that possession of things without reason, is more dangerous and pernicious in the hands of an euill master, then the possession of things endued with life and reason: For things without life

life lacke both reason and iudgement, how to exempt and free themselues from being instruments in euill and wicked actions, from being emploied to vngodly and abominable vses. I will not deny, that an hereticall Prince is a plague, a pernicious and mortall sickenesse to the soules of his subiects: But a breach made by one mischiefe, must not bee filled vp with a greater inconuenience: An errour must not be shocked and shouldered with disloialtie, nor heresie with periurie, nor impietie with sedition and armed rebellion against GOD and the King. GOD, who vseth to try and to schoole his Church, will neuer forsake his Church; nor hath need to protect his Church by any proditorious and prodigious practises of perfidious Christians: For he makes his Church to be like the burning bush: In the middest of the fire and flames of persecutions, hee will prouide that she shall not be consumed, because hee standeth in the midst of his Church. And suppose there may be some iust cause for the French, to play the rebels against their King; yet will it not follow, that such rebellious motions are to be raised by the bellowes of the Romane Bishop, to whose Pastorall charge and office it is nothing proper, to intermeddle in the ciuill affaires of forraine Kingdomes.

Here is the summe and substance of the L. Cardinals whole discourse, touching his pretence of the second inconuenience. Which discourse hee hath closed with a remarkeable confession: to wit, that neither by the authoritie of holy Scripture, nor by the the testimonie and verdict of the Primitiue Church, there hath bene any full decision of this question. In regard whereof he falleth into admiration, that Lay-people haue gone so farre in audaciousnesse, as to labour that a doubtfull doctrine might for euer passe currant, and be taken for a new article of faith. *What a shame, what a reproach is this? how full of scandall?* for so his Lordship is pleased to cry out. *This breakes into the seueralls and inclosures of the Church: this lets in whole herds of heresies to grase in her greene and sweet pastures.* On the other side, without any such Rhetoricall outcries; I simply affirme: It is a reproach, a scandall, a crime of rebellion, for a subiect hauing his full charge and loade of benefits, in the new spring of his Kings tender aage, his King-fathers blood yet reeking, and vpon the point of an addresse for a double match with Spaine; in so honourable an assembly, to seeke the thraldome of his Kings Crowne, to play the captious in cauilling about causes of his Kings deposing, to giue his former life the Lye with shame enough in his old aage, and to make himselfe a common by-word, vnder the name of a *Problematicall Martyr*; one that offers himselfe to fagot and fire, for a point of doctrine but problematically handled, that is, distrustfully and onely by way of doubtfull and questionable discourse: yea for a point of doctrine, in which the French (as he pretendeth) are permitted to thwart and crosse his Holines in iudgement, prouided they speake in it as in a point, not certaine and necessary, but onely doubtfull and probable.

THE

THE THIRD INCONVENIENCE EXAMINED.

Pag. 87. THe third Inconuenience pretended by the L.Cardinall to grow by admitting this Article of the third Estate, is flourished in these colours: *It would breed and bring foorth an open and vnauoydeable schisme against his Holinesse, and the rest of the whole Ecclesiasticall body: For thereby the doctrine long approued and ratified by the Pope and the rest of the Church, should now be taxed and condemned of impious and most detestable consequence; yea the Pope and the Church, euen in faith and in points of saluation, should be reputed and beleeued to be erroniously perswaded.* Hereupon his Lordship giues himselfe a large scope of the raines, to frame his elegant amplifications against schismes and schismatikes.

Now to mount so high, and to flie in such place vpon the wings of amplification for this Inconuenience, what is it else but magnifically to report and imagine a mischiefe by many degrees greater then the mischiefe is? The L.Cardinal is in a great errour, if hee make himselfe beleeue, that other nations wil make a rent or separation from the communion of the French, because the French stand to it tooth and naile, that French Crownes are not liable or obnoxious to Papall deposition; howsoeuer there is no schisme that importeth not separation of communion. The most illustrious Republike of *Venice*, hath imbarked herselfe in this quarrell against his Holinesse, hath played her prize, and caried away the weapons with great honour. Doeth she, notwithstanding her triumph in the cause, forbeare to participate with all her neighbours in the same Sacraments? doeth she liue in schisme with all the rest of the Romane Church? No such matter. When the L.Cardinal himselfe not many yeeres past, maintained the Kings cause, and stood honourably for the Kings right against the Popes Temporall vsurpations, did he then take other Churches to be schismaticall, or the rotten members of *Antichrist*? Beleeue it who list, I beleeue my Creed. Nay, his Lordship telleth vs himselfe a little after, that his Holinesse giues the French free scope, to maintaine either the affirmatiue or negatiue of this question. And will his Holinesse hold them schismatikes, that dissent from his opinion and iudgement in a subiect or cause esteemed problematicall? Farre be it from his Holinesse. The King of Spaine, reputed the Popes right arme, neuer gaue the Pope cause by any acte or other declaration, to conceiue that he acknowledged himselfe deposeable by the Pope for heresie, or Tyrannie, or stupiditie. But being well assured the Pope standeth in greater feare of his arme, then hee doeth of the Popes head and

shoulders,

ſhoulders, he neuer troubles his owne head about our queſtion. More, when the booke of Cardinall *Baronius* was come foorth, in which booke the Kingdome of Naples is deſcried and publiquely diſcredited (like falſe money) touching the qualitie of a Kingdome, and attributed to the King of Spaine, not as trew proprietary thereof, but onely as an Eſtate held in fee of the Romane Church; the King made no bones to condemne and to baniſh the ſaid booke out of his dominions. The holy Father was contented to put vp his Catholike ſonnes proceeding to the Cardinals diſgrace, neuer opened his mouth againſt the King, neuer declared or noted the King to be ſchiſmaticall. He waits perhaps for ſome fitter opportunitie; when the Kingdome of Spaine groaning vnder the burthens of inteſtine diſſentions and troubles, hee may without any danger to himſelfe giue the Catholike King a Biſhops mate. Yea, the L. Cardinal himſelfe is better ſeene in the humors and inclinations of the Chriſtian world, then to be groſly perſwaded, that in the Kingdome of Spaine, and in the very heart of Rome it ſelfe there be not many, which either make it but a ieaſt, or elſe take it in fowle ſcorne, to heare the Popes power ouer the Crownes of Kings once named: eſpecially ſince the Venetian Republike hath put his Holineſſe to the worſe in the ſame cauſe, and caſt him in Law.

What needed the L. Cardinall then, by caſting vp ſuch mounts and trenches, by heaping one amplification vpon an other, to make ſchiſme looke with ſuch a terrible and hideous aſpect? Who knowes not how great an offence, how heinous a crime it is to quarter not IESVS CHRISTS coat, but his body, which is the Church? And what needed ſuch terrifying of the Church with vglineſſe of ſchiſme, whereof there is neither colourable ſhew, nor poſſibilitie?

The next vgly monſter, after ſchiſme, ſhaped by the L. Cardinall in the third ſuppoſed and pretended inconuenience, is hereſie. His Lordſhip Pag. 89.
ſaith for the purpoſe: *By this Article we are caſt headlong into a manifeſt hereſie, as binding vs to confeſſe, that for many aages paſt, the Catholike Church hath bene baniſhed out of the whole world. For if the champions of the doctrine contrary to this Article, doe hold an impious and a deteſtable opinion, repugnant vnto Gods word, then doubtleſſe the Pope for ſo many hundred yeeres expired, hath not bene the head of the Church, but an heretike and the Antichriſt.* He addeth moreouer; *That the Church long agoe hath loſt her name of Catholike, and that in France there hath no Church flouriſhed, nor ſo much as appeared theſe many and more then many yeeres: for as much as all the French doctors for many yeres together, haue ſtood for the contrary opinion. We can erect and ſet vp no trophey more honorable for heretikes in token of their victory, then to auow that Chriſts viſible Kingdom is periſhed from the face of the earth, and that for ſo many hundred yeres there hath not bene any Temple of God, nor any ſpouſe of Chriſt, but euery where, and all the world ouer, the kingdom of Antichriſt, the ſynagogue of Satan, the ſpouſe of the diuel, hath mightily preuailed and borne all the ſway. Laſtly, what ſtronger engines can theſe heretikes wiſh or deſire, for the battering and the demoliſhing of tranſubſtantiation, of auricular confeſſion, and other like*

" *like towers of our Catholike Religion, then if it ſhould bee granted the Church hath*
" *decided the ſaid points without any authoritie? &c.*

Mee thinkes the L. Cardinal in the whole draught and courſe of theſe words doeth ſeeke not a little to blemiſh the honour of his Church, and to marke his religion with a blacke coale: For the whole frame of his Mother-Church is very eaſie to be ſhaken, if by the eſtabliſhing of this Article ſhe ſhall come to ſinall ruine, and ſhall become the Synagogue of Satan. Likewiſe, Kings are brought into a very miſerable ſtate and condition, if their Souereigntie ſhall not ſtand, if they ſhall not bee without danger of depoſition, but by the totall ruine of the Church, and by holding the Pope, whom they ſerue, to be Antichriſt. The L. Cardinall himſelfe (let him be well ſifted) herein doeth not credit his owne words: For doeth not his Lordſhip tell vs plaine, that neither by Diuine teſtimony, nor by any ſentence of the ancient Church, the knot of this controuerſie hath bene vntied? againe, that ſome of the French, by the Popes fauourable indulgence, are licenſed or tolerated to ſay their mind, to deliuer their opinion of this queſtion, though contrary to the iudgement of his Holineſſe; prouided they hold it onely as problematicall, and not as neceſſary? What? Can there be any aſſurance for the Pope, that hee is not Antichriſt; for the Church of *Rome*, that ſhe is not a Synagogue of Satan, when a mans aſſurance is grounded vpon wauering and wilde vncertainties, without Canon of Scripture, without conſent or countenance of antiquitie, and in a cauſe which the Pope by good leaue ſuffereth ſome to toſſe with winds of problematicall opinion? It hath beene ſhewed before, that by Gods word, whereof ſmall reckoning perhaps is made, by venerable antiquitie, and by the French Church in thoſe times when the Popes power was mounted aloft, the doctrine which teacheth depoſing of Kings by the Pope, hath bene checked and countermanded. What, did the French in thoſe dayes beleeue the Church was then ſwallowed vp, and no where viſible or extant in the world? No verely; Thoſe that make the Pope of Soueraigne authoritie for matters of Faith, are not perſwaded that in this cauſe they are bound abſolutely to beleeue and credit his doctrine. Why ſo? Becauſe they take it not for any decree or determination of Faith; but for a point perteining to the myſteries of State, and a pillar of the Popes Temporall Monarchie; who hath not receiued any promiſe from God, that in cauſes of this nature hee ſhall not erre: For they hold, that errour by no meanes can crawle or ſcramble vp to the Papall See, ſo highly mounted; but grant ambition can ſcale the higheſt walls, and climbe the loftieſt pinacles of the ſame See. They hold withall, that in caſe of ſo ſpeciall aduantage to the Pope, whereby he is made King of Kings, and as it were the pay-maſter or diſtributer of Crownes, it is againſt all reaſon that hee ſhould ſit as Iudge, to carue out Kingdomes for his owne ſhare. To bee ſhort, let his Lordſhip be aſſured that he meeteth with notorious blockeheads, more blunt-witted then a whetſtone, when they are drawen to beleeue

leeue by his perſwaſion, that whoſoeuer beleeues the Pope hath no right nor power to put Kings beſide their Thrones, to giue and take away Crownes, are all excluded and barred out of the heauenly Kingdome.

But now followes a worſe matter: For they whom the Cardinall reproachfully calls heretikes, haue wrought and wonne his Lordſhip (as to mee ſeemeth) to plead their cauſe at the barre, and to betray his owne cauſe to theſe heretikes: For what is it in his Lordſhip, but plaine playing the Præuaricator, when he crieth ſo lowd, that by admitting and eſtabliſhing of this Article, the doctrine of Cake-incarnation and priuie Confeſſion to a Prieſt, is vtterly ſubuerted? Let vs heare his reaſon, and willingly accept the trewth from his lips. The Articles (as his Lordſhip granteth) of Tranſubſtantiation, auricular Confeſſion, and the Popes power to depoſe Kings, are all grounded alike vpon the ſame authoritie. Now he hath acknowledged the Article of the Popes power to depoſe Kings, is not decided by the Scripture, nor by the ancient Church, but within the compaſſe of certaine aages paſt, by the authoritie of Popes and Councils. Then he goes on well, and inferres with good reaſon, that in caſe the point of the Popes power be weakened, then the other two points muſt needs bee ſhaken, and eaſily ouerthrowen: So that hee doeth confeſſe the monſtrous birth of the breaden-God, and the blind Sacrament or vaine fantaſie of auricular confeſſion, are no more conueyed into the Church by pipes from the ſprings of ſacred Scripture, or from the riuers of the ancient Church, then that other point of the Popes power ouer Kings and their Crownes. Very good: For were they indeed deriued from either of thoſe two heads, that is to ſay, were they grounded vpon the foundation of the firſt or ſecond authoritie; then they could neuer bee ſhaken by the downefall of the Popes power to depoſe Kings. I am well aſſured, that for vſing ſo good a reaſon, the world will hold his Lordſhip in ſuſpicion, that he ſtill hath ſome ſmacke of his fathers diſcipline and inſtruction, who in times paſt had the honour to be a Miniſter of the holy Goſpel.

Howbeit he playeth not faire, nor vſeth ſincere dealing in his proceeding againſt ſuch as he calls heretikes; when hee caſts in their diſh, and beares them in hand they frowardly wrangle for the inuiſibilitie of the Church in earth: For indeed the matter is nothing ſo. They freely acknowledge a viſible Church: For howſoeuer the aſſembly of Gods elect, doth make a body not diſcerneable by mans eye; yet we aſſuredly beleeue, and gladly profeſſe, there neuer wanted a viſible Church in the world; yet onely viſible to ſuch as make a part of the ſame. All that are without, ſee no more but men, they doe not ſee the ſaid men to be the trew Church. Wee beleeue moreouer of the vniuerſall Church viſible, that it is compoſed of many particular Churches, whereof ſome are better fined and more cleane from lees and dregs then other: and withall, we denie the pureſt Churches to be alwayes the greateſt and moſt viſible.

THE

THE FOVRTH AND LAST INCONVENIENCE EXAMINED.

THE Lord Cardinall before he looketh into the last Inconuenience, vseth a certaine preamble of his owne life past, and seruices done to the Kings, *Henry* the III. and IIII. Touching the latter of which two Kings, his Lordship saith in a straine of boasting, after this manner: *I, by the grace of God, or the grace of God by mee rather, reduced him to the Catholike religion. I obtained at Rome his absolution of Pope Clement* 8. *I reconciled him to the holy See.* Touching the first of these points; I say the time, the occasions, and the foresaid Kings necessary affaires doe sufficiently testifie, that he was induced to change his mind, and to alter his religion, vpon the strength of other manner of arguments then Theologicall schooles, or the perswasions of the L. Cardinals fluent Rhetoricke, doe vsually afford, or could possibly suggest. Moreouer, who doeth not know, that in affaires of so high nature and consequence, resolutions once taken, Princes are to proceede with instructions by a formall course? As for the Kings absolution, pretended to bee purchased of *Clement* 8. by the L. Cardinals good seruice; it had beene the part of so great a Cardinall, for the honour of his King, of the Realme, and of his owne place, to haue buried that piece of his notable seruice in perpetuall silence, and in the darke night of eternall obliuion: For in this matter of reconcilement, it is not vnknowne to the world, how shamefully and basely hee prostituted the inuiolable dignity of his King, when his Lordship representing the person of his King, and couching on the ground by way of sufficient penance, was glad (as I haue noted in the Preface to my Apologie) to haue his venerable shoulders gracefully saluted with stripes, and reuerently worshipped with bastonados of a Pontificiall cudgell. Which gracefull, or disgracefull blemish rather, it pleased Pope *Clement* of his rare clemencie, to grace yet with a higher degree of spirituall graces; in giuing the L. Cardinall then Bishop of *Eureux*, a certaine quantity of holy graines crosses, and medals, or little plates of siluer, or some other mettall, to hang about the necke, or to bee borne about against some euill: Which treasures of the Popes grace, whosoeuer should graciously and reuerently kisse, they should without faile purchase vnto themselues a pardon for one hundred yeeres. These feate and prety gugawes for children, were no doubt a speciall comfort vnto the good Kings heart, after his Maiestie had beene handsomely basted vpon the L. Bishops backe. But with what face can his Lordship brag, that he preuailed with Pope *Clement* for the Kings absolution? The late Duke of *Neuers*, not long before had solicited his Holines,

Holines, with all earneſt and humble inſtance to the ſame purpoſe; howſoeuer, the Kings affaires then ſeeming deſperate in the Popes eye, he was licenſed to depart for *France*, without any due and gracious reſpect vnto his errand. But ſo ſoone as the Pope receiued intelligence, of the Kings fortunes growing to the full, and the affaires of the League to be in the wane, and the principall cities, the ſtrongeſt places of garriſon through all *France* to ſtrike tops and tops gallant, and to hale the King; then the holy Ghoſt in good time inſpired the holy Father with a holy deſire and tender affection, to receiue this poore wandring ſheep againe into the flocke of Chriſt, and boſome of holy Church. His Holineſſe had reaſon: For he feared by his obſtinate ſeuerity to prouoke the patience of the French, and to driue that Nation (as they had many times threatned before) then to put in execution their auncient deſigne; which was, to ſhake off the Pope, and to ſet vp ſome of their owne tribes or kinreds for Patriarch ouer the French Church. But let his Lordſhippe vouchſafe to ſearch the ſecret of his owne boſome, and no doubt he wil not ſticke to acknowledge, that before he ſtirred one foote out of *France*, he had good aſſurance of the good ſucceſſe and iſſue of his honourable embaſſage.

Now the hearers thus prepared by his Preface, the L. Cardinall proceedeth in his purpoſe; namely to make proofe, how this Article of the third Eſtate, wherein doubtfull and queſtionable matters are mingled and confounded with certaine and indubitable principles, doth ſo debilitate and weaken the ſinewes and vertue of any remedy intended for the danger of Kings, as it maketh all remedies and receipts preſcribed for that purpoſe, to become altogether vnprofitable, and without effect. He yeelds this reaſon, (take it forſooth vpon my warrant) a reaſon full of pith and ſubſtance: The onely remedie againſt parricides, is to thunder the ſolemne curſes of the Church, and the puniſhments to be inflicted after death: which points, if they be not grounded vpon infallible authoritie, will neuer be ſetled in mens perſwaſions with any certaine aſſurance. Now in the ſolemne curſes of the Church, no man can attaine to the ſaid aſſurance, if things not denied be mingled with points not graunted, and not conſented vnto by the Vniuerſall Church. By a thing not denied and not conteſted, the L. Cardinall meanes prohibiting and condemning of King-killing: and by points conteſted, he meanes denying of the Popes power to depoſe Kings.

In this whole diſcourſe, I find neither pith of argument, nor courſe of proofe; but onely a caſt of the L. Cardinalls office by way of counſell: whereunto I make this anſwere. If there be in this Article of the third Eſtate any point, wherein all are not of one mind and the ſame iudgement; in whom lieth all the blame, from whence riſes the doubt, but from the Popes and Popiſh paraſites, by whom the certaintie of the ſaid point hath bin cunningly remooued and conueied away, and muſt be reſtored againe by publike authority? Now the way to reſtore certainty vnto a point, which againſt reaſon is called into doubt and queſtion, is to make it vp in one

 maſſe,

maſſe, or to tie it vp in the ſame bundle, with other certaine points of the ſame nature.

Here I am forced to ſummon the conſciences of men, to make ſome ſtand or ſtay vpon this point, and with me to enter into deepe conſideration, how great and vnuanquiſhable force is euer found in the trewth: For theſe two queſtions, Whether Kings may lawfully be made away by aſſaſſins waged and hired for the act; and Whether the Pope hath lawfull power to chaſe Kings out of their Thrones, are by the L. Cardinals owne confeſſion, in ſo full aſpect of coniunction, that if either bee brought vnder any degree of doubt, the other alſo is fetcht within the ſame compaſſe. In which words he directly pointeth as with a finger to the very trew ſource of the maine miſchiefe, and to the baſilique and liuer veine, infected with peſtilential blood, inflamed to the deſtruction of Baſilicall Princes by deteſtable parricide: For whoſoeuer ſhall confidently beleeue that Popes are not armed with power to depoſe Kings; will beleeue with no leſſe confidence and aſſurance, it is not lawful by ſudden aſſaults to flie at their throats. For are not all deſperate villaines perſwaded, when they are hired to murder Kings, that in doing ſo damnable a feate, they doe it for a piece of notable and extraordinary ſeruice to the Pope? This maxime therfore is to be held for a principle vnmooueable and indubitable; that, If ſubiects deſire the life of their Kings to bee ſecured; they muſt not yeeld the Pope one inch of power, to depriue their Kings of their Thrones and Crownes, by depoſing their Kings.

" The Lord Cardinall teſtifieth no leſſe himſelfe in theſe words: *If thoſe*
" *monſters of men, and furies of hell, by whom the life-blood of our two laſt Kings was*
" *let out, had euer beene acquainted with Lawes Eccleſiaſticall, they might haue read*
" *themſelues adiudged by the Councill of Conſtance to expreſſe damnation.* For in theſe words, the L. Cardinall preferreth a bill of inditement to caſt his Holineſſe; who, vpon the commencing of the Leaguers warres, in ſtead of giuing order for the publiſhing of the ſaid Eccleſiaſticall Lawes for the reſtraining of all parricidicall practiſes and attempts, fell to the terrour of his fulminations, which not long after were ſeconded and ratified by the moſt audatious and bloody murder of King *Henry* III. In like manner, the whole Clergy of *France* are wrapped vp by the L. Cardinals words, and inuolued in the perill of the ſaid inditement: For in ſtead of preaching the ſaid Eccleſiaſticall Lawes, by which all King-killing is inhibited; the Prieſts taught, vented, and publiſhed nothing but rebellion; and when the people in great deuotion came to powre their confeſſions into the Prieſts eares; then the Prieſts, with a kind of counterbuffe in the ſecond place when their turne was come, and with greater deuotion, powred blood into the eares of the people; out of which roote grewe the terrour of thoſe cruell warres, and the horrible parricide of that good King.

But let vs here take ſome neere ſight of theſe Eccleſiaſticall Lawes, whereby ſubiects are inhibited to kill, or deſperately to diſpatch their Kings out of the way. The Lord Cardinall, for full payment of all ſcores

vpon

vpon this reckoning, layeth downe the credit of the Councill at *Constance*, which neuertheleſſe affoardeth not one myte of trew and currant payment: The trewth of the hiſtory may bee taken from this briefe relation. *Iohn* Duke of Burgundy, procured *Lewis* Duke of Orleans to be murthered in Paris: To iuſtifie and make good this bloody acte, he produced a certaine petimaſter, one called by the name of *Iohn Petit*. This little *Iohn* cauſed nine propoſitions to be giuen foorth or ſet vp, to bee diſcuſſed in the famous Vniuerſitie of Paris: The ſumme of all to this purpoſe; It is lawfull, iuſt, and honourable, for euery ſubiect or priuate perſon, either by open force and violence, or by deceit and ſecret lying in waite, or by ſome wittie ſtratagem, or by any other way of fact, to kil a Tyrant practiſing againſt his King, and other higher powers; yea the King ought in reaſon, to giue him a penſion or ſtipend, that hath killed any perſon diſloyal to his Prince. The words of *Petits* firſt propoſition be theſe: *It is lawfull for euery ſubiect, without any command or commiſsion from the higher powers, by all the Lawes of nature, of man, and of God himſelfe, to kill or cauſe to be killed any Tyrant, who either by a couetous and greedie deſire, or by fraud, by diuination vpon caſting of Lots, by double and treacherous dealing, doeth plot or practiſe againſt his Kings corporall health, or the health of his higher powers.* In the third propoſition: *It is lawfull for euery ſubiect, honourable and meritorious, to kill the ſaid Tyrant, or cauſe him to be killed as a Traitor, diſloyall and trecherous to his King.* In the ſixt propoſition: *The King is to appoint a ſalarie and recompence for him that hath killed ſuch a Tyrant, or hath cauſed him to bee killed.* Theſe propoſitions of *Iohannes Paruus*, were condemned by the Councill of Conſtance, as impious, and tending to the ſcandall of the Church. Now then, whereas the ſaid Councill no doubt vnderſtood the name or word Tyrant in the ſame ſenſe, wherein it was taken by *Iohannes Paruus*; certaine it is, the Councill was not of any ſuch iudgement or mind, to condemne one that ſhould kill a King or Soueraigne Prince; but one that by treaſon, and without commandement ſhould kill a ſubiect, rebelling and practiſing againſt his King. For *Iohn Petit* had vndertaken to iuſtifie the making away of the Duke of Orleans to be a lawfull acte, and calls that Duke a Tyrant, albeit hee was no Soueraigne Prince; as all the aboue recited words of *Iohn Petit* doe teſtifie, that he ſpeaketh of ſuch a Tyrant, as being in ſtate of ſubiection, rebelleth againſt his free and abſolute Prince: So that whoſoeuer ſhall narrowly ſearch and looke into the mind and meaning of the ſaid Council, ſhal eaſily perceiue, that by their decrees the ſafetie of Kings was not confirmed but weakened, not augmented but diminiſhed; for as much as they inhibited priuate perſons to kill a Subiect, attempting by wicked counſels and practiſes to make away his King.

Gerſon.

But be it granted, the Councill of Conſtance is flat and altogether direct againſt King-killers; For I am not vnwilling to be perſwaded, that had the queſtion then touched the murdering of Soueraigne Princes, the ſaid Councill would haue paſſed a ſound and holy decree: But, I ſay, this gran-

ted, what ſheild of defence is hereby reached to Kings, to ward or beat off the thruſt of a murderers weapon, and to ſaue or ſecure their life? ſeeing the L. Cardinall, building vpon the ſubtile deuiſe and ſhift of the *Ieſuites*, hath taught vs out of their Schooles, that by Kings are vnderſtood Kings in *eſſe*, not yet fallen from the ſupreame degree of Soueraigne Royaltie: For being once depoſed by the Pope, (ſay the *Ieſuites*) they are no longer Kings, but are fallen from the rights of Soueraigne dignitie; and conſequently to make ſtrip and waſt of their blood, is not forſooth to make ſtrip and waſt of Royall blood. The *Ieſuiticall* maſters, in the file of their words are ſo ſupple and ſo limber, that by leauing ſtill in their ſpeech ſome ſtarting hole or other, they are able by the ſame, as by a poſterne or backdoore, to make an eſcape.

Meane while the Readers are here to note (for well they may) a tricke of monſtrous and moſt wicked cunning. The L. Cardinall contends for the bridling and hampering of King-killers by the Lawes Eccleſiaſticall. Now it might be preſumed, that ſo reuerend and learned a Cardinal intending to make vſe of Eccleſiaſticall Lawes, by vertue whereof the life of Kings may be ſecured, would fill his mouth and garniſh the point with diuine Oracles, that wee might the more gladly and willingly giue him the hearing, when hee ſpeakes as one furniſhed with ſufficient weight and authoritie of ſacred Scripture. But behold, in ſtead of the authenticall and moſt ancient word, hee propounds the decree of a lateborne Councill at Conſtance, neither for the Popes tooth, nor any way comming neere the point in controuerſie. And ſuppoſe it were pertinent vnto the purpoſe, the L. Cardinall beareth in his hand a forke of diſtinction, with two tines or teeth to beare off, nay to ſhift off and to auoid the matter with meere dalliance. The ſhorteſt and neereſt way (in ſome ſort of reſpects) to eſtabliſh a falſe opinion, is to charge or ſet vpon it with falſe and with ridiculous reaſons. The like way to worke the ouerthrow of trew doctrine, is to reſt or ground it vpon friuolous reaſons or authorities of ſtubble-weight. For example; if we ſhould thus argue for the immortalitie of the ſoule with *Plato*: The ſwan ſingeth before her death; *ergo*, the ſoule is immortall. Or thus with certaine ſeduced Chriſtians: The Pope hath ordained the word of God to be authenticall: *ergo*, all credit muſt be giuen to diuine Scripture. Vpon the ſpurkies or hookes of ſuch ridiculous arguments and friuolous reaſons, the L. Cardinall hangs the life and ſafetie of Kings.

In Phædone.

With like artificiall deuiſes hee pretendeth to haue the infamous murders, and appoſted cutting of Kings throats in extreame deteſtation; and yet by depoſing them from their Princely dignities, by degrading them from their ſupreame and Soueraigne authorities, hee brings their ſacred heads to the butchers blocke: For a King depoſed by the Pope, (let no man doubt) will not leaue any ſtone vnremooued, nor any meanes and wayes vnattempted, nor any forces or powers of men vnleuied or vnhired, to defend himſelfe and his Regall dignitie, to repreſſe and bring vnder his rebellious

bellious people, by the Pope discharged of their alleagiance. In this perplexitie of the publike affaires, in these tempestuous perturbations of the State, with what perils is the King not besieged and assaulted? His head is exposed to the chances of warre; his life a faire marke to the insidious practises of a thousand traitours; his Royall person obuious to the dreadfull storme of angry fortune, to the deadly malice, to the fatall and mortall weapons of his enemies. The reason: He is presupposed to be lawfully and orderly stripped of his Kingdome. Wil he yet hold the sterne of his Royall estate? Then is he necessarily taken for a Tyrant, reputed an vsurper, and his life is exposed to the spoile: For the publike lawes make it lawful and free, for any priuate person to enterprise against an vsurper of the Kingdome: *Euery man*, saith *Tertullian, is a souldier, to beare armes against all traitors and publike enemies.* Take from a King the title of lawfull King, you take from him the warrant of his life, and the weapons whereby he is maintained in greater securitie, then by his Royall Guard armed with swords and halberds, through whose wards and ranks, a desperate villaine will make himselfe an easie passage, being master of another mans life, because he is prodigall and careless of his owne. Such therefore as pretend so much pity towards Kings, to abhorre the bloody opening of their liuer-veine, and yet withall, to approoue their hoysting out of the Royall dignity, are iust in the veine and humour of those that say, Let vs not kill the King, but let vs disarme the King that he may die a violent death: let vs not depriue him of life, but of the meanes to defend his life: let vs not strangle the King and stop his vitall breath, so long as he remaineth King; O that were impious, O that were horrible and abominable; but let him be deposed, and then whosoeuer shall runne him through the body with a weapon vp to the very hilts, shall not beare the guilt of a King-killer. All this must be vnderstood to be spoken of Kings, who after they are despoiled of Regalitie, by sentence of deposition giuen by the Pope, are able to arme themselues, and by valiant armes doe defend their Soueraigne rights. But in case the King, blasted with Romane lightning, and stricken with Papall thunder, shall actually and speedily bee smitten downe from his high Throne of Regality, with present losse of his Kingdome; I beleeue it is almost impossible for him to warrant his owne life, who was not able to warrant his owne Kingdome. Let a cat be throwen from a high roofe to the bottome of a cellour or vault, she lighteth on her feet, and runneth away without taking any harme. A King is not like a cat, howsoeuer a cat may looke vpon a King: he cannot fall from the loftie pinacle of Royalty, to light on his feet vpon the hard pauement of a priuate state, without crushing all his bones in pieces. It hath bene the lot of very few Emperors and Kings, to outliue their Empire: For men ascend to the loftie Throne of Kings, with a soft and easie pace, by certaine steps and degrees; there be no stately staires to come downe, they tumble head and heeles together when they fall. He that hath once griped anothers Kingdome, thinks himselfe

In reos Maiestatis, vt publicos hostes omnis homo miles est. Tertul. apol. cap. 2.

ſelfe in little ſafetie, ſo long as he ſhall of his courteſie ſuffer his diſſeiſed predeceſſour to draw his breath. And ſay that ſome Princes, after their fall from their Thrones, haue eſcaped both point and edge of the Tyrants weapon; yet haue they wandred like miſerable fugitiues in forreine countreys, or elſe haue bene condemned like captiues to perpetuall impriſonment at home, a thouſand-fold worſe and more lamentable then death it ſelfe. *Dionyſius* the Tyrant of *Syracuſa*, from a great King in *Sicilie* tur'nd Schoolemaſter in *Corinth*. It was the onely calling and kind of life, that as he thought bearing ſome reſemblance of rule and gouernment, might recreate his mind, as an image or picture of his former Soueraigntie ouer men. This *Dionyſius* was the onely man (to my knowledge) that had a humour to laugh after the loſſe of a Kingdome, and in the ſtate of a Pedant or gouernour of children, merily to ieaſt and to ſcorne his former ſtate and condition of a King. In this my Kingdome of *England*, ſundry Kings haue ſeene the walls as it were of their Princely fortreſſe diſmantled, razed, and beaten downe. By name, *Edward* and *Richard*, both II. and *Henrie* the VI. all which Kings were moſt cruelly murdered in priſon. In the reigne of *Edward* III. by Acte of Parliament, *Whoſoeuer ſhall imagine*, (that is the very word of the Statute) *or machinate the Kings death, are declared guiltie of Rebellion and high Treaſon.* The learned Iudges of the Land, grounding vpon this Law of *Edward* the third, haue euer ſince reputed and iudged them traitors according to Law, that haue dared onely to whiſper or talke ſoftly betweene the teeth, of depoſing the King: For they count it a cleare caſe, that no Crowne can be taken from a Kings head, without loſſe of Head and Crowne together, ſooner or later.

The L. Cardinal therefore in this moſt weightie and ſerious point doth meerely dally and flowt after a ſort, when hee tells vs, *The Church doeth not intermeddle with releaſing of ſubiects, and knocking off their yrons of obedience, but onely before the Eccleſiaſticall tribunall ſeat; and that beſides this double cenſure, of abſolution to ſubiects, and excommunication to the Prince, the Church impoſeth none other penaltie. Vnder pretence of which two cenſures, ſo farre is the Church* (as the L. Cardinall pretendeth) *from conſenting that any man ſo cenſured ſhould bee touched for his life, that ſhe vtterly abhorreth all murder whatſoeuer; but eſpecially all ſudden and vnprepenced murders for feare of caſting away both body and ſoule; which often in ſudden murders goe both one way.* It hath bene made manifeſt before, that all ſuch proſcription and ſetting forth of Kings to port-ſale, hath alwaies for the traine thereof, either ſome violent and bloody death, or ſome other miſchiefe more intolerable then death it ſelfe. What are we the better, that parricides of Kings are neither ſet on, nor approued by the Church in their abominable actions; when ſhee layeth ſuch plots, and taketh ſuch courſes, as neceſſarily doe inferre the cutting of their throates? In the next place be it noted, that his Lordſhip againſt all reaſon, reckons the abſoluing of ſubiects from the oath of alleagiance, in the ranke of penalties awarded and enioyned before the Eccleſiaſticall tribunall ſeate: For this

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penaltie

penaltie is not Ecclesiasticall, but Ciuill, and consequently not triable in Ecclesiasticall Courts, without vsurping vpon the Ciuill Magistrate. But I wonder with what face the L. Cardinall can say, The Church neuer consenteth to any practise against his life, whom she hath once chastised with seuere censures: For can his Lordship be ignorant, what is written by Pope *Vrbanus*, *Can. Excommunicatorum. Wee take them not in any wise to bee man-slayers, who in a certaine heat of zeale towards the Catholike Church their Mother, shall happen to kill an excommunicate person.* More, if the Pope doth not approoue and like the practise of King-killing, wherefore hath not his Holinesse imposed some seuere censure vpon the booke of *Mariana* the Iesuite (by whom parricides are commended, nay highly extolled) when his Holinesse hath beene pleased to take the paines to censure and call in some other of *Mariana's* bookes? Againe, wherefore did his Holinesse aduise himselfe to censure the Decree of the Court of Parliament in *Paris* against *Iohn Chastell?* Wherefore did hee suffer *Garnet* and *Oldcorne* my powder-miners, both by bookes and pictures vendible vnder his nose in *Rome*, to be inrowled in the Canon of holy Martyrs? And when hee saw two great Kings murdered one after another, wherefore by some publike declaration did not his Holinesse testifie to all Christendome, his inward sense and trew apprehension of so great misfortune, as all *Europe* had iust cause to lament on the behalfe of *France?* Wherefore did not his Holinesse publish some Law or Pontificiall Decree, to prouide for the securitie of Kings in time to come? Trew it is, that he censured *Becanus* his booke: But wherefore? That by a captious and sleight censure, he might preuent a more exact and rigorous Decree of the *Sorbone* Schoole: For the Popes checke to *Becanus*, was onely a generall censure and touch, without any particular specification of matter touching the life of Kings. About some two moneths after, the said booke was printed againe, with a dedication to the Popes *Nuntio* in *Germany*; yet without any alteration, saue onely of two articles conteining the absolute power of the people ouer Kings. In recompence and for a counterchecke whereof, three or foure articles were inserted into the said booke, touching the Popes power ouer Kings; articles no lesse wicked & iniurious to Regall rights; nay more iniurious then any of the other clauses, whereof iust cause of exception and complaint had bene giuen before. If I would collect and heape vp examples of ancient Emperours, (as of *Henrie* IV. whose dead corps felt the rage and furie of the Pope; or of *Frederic* II. against whom the Pope was not ashamed to whet and kindle the Sultane; or of Queene *Elizabeth* our Predecessour, of glorious memorie, whose life was diuers times assaulted by priuie murderers, expressly dispatched from *Rome* for that holy seruice) if I would gather vp other examples of the same stampe, which I haue layd forth in my Apologie for the oath of alleagiance; I could make it more cleare then day-light, how farre the L. Cardinals words are discrepant from the trewth, where his Lordship out of most rare confidence is bold to auow, *That neuer any*

Can. excom. Caus. 23. Quæst. 6.

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any Pope went so farre, as to giue consent or counsell for the desperate murdering of Princes. That which already hath bene alleadged may suffice to conuince his Lordship: I meane, that his Holinesse by deposing of Kings, doeth lead them directly to their graues and tombes.

The Cardinall himselfe seemeth to take some notice hereof. *The Church* (as he speaketh) *abhorreth sudden and vnprepensed murders aboue the rest.* Doth not his Lordship in this phrase of speech acknowledge, that murders committed by open force, are not so much disauowed or disclaimed by the Church? A little after he speakes not in the teeth, as before, but with full and open mouth; that hee doeth not dislike a King once deposed by the Pope, should be pursued with open warre: Whereupon it followes, that in warre the King may be lawfully slaine. No doubt a remarkeable degree of his Lordships clemencie. A King shall bee better entreated and more mildly dealt withal, if he be slaine by the shot of an harquebuse or caleeuer in the field, then if hee bee stabd by the stroke or thrust of a knife in his chamber: or if at a siege of some city hee be blowne vp with a myne, then by a myne made, and a traine of gunpowder laid vnder his Palace or Parliament house in time of peace. His reason: Forsooth, because in sudden murders, oftentimes the soule and the body perish both together. O singular bountie, and rare clemencie! prouokers, instigators, strong puffers and blowers of parricides, in mercifull compassion of the soule, become vnmercifull and shamefull murderers of the body. This deuice may well claime and challenge kinred of *Mariana* the *Iesuites* inuention: For he liketh not at any hand the poisoning of a Tyrant by his meat or drinke; for feare lest he taking the poison with his owne hand, and swallowing or gulping it downe in his meate or drinke so taken, should be found *felo de se*, (as the common Lawyer speaketh) or culpable of his owne death. But *Mariana* likes better, to haue a Tyrant poysoned by his chaire, or by his apparell and robes, after the example of the *Mauritanian* Kings; that being so poysoned onely by sent, or by contact, he may not be found guiltie of selfe-fellonie, and the soule of the poore Tyrant in her flight out of the body may be innocent. O hel-hounds, O diabolical wretches, O infernall monsters! Did they onely suspect and imagine, that either in Kings there is any remainder of Kingly courage, or in their subiects any sparke left of ancient libertie; they durst as soone eat their nailes, or teare their owne flesh from the bones, as once broach the vessell of this diabolicall deuice. How long then, how long shall Kings whom the Lord hath called his Anointed, Kings the breathing Images of God vpon earth; Kings that with a wry or frowning looke, are able to crush these earth-wormes in pieces; how long shall they suffer this viperous brood, scotfree and without punishment, to spit in their faces? how long, the Maiestie of GOD in their person and Royall Maiestie, to be so notoriously vilified, so dishonourably trampled vnder foot?

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The L. Cardinall borads vs with a like manifest ieast, and notably trifles; first,

first, distinguishing betweene Tyrants by administration, and Tyrants by vsurpation; then shewing that he by no meanes doeth approue those prophane and heathenish Lawes, whereby secret practises and conspiracies against a Tyrant by administration are permitted. His reason; *Because after deposition there is a certaine habitude to Royall dignitie, and as it were a kinde of politicke Character inherent in Kings, by which they are discerned from persons meerely priuate, or the common sort of people; and the obstacle, crosse-barre, or sparre once remooued and taken out of the way, the said Kings deposed are at length reinuested and endowed againe with lawfull vse of Royall dignitie, and with lawfull administration of the Kingdome.* Is it possible that his Lordship can speake and vtter these words according to the inward perswasion of his heart? I beleeue it not. For admit a King cast out of his Kingdome were sure to escape with life; yet being once reduced to a priuate state of life, after hee hath wound or wrought himselfe out of deadly danger, so farre he is from holding or retayning any remainder of dignity or politike impression, that on the contrary he falleth into greater contempt and misery, then if he had bene a very peasant by birth, and had neuer held or gouerned the sterne of Royall estate. What fowle is more beautifull then the peacocke? Let her be plumed and bereft of her feathers; what owle, what iacke-daw more ridiculous, more without all pleasant fashion? The homely sowter, the infamous catchpol, the base tincker, the rude artificer, the pack-horse-porter, then liuing in Rome with libertie, when *Valentinian* was detain'd captiue by *Saporas* the Persian King, was more happie then that Romane Emperour. And in case the L. Cardinall himselfe should bee so happie (I should say so vnfortunate) to be stript of all his dignities and Ecclesiasticall promotions; would it not redound to his Lordships wonderfull consolation, that in his greatest extremity, in the lowest of his bareneſſe and nakednesse, he still retaineth a certaine habituall right and character of a Cardinall, whereby to recouer the losse of his former dignities and honours? when hee beholds these prints and impressions of his foresaid honours; would it not make him the more willing and glad, to forsake the backe of his venerable mule, to vse his Cardinals foot-cloath no longer, but euer after like a Cardinall in print and character, to walke on foot?

But let vs examine his Lordships consolation of Kings, thrust out of their kingdomes by the Pope for heresie. *The obstacle* (as the L. Cardinall speaketh) *being taken away*; that is to say, when the King shall be reformed; *this habituall right and character yet inherent in the person of a King, restores him to the lawfull administration of his Kingdome.* I take this to be but a cold comfort: For here his Lordship doeth onely presuppose, and not prooue, that after a King is thrust out of his Throne, when hee shall repent and turne trew Romane Catholike, the other by whom he hath bene cast out, and by force disseised, will recall him to the Royall seat, and faithfully settle him againe in his ancient right, as one that reioyceth for the recouery of such a lost sheepe. But I should rather feare, the new King would presse and stand

vpon

vpon other termes; as a terme of yeeres for a triall, whether the repentance of the King displaced be trew & sound to the coare, or counterfeit, dissembled, and painted holines; for the words, the sorrowfull and heauie lookes, the sad and formall gestures, of men pretending repentance, are not alwayes to bee taken, to be respected, to be credited. Againe, I should feare the afflicted King might be charged and borne downe too, that albeit hee hath renounced his former heresie, hee hath stumbled since at an other stone, and runne the ship of his faith against some other rocke of new hereticall prauitie. Or I should yet feare, he might be made to beleeue, that heresie maketh a deeper impression, and a character more indeleble in the person, then is the other politike character of Regal Maiestie. Alas, good Kings! in how hard, in how miserable a state doe they stand? Once deposed, and euer barred of repentance: As if the scapes and errors of Kings, were all sinnes against the Holy Ghost, or sinnes vnto death, for which it is not lawfull to pray. Falls a priuate person? he may be set vp, and new established. Falls a King? is a King deposed? his repentance is euer fruitlesse, euer vnprofitable. Hath a priuate person a traine of seruants? He can not be depriued of any one without his priuitie and consent. Hath a King millions of subiects? He may be depriued by the Pope of a third part, when his Holinesse will haue them turne Clerics or enter Cloisters, without asking the King leaue: and so of subiects they may be made non-subiects.

But I question yet further. A King falling into heresie, is deposed by the Pope, his sonne stands pure Catholike. The Regal seat is empty. Who shall succeed in the deposed Kings place? Shall a stranger be preferred by the Pope? That were to doe the innocent sonne egregious and notorious wrong. Shall the sonne himselfe? That were a more iniurious part in the sonne against his father: For if the sonne bee touched with any feare of God, or mooued with any reuerence towards his father, hee will diligently and seriously take heed, that hee put not his father by the Kingdome, by whose meanes he himselfe is borne to a Kingdome. Nor will hee tread in the steps of *Henry* the V. Emperour, who by the Popes instigation, expelled and chased his aaged father out of the Imperiall dignitie. Much lesse wil he hearken to the voice and aduise of Doctor *Suares* the *Iesuite*; who, in his booke written against my selfe, a booke applauded and approoued of many Doctours, after hee hath like a Doctour of the chaire, pronounced, *That a King deposed by the Pope, cannot bee lawfully expelled or killed, but onely by such as the Pope hath charged with such execution*: falleth to adde a little after: *If the Pope shall declare a King to bee an heretike, and fallen from the Kingdome, without making further declaration touching execution*; that is to say, without giuing expresse charge vnto any to make away the King: *then the lawfull successour beeing a Catholike, hath power to doe the feate; and if he shall refuse, or if there shall be none such, then it appertaineth to the comminaltie or body of the Kingdome.* A most detestable sentence: For in hereditarie Kingdomes, who is the Kings lawfull successour, but his sonne?

Lib.6.cap.4.Si Papa Regem deponat, ab illis tantum poterit, expelli vel interfici, quibus ipse id commiserit.

The

The ſonne then by this doctrine, ſhall imbrew his hands in his owne fathers blood, ſo ſoone as he ſhall be depoſed by the Pope. A matter ſo much the neerer and more deepely to bee apprehended, becauſe the ſaid moſt outragious booke flyeth like a furious maſtiffe directly at my throat, and withall inſtilleth ſuch precepts into the tender diſpoſition of my ſonne, as if hereafter hee ſhall become a Romane Catholike, ſo ſoone as the Pope ſhall giue me the lift out of my Throne, ſhall bind him forthwith to make effuſion of his owne fathers blood. Such is the religion of theſe reuerend Fathers, the pillars of the Pontificiall Monarchie: In compariſon of whoſe religion and holineſſe, all the impietie that euer was among the Infidels, and all the barbarous crueltie that euer was among the Canibals, may paſſe hencefoorth in the Chriſtian world for pure clemencie and humanitie. Theſe things ought his Lordſhip to haue pondered, rather then to babble of habitudes and politike characters, which to the common people are like the Bergamaſque or the wilde-Iriſh forme of ſpeach, and paſſe their vnderſtanding.

All theſe things are nothing in a maner, if we compare them with the laſt clauſe, which is the cloſer, and as it were the vpſhot of his Lordſhips diſcourſe: For therein he laboureth to perſwade concerning this Article, framed to bridle the Popes tyrannicall power ouer Kings, if it ſhould receiue gracious entertainement, and generall approbation; *That it would breed great danger, and worke effects of pernicious conſequence vnto Kings.* The reaſon: *becauſe it would prooue an introduction to ſchiſme; and ſchiſme would ſtirre vp ciuil warres, contempt of Kings, diſtempered inclinations and motions to intrap their life; and which is worſt of all, the fierce wrath of God, inflicting all ſorts of calamities.* An admirable paradoxe, and able to ſtrike men ſtone-blind: that his Holineſſe muſt haue power to depoſe Kings, for the better ſecurity and ſafegard of their life; that when their Crownes are made ſubiect vnto anothers will and pleaſure, then they are come to the higheſt altitude and eleuation of honour; that for the onely warrant of their life, their ſupreme and abſolute greatneſſe muſt be depreſſed; that for the longer keeping of their Crownes, another muſt plucke the Crowne from their heads. As if it ſhould be ſaid, Would they not be ſtript naked by another? the beſt way is, for themſelues to vntruſſe, for themſelues to put off all, and to goe naked of their owne accord. Wil they keepe their Souereigntie in ſafetie for euer? The beſt way is to let another haue their Soueraigne authoritie and ſupreme Eſtate in his power. But I haue bene euer of this mind, that when my goods are at no mans command or diſpoſing but mine own, then they are trewly and certainly mine owne. It may be this error is growen vpon me and other Princes for lacke of braines: whereupon it may be feared, or at leaſt coniectured, the Pope meanes to ſhaue our crownes, and thruſt vs into ſome cloiſter, there to hold ranke in the brotherhood of good King *Childeric*. Foraſmuch then as my dull capacitie doeth not ſerue mee to reach or comprehend the pith of this admirable reaſon, I haue thought good

good to ſeeke and to vſe the inſtruction of old and learned experience, which teacheth no ſuch matter: by name, that ciuill warres and fearefull perturbations of State in any nation of the world, haue at any time growen from this faithful credulity of ſubiects, that Popes in right haue no power to wreſt and lift Kings out of their dignities and poſſeſſions. On the other ſide, by eſtabliſhing the contrary maximes, to yoke and hamper the people with Pontificiall tyrannie, what rebellious troubles and ſtirres, what extreme deſolations hath *England* bene forced to feare and feele, in the Reigne of my Predeceſſours *Henrie* II. *Iohn* and *Henrie* III? Theſe be the maximes and principles, which vnder the Emperour *Henrie* IV. and *Frederic* the I. made all *Europe* flowe with channels and ſtreames of blood, like a riuer with water, while the Saracens by their incurſions and victories ouerflowed, and in a manner drowned the honour of the Chriſtian name in the Eaſt. Theſe be the maximes and principles, which made way for the warres of the laſt League into *France*; by which the very bowels of that moſt famous and flouriſhing Kingdome were ſet on ſuch a combuſtion, that *France* her ſelfe was brought within two fingers breadth of bondage to another Nation, and the death of her two laſt Kings moſt villenouſly and traiterouſly accompliſhed. The L. Cardinall then giuing theſe diabolicall maximes for meanes to ſecure the life and Eſtate of Kings, ſpeaketh as if he would giue men counſell to dry themſelues in the riuer, when they come as wet as a water ſpaniell out of a pond; or to warme themſelues by the light of the Moone, when they are ſtark-naked, and well neere frozen to death.

THE CONCLVSION OF THE LORD OF PERRON EXAMINED.

AFter the L. Cardinal hath ſtoutly ſhewed the ſtrength of his arme, and the deepe skill of his head in fortification; at laſt he leaues his loftie ſcaffolds, and falls to worke neerer the ground, with more caſie tooles of humble praiers and gentle exhortations. The ſumme of the whole is this: *He adiures his auditors neuer to forge remedies, neuer ſo to prouide for the temporall ſafetie of Kings, as thereby to worke their finall falling from eternall ſaluation: neuer to make any rent or rupture in the vnitie of the Church, in this corrupt aage infected with peſtilent Hereſies, which already hauing made ſo great a breach in the walles of* France, *will no doubt double their ſtrength by the diſſentions, diuiſions, and ſchiſmes of Catholikes. If this infectious plague ſhall ſtill increaſe and grow to a carbuncle, it can by no meanes poyſon Religion, without bringing Kings to their winding ſheetes and wofull hearſes. The firſt rowlers of that ſtone of offence, aimed at no other*

other marke, then to make an ignominious and lamentable rent in the Church. Hee thinks the Deputies of the third Estate, had neither head nor first hand in contriuing this Article; but holds it rather a new deuice and subtile inuention, suggested by persons, which beeing already cut off by their owne practises from the body of the Romane Church, haue likewise inueigled and insnared some that beare the name of Catholiks, with some other Ecclesiastics; and vnder a faire pretence and goodly cloake, by name, the seruice of the King, haue surprised and played vpon their simplicitie. These men (as the Cardinall saith) *doe imitate* Iulian *the Apostata, who to bring the Christians to idolatrous worship of false gods, commaunded the idols of* Iupiter *and* Venus *to be intermingled with Imperiall statues, and other Images of Christian Emperours, &c.* Then after certaine Rhetoricall flourishes, his Lordship fals to prosecute his former course, and cries out of this Article; *A monster hauing the tayle of a fish, as if it came cutting the narrow Seas out of* England: *For in full effect it is dowaright the* English *oath; sauing that indeed the oath of* England *runneth in a more mild forme, and a more moderate straine.* And here he suddenly takes occasion to make some digression: For out of the way, and cleane from the matter, he entreth into some purpose *of my praise and commendation*: He courteously forsooth is pleased to grace mee *with knowledge of learning, and with ciuill vertues*: He seemeth chiefly to reioyce in his owne behalfe, and to giue me thanks, *that I haue done him the honour to enter the lists of Theologicall dispute against his Lordship.* Howbeit he twitches and carpes at me withall, as at one that soweth seeds of dissention and schisme amongst Romane Catholiks: And yet he would seeme to qualifie the matter, and to make all whole againe, by saying, *That in so doing I am perswaded I doe no more then my duetie requires. But now* (as his Lordship followes the point) *it standeth neither with godlinesse, nor with equity, nor with reason, that Acts made, that Statutes, Decrees, and Ordinances ratified for the State and Gouernement of* England, *should be thrust for binding Laws vpon the Kingdome of* France: *nor that Catholikes, and much lesse that Ecclesiastics, to the ende they may liue in safetie, and freely enioy their priuiledges or immunities in* France, *should be forced to beleeue, and by oath to seale the same points, which* English *Catholikes to the end they may purchase libertie onely to breath, nay sorrowfully to sigh rather, are constrained to allow and to aduow besides. And whereas in* England *there is no small number of Catholikes, that lacke not constant and resolute minds to endure all sorts of punishment, rather then to take that oath of allegiance; will there not be found an other manner of number in* France, *armed with no lesse constancie and Christian resolution? There will, most honourable Auditors, there will without all doubt: and we all that are of Episcopall dignity will sooner suffer Martyrdome in the cause.* Then out of the super abundance and ouerweight of his Lordships goodnes, he closely coucheth and conuayeth a certaine distastfull opposition betweene mee and his King; with praises and thanks to God, that *his King is not delighted, & takes no pleasure to make Martyrs.*

All this Artificiall and swelling discourse like vnto puffe-past, if it be viewed at a neere distance, will be found like a bladder full of wind, without any soliditie of substantiall matter. For the Deputies of the third

Estate were neuer so voide of vnderstanding, to beleeue that by prouiding for the life and safety of their King, they should thrust him headlong into eternall damnation. Their braines were neuer so much blasted, so farre benummed, to dreame the soule of their King cannot mount vp to heauen, except he be dismounted from his Princely Throne vpon earth, whensoeuer the Pope shall hold vp his finger.

And whereas he is bold to pronounce, that heretikes of *France* doe make their benefit and aduantage of this diuision; that speech is grounded vpon this proposition; That professors of the Christian Religion reformed (which is to say, purged and cleansed of all Popish dregs) are heretikes in fact, and ought so to bee reputed in right: Which proposition his Lordship will neuer soundly and sufficiently make good, before his Holinesse hath compiled an other Gospell, or hath forged an other Bible at his Pontificiall anuile. The L. Cardinall vndertooke to reade mee a lecture vpon that argument; but euer since hath played Mum-budget, and hath put himselfe to silence, like one at a Non-plus in his enterprise. There be three yeeres already gone and past, since his Lordship beganne to shape some answere to a certaine writing dispatched by mee in few daies: With forming and reforming, with filing and polishing, with labouring and licking his answere ouer and ouer againe, with reiterated extractions and calcinations, it may be coniectured that all his Lordships labour and cost is long since evaporated and vanished in the aire. Howbeit, as well the friendly conference of a King, (for I will not call it a contention) as also the dignitie, excellencie, and importance of the matter, long since deserued, and as long since required the publishing of some or other answere. His Lordships long silence will neuer be imputed to lacke of capacity, wherewith who knoweth not how abundantly he is furnished; but rather to well aduised agnition of his owne working and building vpon a weake foundation.

But let vs returne vnto these heretikes, that make so great gaine by the disagreement of Catholikes. It is no part of their dutie to aime at sowing of dissentions; but rather to intend and attend their faithfull performance of seruice to their King. If some be pleased, and others offended, when so good and loyall duties are sincerely discharged; it is for all good subiects to grieue and to be sory, that when they speake for the safetie of their King & honour of the trewth, it is their hard hap to leaue any at all vnsatisfied. But suppose the said heretiks were the Authors of this article preferred by the third Estate: What need they to conceale their names in that regard? What need they to disclaime the credit of such a worthy act? Would it not redound to their perpetuall honour, to be the onely subiects that kept watch ouer the Kings life and Crowne, that stood centinell, and walked the rounds for the preseruation of his Princely diademe, when all other had no more touch, no more feeling thereof then so many stones? And what neede the Deputies for the third Estate, to receiue instructions from foraine Kingdomes, concerning a cause of that nature; when there was no want

no want of domesticall examples, and the French histories were plentifull in that argument? What neede they to gape for this reformed doctrine, to come swimming with a fishes tayle out of an Island to the mayne continent, when they had before their eyes the murders of two Kings, with diuerse ciuill warres, and many Arrests of Court, all tending to insinuate and suggest the introduction of the same remedy? Suggestions are needlesse from abroad, when the mischiefe is felt at home. It seemes to me that his Lordship in smoothing and tickling the Deputies for the third Estate, doth no lesse then wring and wrong their great sufficiencie with contumely and outragious abuse; as if they were not furnished with sufficient foresight, and with loyall affection towards their King, for the preseruation of his life and honour, if the remedie were not beaten into their heads by those of the Religion, reputed heretikes.

Touching my selfe, ranged by his Lordship in the same ranke with sowers of dissention; I take my God to witnes, and my owne conscience, that I neuer dream'd of any such vnchristian proiect. It hath beene hitherto my ordinary course to follow honest counsells, and to walke in open waies. I neuer wonted my selfe to holes and corners, to crafty shifts, but euermore to plaine and open designes. I neede not hide mine intentions for feare of any mortall man, that puffeth breath of life out of his nostrils. Nor in any sort doe I purpose, to set *Iulian* the Apostata before mine eyes, as a patterne for me to follow. *Iulian* of a Christian became a Pagan: I professe the same faith of Christ still, which I haue euer professed: *Iulian* went about his designes with crafty conueiances; I neuer with any of his captious and cunning sleights: *Iulian* forced his subiects to infidelitie against Iesus Christ; I labour to induce my subiects vnto such tearmes of loyalty towards my selfe, as Iesus Christ hath prescribed and taught in his word. But how farre I differ from *Iulian*, it is to be seene more at large in my answere to *Bellarmines* Epistles written to *Blackwell*; from whence the Lord Cardinall borrowing this example, it might well haue beseemed his Lordship to borrow likewise my answere from the same place.

Now as it mooues me nothing at all, to be drawne by his Lordship into suspitions of this nature and qualitie: so by the prayses, that he rockes me withall, I will neuer be lulled asleepe. To commend a man for his knowledge, and withall to take from him the feare of God, is to admire a souldier for his goodly head of haire or his curled locks, and withall to call him base coward, faint-hearted and fresh-water souldier. Knowledge, wit, and learning in an hereticke, are of none other vse and seruice, but only to make him the more culpable, & consequently obnoxious to the more grieuous punishments. All vertues turne to vices, when they become the seruants of impietie. The hand-maids which the Soueraigne Lady Wisedome calleth to be of her traine in the 9. Prouerb. are morall vertues, and humane sciences; which then become pernicious, when they run away from their Soueraigne Lady-Mistris, and put ouer themselues in seruice to the

diuel. What difference is betweene two men, both alike wanting the knowledge of God; the one furnished with arts and ciuill vertues, the other brutishly barbarous and of a deformed life, or of prophane maners? What is the difference betweene these two? I make this the onely difference: the first goeth to hell with a better grace, and falleth into perdition with more facilitie, then the second: But hee becommeth exceedingly wicked, euen threefold and fourefold abominable, if he wast his treasure and stocke of ciuill vertues in persecuting the Church of CHRIST: and if that may be layd in his dish which was cast in *Cæsars* teeth, that in plaine sobernes and well-setled temper, he attempts the ruine of the Common-wealth, which from a drunken sot might receiue perhaps a more easie fall. In briefe, I scorne all garlands of praises, which are not euer greene; but being dry and withered for want of sap and radicall moysture, doe flagge about barbarous Princes browes. I defie and renounce those praises, which fit mee no more then they fit a *Mahumetane* King of *Marocco*. I contest against all praises which grace me with petie accessories, but rob me of the principall, that one thing necessary; namely, the feare and knowledge of my GOD: vnto whose Maiestie alone, I haue deuoted my Scepter, my sword, my penne, my whole industrie, my whole selfe, with all that is mine in whole and in part. I doe it, I doe it in all humble acknowledgement of his vnspeakable mercie and fauour, who hath vouchsafed to deliuer me from the erroneous way of this aage, to deliuer my Kingdome from the Popes tyrannicall yoke, vnder which it hath lyen in times past most grieuously oppressed: My Kingdom where God is now purely serued, and called vpon in a tongue which all the vulgar vnderstand: My Kingdome, where the people may now reade the Scriptures without any special priuiledge from the Apostolike See, and with no lesse libertie then the people of Ephesus, of Rome, and of Corinth did reade the holy Epistles, written to their Churches by *S. Paul*: My Kingdome, where the people now pay no longer any tribute by the poll for Papall indulgences, as they did about an hundred yeeres past, and are no longer compelled to the mart, for pardons beyond the Seas and mountaines, but haue them now freely offered from God, by the doctrine of the Gospel preached at home within their owne seuerall parishes and iurisdictions. If the Churches of my Kingdome, in the L. Cardinals accompt, bee miserable for these causes and the like; let him dreame on, and talke his pleasure: for my part I will euer auow, that more worth is our misery then all his felicitie. For the rest, it shal by Gods grace be my daily endeauour and serious care, to passe my daies in shaping to my selfe such a course of life, that without shamefull calumniating of my person, it shall not rest in the tip of any tongue, to touch my life with iust reprehension or blame. Nor am I so priuie to mine owne guiltinesse, as to thinke my state so desperate, so deplorable, as Popes haue made their owne: For some of them haue bene so open-hearted and so tongue-free, to pronounce that Popes themselues, the key-bearers of Heauen and hell, cannot be

Aliquot annis post, Apostolicæ sedis nuncius in Angliam ad colligendum S. Petri vectigal missus. Onuphri. in vit. Paul. 4. Vide & Math. Paris.

be ſaued. Two Popes, reckoned among the beſt of the whole bunch or packe, namely, *Adrian* the IV. and *Marcelline* the II. haue both ſung one and the ſame note; that in their vnderſtanding they could not conceiue any reaſon why, or any meanes how thoſe that ſway the Popedome can be partakers of ſaluation; But for my particular, grounding my faith vpon the promiſes of God contained in the Goſpel, I doe confidently and aſſuredly beleeue, that repenting me of my ſinnes, and repoſing my whole truſt in the merits of IESVS CHRIST, I ſhall obtaine forgiueneſſe of my ſinnes through his Name. Nor doe I feare, that I am now, or ſhall be hereafter caſt out of the Churches lap and boſome; that I now haue or hereafter ſhall haue no right to the Church as a putrified member thereof, ſo long as I do or ſhall cleaue to CHRIST IESVS, the Head of the Church: the appellation and name whereof, ſerueth in this corrupt aage, as a cloake to couer a thouſand new inuentions; and now no longer ſignifies the aſſembly of the faithfull, or ſuch as beleeue in IESVS CHRIST according to his word, but a certaine glorious oſtentation and temporall Monarchie, whereof the Pope forſooth is the ſupreame head.

Onup. de vitis Pontif. in vit. Mar. 2. doeth teſtifie, that *Marcel.* alſo after *Adrian* the 4. vſed theſe words: *Non video quo modo qui locum hunc altiſſimum tenent, ſalnari poſſint.*

But if the L. Cardinall by aſſured and certaine knowledge (as perhaps he may by common fame) did vnderſtand the horrible conſpiracies that haue bin plotted and contriued, not againſt my perſon and life alone, but alſo againſt my whole ſtocke: if he rightly knew & were inly perſwaded, of how many fowle periuries & wicked treaſons, diuers Eccleſiaſtical perſons haue bene lawfully conuicted: in ſtead of charging me with falſe imputations, that *I ſuffer not my Catholiks to fetch a ſigh, or to draw their breath; and that I thruſt my Catholikes vpon the ſharpe edge of puniſhment in euery kinde*; he would, and might well, rather wonder, how I my ſelfe, after ſo many dangers run, after ſo many proditorious ſnares eſcaped, do yet fetch my owne breath, and yet practiſe Princely clemencie towards the ſaid Catholiks, notorious trãſgreſſors of diuine & humane lawes. If the French king in the heart of his kingdom, ſhould nouriſh and foſter ſuch a neſt of ſtinging hornets and buſie waſps, I meane ſuch a pack of ſubiects, denying his abſolute Soueraignty, as many Romane Catholiks of my Kingdome do mine: It may wel be doubted, whether the L. Cardinal would aduiſe his king ſtil to feather the neſt of the ſaid Catholiks, ſtil to keep them warme, ſtil to beare them with an eaſie and gentle hand: It may wel be doubted, whether his Lordſhip would extol their conſtancie, that would haue the courage to ſheath vp their ſwords in his Kings bowels, or blow vp his King with gun-powder, into the neather ſtation of the loweſt regiõ: It may wel be doubted, whether he would indure that Orator, who (like as himſelfe hath done) ſhould ſtir vp others to ſuffer Martyrdome after ſuch examples, and to imitate parricides & traitors in their conſtancy. The ſcope then of the L. Cardinall, in ſtriking the ſweet ſtrings, and ſounding the pleaſant notes of praiſes, which faine he would fil mine eares withal; is only by his excellent skil in the muſick of Oratory, to bewitch the harts of my ſubiects, to infatuate their minds, to ſettle them in a

resolution to depriue me of my life. The reason: Because the plotters and practisers against my life, are honoured and rewarded with a glorious name of Martyrs: their constancie (what els?) is admired, when they suffer death for treason. Wheras hitherto during the time of my whole raigne to this day, (I speake it in the word of a King, and trewth it selfe shall make good the Kings word) no man hath lost his life, no man hath indured the Racke, no man hath suffered corporall punishment in other kinds, meerely or simply, or in any degree of respect, for his conscience in matter of religion; but for wicked conspiring against my life, or Estate, or Royall dignitie; or els for some notorious crime, or some obstinate and wilfull disobedience: Of which traiterous and viperous brood, I commanded one to be hanged by the necke of late in *Scotland*; a Iesuite of intolerable impudencie, who at his arraignment and publike triall, stiffely maintained, that I haue robbed the Pope of his right, and haue no manner of right in the possession of my Kingdome. His Lordship therefore in offering himselfe to Martyrdome, after the rare example of Catholiks, as he saith, suffering all sort of punishment in my Kingdome, doeth plainely professe himselfe a follower of traytors and parricides. These be the Worthies, these the heroicall spirits, these the honourable Captaines and Coronels, whose vertuous parts neuer sufficiently magnified and prayſed, his Lordshippe propoundeth for imitation to the *French* Bishops. O the name of Martyrs, in olde times a sacred name! how is it now derided and scoffed? how is it in these daies filthily prophaned? O you the whole quire and holy company of Apostles, who haue sealed the trewth with your dearest blood! how much are you disparaged? how vnfitly are you paragoned and matched, when traytors, bloody butchers, and King-killers are made your assistants, and of the same *Quorum*; or to speake in milder tearmes, when you are coupled with Martyrs that suffer for maintaining the Temporall rites of the Popes Empire? with Bishops that offer themselues to a Problematicall Martyrdome, for a point decided neither by the authorities of your Spirit-inspired pens, nor by the auncient and venerable testimonie of the Primitiue Church? for a point which they dare not vndertake to teach, otherwise then by a doubtfull, cold, fearefull way of discourse, and altogether without resolution. In good sooth, I take the Cardinall for a personage of a quicker spirit and clearer sight, (let his Lordship hold mee excused) then to perswade my selfe, that in these matters his tongue and his heart, his pen and his inward iudgement, haue any concord or correspondence one with another: For beeing very much against his minde (as hee doeth confesse) thrust into the office of an Aduocate to pleade this cause; he suffered himselfe to bee carried (after his engagement) with some heat, to vtter some things against his conscience, murmuring and grumbling the contrary within; and to affirme some other things with confidence, whereof hee had not beene otherwise informed, then onely by vaine and lying report. Of which ranke is that bold assertion of his Lordship; That many Catholiks

liks in England, rather then they would ſubſcribe to the oath of allegiance in the forme thereof, haue vndergone all ſorts of puniſhment: For in *England* (as we haue trewly giuen the whole Chriſtian world to vnderſtand in our Preface to the Apologie) there is but one forme or kind of puniſhment ordained for all ſorts of traytors.

Hath not his Lordſhip now graced me with goodly teſtimonialls of prayſe and commendation? Am I not by his prayſes proclaimed a Tyrant, as it were inebriated with blood of the Saints, and a famous Engineer of torments for my Catholikes? To this exhortation for the ſuffering of Martyrdome, in imitation of my Engliſh traytors and parricides, if wee ſhall adde; how craftily and ſubtilly hee makes the Kings of *England* to hold of the Pope by fealty, and their kingdome in bondage to the Pope by Temporall recognizance; it ſhall eaſily appeare, that his holy-water of prayſes wherewith I am ſo reuerently beſprinkled, is a compoſition extracted out of a dram of hony and a pound of gall, firſt ſteeped in a ſtrong decoction of bitter wormewood, or of the wild gourd called Coloquintida: For after he hath in the beginning of his Oration, ſpoken of Kings that owe fealtie to the Pope, and are not Soueraignes in the higheſt degree of Temporall ſupremacie within their Kingdomes; to explaine his mind and meaning the better, he marſhals the Kings of *England* a little after in the ſame ranke. His words be theſe; *When King* Iohn *of* England, *not yet bound in any temporall recognizance to the Pope, had expelled his Biſhops, &c.* His Lordſhip means, that King *Iohn* became ſo bound to the Pope not long after. And what may this meaning be, but in plaine teatmes and broad ſpeach, to call me vſurper and vnlawfull King? For the feudatarie, or he that holdeth a Mannor by fealty, when he doeth not his homage, with all ſuit and ſeruice that he owes to the Lord *Paramount*, doeth fall from the propertie of his fee. This reproach of the L. Cardinals, is ſeconded with an other of *Bellarmines* his brother Cardinall; That *Ireland* was giuen to the Kings of *England* by the Pope. The beſt is that his moſt reuerend Lordſhip hath not ſhewed, who it was that gaue *Ireland* to the Pope. Page.10.

And touching *Iohn* King of *England*, thus in briefe ſtands the whole matter. Betweene *Henry* 2. and the Pope had paſſed ſundry bickerments, about collating of Eccleſiaſticall dignities. *Iohn* the ſonne, after his fathers death, reneweth, vndertaketh, and purſueth the ſame quarrell: Driueth certaine *Engliſh* Biſhops out of the Kingdome, for defending the Popes inſolent vſurpation vpon his Royall prerogatiue, and Regall rights: Sheweth ſuch Princely courage and reſolution in thoſe times, when all that ſtood and ſuffered for the Popes Temporall pretenſions againſt Kings, were enrowled Martyrs or Confeſſors. The Pope takes the matter in fowle ſcorne, and great indignation; ſhuts the King by his excommunicatory Bulls out of the Church; ſtirres vp his Barons, for other cauſes the Kings heauy friends, to riſe in armes; giues the Kingdome of *England* (like a maſterleſſe man turned ouer to a new maſter) to *Philippus Auguſtus* King of *France*;

France; bindes *Philip* to make a conquest of *England* by the sword, or else no bargaine, or else no gift; promises *Philip*, in recompence of his trauell and Royall expences in that conquest, full absolution and a generall pardon at large for all his sinnes: to bee short, cuts King *Iohn* out so much worke, and makes him keepe so many yrons in the fire for his worke, that he had none other way, none other meanes to pacifie the Popes high displeasure, to correct or qualifie the malignitie of the Popes cholericke humour, by whom he was then so entangled in the Popes toyles, but by yeelding himselfe to become the Popes vassal, and his Kingdome feudatary, or to hold by fealty of the Papall See. By this meanes his Crowne is made tributary, all his people liable to payment of taxes by the poll for a certaine yeerely tribute, and he is blessed with a pardon for all his sinnes. Whether King *Iohn* was mooued to doe this dishonourable act vpon any deuotion, or inflamed with any zeale of Religion; or inforced by the vnresistable weapons of necessitie, who can be so blind, that he doeth not well see and clearely perceiue? For to purchase his owne freedome from this bondage to the Pope; what could he bee vnwilling to doe, that was willing to bring his Kingdome vnder the yoake of *Amirales Murmelinus* a Mahumetan Prince, then King of *Granado* and *Barbaria*? The Pope after that, sent a Legat into *England*: The King now the Popes vassall, and holding his Crowne of the Pope, like a man that holds his land of another by Knights seruice, or by homage and fealtie, doeth faire homage for his Crowne to the Popes Legat, and layeth downe at his feet a great masse of the purest gold in coyne. The reuerend Legat, in token of his Masters Soueraigntie, with more then vsuall pride falls to kicking and spurning the treasure, no doubt with a paire of most holy feet: Not onely so; but likewise at solemne feasts is easily entreated to take the Kings chaire of Estate. Heere I would faine know the Lord Cardinals opinion; whether these actions of the Pope were iust or vniust, lawfull or vnlawfull, according to right or against all right and reason. If he will say against right; it is then cleare, that against right his Lordship hath made way to this example: if according to right, let him then make it knowen, from whence or from whom this power was deriued and conueyed to the Pope, whereby hee makes himselfe Souereigne Lord of Temporalties in that Kingdome, where neither he nor any of his predecessours euer pretended any right, or layd any claime to Temporall matters before. Are such prankes to be played by the Pontificiall Bishop? Is this an act of Holinesse, to set a Kingdome on fire by the flaming brands of sedition? to dismember and quarter a Kingdome with intestine warres; onely to this end, that a King once reduced to the lowest degree of miserie, might be lifted by his Holinesse out of his Royall prerogatiue, the very soule and life of his Royall Estate? When began this Papall power? In what aage began the Pope to practise this power? What! haue the ancient Canons, (for the Scripture in this question beareth no pawme) haue the Canons of the ancient Church imposed any

any ſuch ſatisfaction vpon a ſinner, that of a Souereigne and free King, he ſhould become vaſſall to his ghoſtly Father; that he ſhould make himſelfe together with all his people and ſubiects tributaries to a Biſhop, that ſhall rifle a whole Nation of their coine, that ſhall receiue homage of a King, and make a King his vaſſall? What! Shall not a ſinner be quitted of his faults, except his Paſtor turne robber, and one that goeth about to get a booty? except hee make his Paſtour a Feoffee in his whole Eſtate, and ſuffer himſelfe vnder a ſhadow of penance to freeze naked, to be turned out of all his goods and poſſeſſions of inheritance? But be it granted, admit his Holineſſe robs one Prince of his rights and reuenewes, to conferre the ſame vpon another: were it not an high degree of tyrannie to finger another mans eſtate, and to giue that away to a third, which the ſecond hath no right, no lawfull authoritie to giue? Well, if the Pope then ſhall become his owne caruer in the rights of another; if he ſhall make his owne coffers to ſwell with anothers reuenewes, if he ſhall decke and aray his owne backe in the ſpoiles of a ſinner, with whom in abſolution he maketh peace, and taketh truce; what can this be elſe, but running into further degrees of wickedneſſe and miſchiefe? what can this be elſe, but heaping of robbery vpon fraud, and impietie vpon robbery? For by ſuch deceitfull, craftie, and cunning practiſes, the nature of the Pontificiall See, meerely ſpirituall, is changed into the Kings-bench-Court, meerely temporall: the Biſhops chaire is changed into a Monarchs Throne. And not onely ſo; but beſides, the ſinners repentance is changed into a ſnare or pit-fall of couſening deceit; and S. *Peters* net is changed into a caſting-net or a flew, to fiſh for all the wealth of moſt flouriſhing Kingdomes. Moreouer, the King (a hard caſe) is driuen by ſuch wiles and ſubtilties, to worke impoſſibilities, to acte more then is lawfull or within the compaſſe of his power to practiſe: For the King neither may in right, nor can by power tranſ-nature his Crowne, impaire the Maieſtie of his Kingdome, or leaue his Royal dignitie leſſe free to his heire apparant, or next ſucceſſor, then he receiued the ſame of his predeceſſour: Much leſſe, by any diſhonourable capitulations, by any vnworthy contracts, degrade his poſteritie, bring his people vnder the grieuous burden of tributes and taxes to a forreine Prince: Leaſt of all, make them tributary to a Prieſt; vnto whom it no way apperteineth to haue any hand in the ciuill affaires of Kings, or to diſtaine, and vnhallow their Crownes. And therefore when the Pope diſpatched his *Nuntio* to *Philippus Auguſtus*, requeſting the King to auert *Lewis* his ſonne from laying any claime to the Kingdome of *England*; *Philip* anſwered the Legat (as we haue it in *Matth. Paris*;) *No King, no Prince can alienate or giue away his Kingdom, but by conſent of his Barons, bound by Knights ſeruice to defend the ſaid Kingdome: and in caſe the Pope ſhall ſtand for the contrary error, his Holines ſhall giue to Kingdomes a moſt pernicious example*. By the ſame Author it is teſtified, that King *Iohn* became odious to his ſubiects, for ſuch diſhonourable and vnworthy inthralling of his Crowne, and Kingdome. Therefore the Popes right pretended

tended to the Crowne of *England*, which is nothing elſe but a ridiculous vſurpation, hath long agoe vaniſhed into ſmoake, and required not ſo much as the drawing of one ſword to ſnatch and pull it by violence out of his hands: For the Popes power lying altogether in a certaine wilde and wandring conceit or opinion of men, and being onely an imaginary caſtle in the ayre, built by pride, and vnderpropped by ſuperſtition, is very ſpeedily diſperſed vpon the firſt riſing and appearing of the trewth in her glorious brightneſſe. There is none ſo very a dolt or block-head to deny, that in caſe this right of the Pope ouer *England*, is grounded vpon Gods word, then his Holineſſe may challenge the like right ouer all other Kingdomes: becauſe all other Kingdomes, Crownes, and Scepters are ſubiect alike to Gods word: For what priuiledge, what charter, what euidence can *France* fetch out of the Rolles, or any other treaſurie of her monuments or records, to ſhew that ſhe oweth leſſe ſubiection to God then *England?* Or was this yoke of bondage then brought vpon the Engliſh Nation; was it a prerogatiue, whereby they might more eaſily come to the libertie of the ſonnes of God? Or were the people of *England* perſwaded, that for all their ſubſtance, wealth, and life beſtowed on the Pope, his Holineſſe by way of exchange returned them better weight and meaſure of ſpirituall graces? It is ridiculous, onely to conceiue theſe toyes in thought; and yet with ſuch ridiculous, with ſuch toyes in conceit, his Lordſhip feeds and entertains his auditors.

From this point hee falleth to another bowt and fling at his heretikes, with whom he played no faire play before: *There is not one Synode of mini-*
Pag. 105. " *ſters* (as he ſaith) *which would willingly ſubſcribe to this Article, whereunto wee*
" *ſhould bee bound to ſweare.* But herein his Lordſhip ſhooteth farre from the marke. This Article is approoued and preached by the Miniſters of my Kingdome: It is likewiſe preached by thoſe of *France*, and if need bee (I aſſure my ſelfe) will bee ſigned by all the Miniſters of the French Church.

The L. Cardinall proceedeth, (for hee meaneth not ſo ſoone to giue o-
" uer theſe heretikes:) *All their Conſiſtories beleeue it as their Creed; that if Ca-*
" *tholike Princes at any time ſhall offer force vnto their conſcience, then they are*
" *diſpenſed withall for their oath of alleagiance. Hence are theſe modifications and re-*
" *ſtrictions, toſſed ſo much in their mouthes; Prouided the King force vs not in our*
" *conſcience. Hence are theſe exceptions in the profeſſion of their faith; Prouided the*
" *Soueraigne power and authoritie of God, bee not in any ſort violated or infringed.*
I am not able to conceiue what engine can bee framed of theſe materialls, for the bearing of Kings out of their eminent ſeates, by any lawfull authoritie or power in the Pope: For ſay, thoſe of the Religion ſhould be tainted with ſome like errour; how can that be any ſhelter of excuſe for thoſe of the Romiſh Church, to vndermine or to digge vp the Thrones of their Kings? But in this allegation of the L. Cardinall, there is nothing at all, which doeth not iumpe iuſt and accord to a haire with the Article of the third

third Eſtate, and with obedience due to the King: For they doe not profeſſe, that in caſe the King ſhall commaund them to doe any act contrarie to their conſcience, they would flie at his throat, would make any attempt againſt his life, would refuſe to pay their taxations, or to defend him in the warres: They make no profeſſion of depoſing the King, or diſcharging the people from the oath of allegiance tendred to the King: which is the very point or iſſue of the matter in controuerſie, and the maine miſcheife, againſt which the third Eſtate hath bin moſt worthily careſull to prouide a wholeſome remedie by this Article. There is a world of difference betweene the termes of diſobedience, and of depoſition. It is one thing to diſobey the Kings commaund in matters prohibited by diuine lawes, and yet in all other matters to performe full ſubiection vnto the King. It is another thing of a farre higher degree or ſtraine of diſloyaltie, to bare the King of his Royall robes, throne, and ſcepter, and when he is thus farre diſgraced, to degrade him and to put him from his degree and place of a King. If the holy Father ſhould charge the L. Cardinal to doe ſome act repugnant in his owne knowledge to the Law of God, I will religiouſly, and according to the rule of charitie preſume, that his Lordſhip in this caſe would ſtand out againſt his Holineſſe, and notwithſtanding would ſtill acknowledge him to be Pope.

His Lordſhip yet proſecutes and followes his former purpoſe: *Hence are thoſe armes which they haue oftentimes borne againſt Kings, when Kings practiſed to take away the libertie of their conſcience and Religion. Hence are thoſe turbulent Commotions and ſeditions by them raiſed, as well in the Low-countryes againſt the King of Spaine, as in Swethland againſt the Catholike King of Polonia.* Beſides, he caſteth *Iunius Brutus, Buchananus, Barclaius*, and *Gerſon* in our teeth. To what end all this? I ſee not how it can bee auaileable to authorize the depoſing of Kings, eſpecially the Popes power to depoſe. And yet his Lordſhip here doth outface (by his leaue) and beare downe the trewth: For I could neuer yet learne by any good and trew intelligence, that in France thoſe of the Religion tooke armes at any time againſt their King: In the firſt ciuill warres they ſtood onely vpon their guard: they ſtood onely to their lawfull wards and locks of defence: they armed not, nor tooke the field before they were purſued with fire and ſword, burnt vp and ſlaughtred. Beſides, Religion was neither the root nor the rynde of thoſe inteſtine troubles. The trew ground of the quarrell was this: During the minority of King *Francis* II. the Proteſtants of France were a refuge and ſuccour to the Princes of the blood, when they were kept from the Kings preſence, and by the ouer powring power of their enemies, were no better then plaine driuen and chaſed from the Court. I meane, the Grand-father of the King now raigning, and the Grand-father of the Prince of *Conde*, when they had no place of ſafe retreate. In regard of which worthy and honourable ſeruice, it may ſeeme the French King hath reaſon to haue the Proteſtants in his gracious remembrance. With other commotion or inſurrection,

rection, the Proteſtants are not iuſtly to be charged. But on the contrary, certaine it is that King *Henry* III. rayſed and ſent forth ſeuerall armies againſt the Proteſtants, to ruine and roote them out of the Kingdome: howbeit, ſo ſoone as they perceiued the ſaid King was brought into dangerous tearms, they ranne with great ſpeed and ſpeciall fidelitie to the Kings reſcue and ſuccour, in the preſent danger. Certaine it is, that by their good ſeruice the ſaid King was deliuered, from a moſt extreame and imminent perill of his life in the city of Tours. Certaine it is, they neuer abandoned that *Henry* 3. nor his next ſucceſſor *Henry* 4. in all the heat of reuolts and rebellions, raiſed in the greateſt part of the Kingdome by the Pope, and the more part of the Clergie · but ſtood to the ſaid Kings in all their battels, to beare vp the Crowne then tottering and ready to fall. Certaine it is, that euen the heads and principalls of thoſe by whom the late King deceaſed was purſued with all extremities, at this day doe enioy the fruit of all the good ſeruices done to the King by the ſaid Proteſtants: And they are now diſgraced, kept vnder, expoſed to publike hatred. What, for kindling coales of queſtions and controuerſies about Religion? Forſooth, not ſo: but becauſe if they might haue equall and indifferent dealing, if credit might be giuen to their faithfull aduertiſements, the Crowne of their Kings ſhould bee no longer pinned to the Popes flie-flap; in France there ſhould bee no French exempted from ſubiection to the French King, cauſes of benefices or of matrimonie, ſhould bee no longer citable and ſummonable to the Romiſh Court; and the Kingdome ſhould bee no longer tributarie vnder the colour of annats, the firſt fruits of Benefices after the remooue or death of the Incumbent, and other like impoſitions.

But why doe I ſpeake ſo much in the behalfe of the French Proteſtants? The Lord Cardinall himſelfe quittes them of this blame, when he telleth vs this doctrine for the depoſing of Kings by the Popes mace or verge, had credit and authoritie through all France, vntill *Caluins* time. Doth not his Lordſhip vnder-hand confeſſe by theſe words, that Kings had beene alwaies before *Caluins* time, the more diſhonoured, and the worſe ſerued? Item, that Proteſtants, whom his Lordſhip calls heretikes, by the light of holy Scripture made the world then and euer ſince to ſee the right of Kings, oppreſſed ſo long before? As for thoſe of the Low Countries, and the ſubiects of Swethland, I haue little to ſay of their caſe, becauſe it is not within o dinary compaſſe, and indeed ſerueth nothing to the purpoſe. Theſe Nations, beſides the cauſe of Religion, doe ſtand vpon certaine reaſons of State, which I will not here take vpon me like a Iudge to determine or to ſift.

Iunius Brutus, Whom the Lord Cardinall obiecteth, is an author vnknowne; and perhaps of purpoſe patcht vp by ſome Romaniſt, with a wyly deceit to draw the reformed Religion into hatred with Chriſtian Princes.

Buchanan I reckon and ranke among Poets, not among Diuines, claſſicall

or

or common. If the man hath burst out here and there into some tearmes of excesse, or speach of bad temper; that must be imputed to the violence of his humour, and heate of his spirit, not in any wise to the rules and conclusions of trew Religion, rightly by him conceiued before.

Barclaius alledged by the Cardinall, meddles not with deposing of Kings; but deals with disavowing them for Kings, when they shal renounce the right of Royalty, and of their owne accord giue ouer the Kingdome. Now he that leaues it in the Kings choice, either to hold or to giue ouer his Crowne, leaues it not in the Popes power to take away the Kingdome.

Of *Gerson* obtruded by the Cardinal, we haue spoken sufficiently before, Where it hath beene shewed how *Gerson* is disguised, masked, and peruerted by his Lordship. In briefe, I take not vpon me to iustifie and make good all the sayings of particular authors: We glory (and well we may) that our religion affordeth no rules of rebellion; nor any dispensation to subiects for the oath of their allegiance; and that none of our Churches giue entertainement vnto such monstrous and abhominable principles of disloyaltie.

If any of the French, otherwise perswaded in former times, now hauing altered and changed his iudgement, doth contend for the Soueraignty of Kings against Papall vsurpation: He doubtles, for winding himselfe out of the Laborinth of an error so intricate & pernicious, deserueth great honour and speciall praise: He is worthy to hold a place of dignity aboue the L. Cardinall; who hath quitted and betrayed his former iudgement, which was holy and iust: Their motions are contrary, their markes are opposite: The one reclineth from euill to good, the other declineth from good to euill. *Richerius.*

At last his Lordship commeth to the close of his Oration, and bindes vp his whole harangue with a feate wreath of praises, proper to his King. He styles the King the eldest Sonne of the Church, a young shoot of the lilly, which King Salomon in all his Royaltie was not able to match. He leades vs by the hand into the pleasant meadowes of Histories, there to learne vpon the very first sight and view, That so long, so oft as the Kings of France embraced vnion, and kept good tearmes of concord with Popes and the Apostolike See; so long as the spouse of the Church was pastured and fed among the lillies, all sorts of spirituall and temporall graces abundantly showred vpon their Crownes, and vpon their people: On the contrary, when they made any rent or separation from the most holy See; then the lillies were pricked and almost choaked with sharpe thornes; they beganne to droope, to stoope, and to beare their beautifull heads downe to the very ground, vnder the strong flawes and gusts of boystrous windes and tempests.

My answere to this flourishing close and vpshot, shall be no lesse apert then apt. It sauours not of good and faithfull seruice, to smooth and stroake the Kings head with a soft hand of oyled speech, and in the meane time to take away the Crowne from his head, and to defile it with dirt. But let vs

 try

try the cauſe by euidence of Hiſtorie, yea by the voice and verdict of experience; to ſee whether the glorious beauty of the French lillies hath beene at any time blaſted, and thereupon hath faded, by ſtarting aſide, and making ſeparation from the holy See. Vnder the raigne of King *Philip* the Faire, France was bleſſed with peace and proſperity, notwithſtanding ſome outragious acts done againſt the Papall See, and contumelious crying quittance by King *Philip* with the Pope. *Lewis* 12. in ranged battell defeated the armies of Pope *Iulius* 2. and his Confederates: proclaimed the ſaid Pope to be fallen from the Popedome: ſtamped certaine coynes and pieces of gold with a diſhonourable mot, euen to Rome it ſelfe, *Rome is Babylon*: yet ſo much was *Lewis* loued and honoured of his people, that by a peculiar title he was called, *the Father of the Country*. Greater bleſſings of God, greater outward peace and plenty, greater inward peace with ſpirituall and celeſtiall treaſures, were neuer heaped vpon my Great Brittaine, then haue beene ſince my Great Brittaine became Great in the greateſt and chiefeſt reſpect of all; to wit, ſince my Great Brittaine hath ſhaken off the Popes yoke; ſince ſhe hath refuſed to receiue and to entertaine the Popes Legats, employed to collect S. *Peters* tribute or *Peter-pence*; ſince the Kings of England, my Great Brittaine, haue not beene the Popes vaſſals to doe him homage for their Crowne, and haue no more felt the laſhings, the ſcourgings of baſe and beggarly Monkes. Of Holland, Zeland, and Friſeland, what neede I ſpeake? yet a word and no more. Were they not a kinde of naked and bare people, of ſmall value, before God lighted the torch of the Goſpel, and aduanced it in thoſe Nations? were they not an ill fedde and ſcragged people, in compariſon of the ineſtimable wealth and proſperity (both in all military actions and mechanicall trades, in trafficke as merchants, in marting as men of warre, in long nauigation for diſcouerie) to which they are now rayſed and mounted by the mercifull bleſſing of God, ſince the darknes of Poperie hath beene ſcattered, and the bright Sunne of the Goſpel hath ſhined in thoſe Countryes? Behold the Venetian Republique: Hath ſhee now leſſe beautie, leſſe glory, leſſe peace and proſperitie, ſince ſhe lately fell to bicker and contend with the Pope? ſince ſhe hath wrung out of the Popes hand, the one of his two ſwords? ſince ſhe hath plumed and ſhaked his Temporall dominion? On the contrarie; after the French Kings had honoured the Popes, with munificent graunts and gifts of all the cities and territories, lands and poſſeſſions, which they now hold in Italy, and the auncient Earledome of *Auignon* in France for an ouer-plus; were they not rudely recompenced, and homely handled by their moſt ingratefull fee-farmers and copy-holders? Haue not Popes forged a donation of *Conſtantine*, of purpoſe to blot out all memory of *Pepins* and *Charlemaignes* donation? Haue they not vexed and troubled the State? haue they not whetted the ſonnes of *Lewis* the Courteous againſt their owne Father, whoſe life was a patterne and example of innocencie? Haue they not by their infinite exactions, robbed and ſcoured the

the Kingdome of all their treasure? Were not the Kings of France, driuen to stoppe their violent courses by the pragmaticall sanction? Did they not sundry times interdict the Kingdome, degrade the Kings, solicite the neighbour-Princes to inuade and lay hold on the Kingdome, and stirre vp the people against the King, whereby a gate was opened to a world of troubles and parricides? Did not *Rauaillac* render this reason for his monstrous and horrible attempt, That King *Henry* had a designe to warre with God, because he had a designe to take armes against his Holinesse, who is God? This makes me to wonder, what mooued the L. Cardinall to marshall the last ciuill warres and motions in *France*, in the ranke of examples of vnhappy separation from the Pope, when the Pope himselfe was the trumpetor of the same troublesome motions. If the Pope had bene wronged and offended by the French King, or his people, and the Kingdome of *France* had been scourged with pestilence, or famine, or some other calamitie by forraine enemies; it might haue beene taken in probabilitie, as a vengeance of God for some iniurie done vnto his Vicar: But his Holinesse being the roote, the ground, the master-workeman and artificer of all these mischiefes; how can it be said, that God punisheth any iniurie done to the Pope? but rather that his Holinesse doth reuenge his owne quarrell; and which is worst of all, when his Holinesse hath no iust cause of quarrell or offence. Now then; to exhort a Nation (as the L. Cardinall hath done) by the remembrance of former calamities, to curry fauour with the Pope, and to hold a strict vnion with his Holinesse, is no exhortation to beare the Pope any respect of loue, or of reuerence, but rather a rubbing of memory, and a calling to minde of those grieuous calamities, whereof the Pope hath been the only occasion. It is also a threatning and obtruding of the Popes terrible thunder-bolts, which neuer scorched nor parched any skinne, (except crauens and meticulous bodies) and haue brought many great showres of blessings vpon my Kingdome.

As for *France*, if she hath enioyed prosperity in the times of her good agreement with Popes, it is because the Pope seekes the amity of Princes that are in prosperitie, haue the meanes to curbe his pretensions, and to put him to some plunge. Kings are not in prosperity, because the Pope holds amitie with Kings; but his Holinesse vseth all deuises, & seeketh all meanes to haue amitie with Kings, because he sees them flourish & sayle with prosperous winds. The swallow is no cause, but a companion of the spring: the Pope is no worker of a Kingdoms felicity, but a wooer of kings when they sit in felicities lap: he is no founder, but a follower of their good fortunes. On the other side: let a Kingdome fall into some grieuous disaster or calamitie, let ciuill warres boile in the bowels of the Kingdom; ciuil wars no lesse dangerous to the State, then fearefull and grieuous to the people; who riseth sooner then the Pope, who rusheth sooner into the troubled streames then the Pope, who thrusteth himselfe sooner into the heate of the quarrell then the Pope, who runneth sooner to raise his gaine by the publike wrack then the

Pope, and all vnder colour of a heart wounded and bleeding for the ſaluation of ſoules? If the lawfull King happen to be foyled, to be oppreſſed, and thereupon the State by his fall to get a new maſter by the Popes practiſe; then the ſaid new maſter muſt hold the Kingdome as of the Popes free gift, and rule or guide the ſterne of the State at his becke, and by his inſtruction. If the firſt and right Lord, in deſpite of all the Popes fulminations and fireworkes, ſhall get the honourable day, and vpper hand of his enemies; then the holy Father with a cheerfull and pleaſant grace, yea with fatherly gratulation, opens the rich cabinet of his iewells, I meane the treaſurie of his indulgences, and falls now to dandle and cocker the King in his fatherly lap, whoſe throat if he could, he would haue cut not long before.

This peſtilent miſchiefe hath now a long time taken roote, and is growne to a great head in the Chriſtian world, through the ſecret, but iuſt iudgement of God; by whom Chriſtian Kings haue beene ſmitten with a ſpirit of dizzineſſe: Chriſtian Kings, who for many aages paſt haue liued in ignorance, without any ſound inſtruction, without any trew ſenſe and right feeling of their owne right and power, whileſt vnder a ſhadow of Religion and falſe cloake of pietie, their Kingdomes haue beene ouer-burdened, yea ouer-borne with tributes, and their Crownes made to ſtoope euen to miſerable bondage. That God in whoſe hand the hearts of Kings are poiſed, and at his pleaſure turned as the water-courſes; that mighty God alone, in his good time, is able to rouze them out of ſo deepe a ſlumber, and to take order (their drowzy fits once ouer and ſhaken off with heroicall ſpirits) that Popes hereafter ſhall play no more vpon their patience, nor preſume to put bits and ſnaffles in their noble mouthes, to the binding vp of their power with weake ſcruples, like mighty buls lead about by litle children with a ſmall twiſted thred. To that God, that King of Kings I deuote my ſcepter; at his feet in all humblenes I lay downe my Crowne; to his holy decrees and commaunds I will euer be a faithfull ſeruant, and in his battels a faithfull champion. To conclude; in this iuſt cauſe and quarrell, I dare ſend the challenge, and will require no ſecond, to maintaine as a defendant of honour, that my brother-Princes and my ſelfe, whom God hath aduanced vpon the Throne of Soueraigne Maieſtie and ſupreame dignity, doe hold the Royall dignitie of his Maieſtie alone; to whoſe ſeruice, as a moſt humble homager and vaſſall, I conſecrate all the glory, honour, ſplendor, and luſtre of my earthly Kingdomes.

A SPEACH,

A SPEACH, AS IT WAS DELIVERED IN THE VPPER HOVSE OF THE PARLIAMENT TO THE LORDS SPIRITVALL AND Temporall, and to the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses there assembled,

ON MVNDAY THE XIX. DAY OF MARCH 1603. BEING THE FIRST DAY OF THE first Parliament.

IT did no sooner please God to lighten his hand, and relent the violence of his deuouring Angel against the poore people of this Citie, but as soone did I resolue to call this Parliament, and that for three chiefe and principall reasons: The first whereof is, (and which of it selfe, although there were no more, is not onely a sufficient, but a most full and necessary ground and reason for conuening of this Assembly) This first reason I say is, That you who are here presently assembled to represent the Body of this whole Kingdome, and of all sorts of people within the same, may with your owne eares heare, and that I out of mine owne mouth may deliuer vnto you the assurance of my due thankefulnes for your so ioyfull and generall applause to the declaring and receiuing of mee in this Seate (which GOD by my Birthright and lineall descent had in the fulnesse of time prouided for me) and that, immediatly after it pleased God to call your late Soueraigne of famous memory, full of dayes, but fuller of immortall trophes of Honour, out of this transitorie life. Not that I am able to ex-

presse by wordes, or vtter by eloquence the viue Image of mine inward thankfulnes, but onely that out of mine owne mouth you may rest assured to expect that measure of thankefulnes at my hands, which is according to the infinitenes of your deserts, and to my inclination and abilitie for requitall of the same. Shall I euer? nay, can I euer be able, or rather so vnable in memorie, as to forget your vnexpected readinesse and alacritie, your euer memorable resolution, and your most wonderfull coniunction and harmonie of your hearts in declaring and embracing mee as your vndoubted and lawfull King and Gouernour? Or shall it euer bee blotted out of my minde, how at my first entrie into this Kingdome, the people of all sorts rid and ran, nay rather flew to meet mee? their eyes flaming nothing but sparkles of affection, their mouthes and tongues vttering nothing but sounds of ioy, their hands, feete, and all the rest of their members in their gestures discouering a passionate longing, and earnestnesse to meete and embrace their new Soueraigne. *Quid ergo retribuam?* Shall I allow in my selfe, that which I could neuer beare with in another? No I must plainely and freely confesse here in all your audiences, that I did euer naturally so farre mislike a tongue to smoothe, and diligent in paying their creditors with lip payment and verball thankes, as I euer suspected that sort of people meant not to pay their debtors in more substantiall sort of coyne. And therefore for expressing of my thankefulnesse, I must resort vnto the other two reasons of my conuening of this Parliament, by them in action to vtter my thankefulnesse: Both the said reasons hauing but one ground, which is the deedes, whereby all the dayes of my life, I am by Gods grace to expresse my said thankfulnesse towards you, but diuided in this, That in the first of these two, mine actions of thankes, are so inseparably conioyned with my Person, as they are in a maner become indiuidually annexed to the same: In the other reason, mine actions are such, as I may either doe them, or leaue them vndone, although by Gods grace I hope neuer to be weary of the doing of them.

As to the first: It is the blessings which God hath in my Person bestowed vpon you all, wherein I protest, I doe more glorie at the same for your weale, then for any particular respect of mine owne reputation, or aduantage therein.

1 THe first then of these blessings, which God hath ioyntly with my Person sent vnto you, is outward Peace: that is, peace abroad with all forreine neighbours: for I thanke God I may iustly say, that neuer since I was a King, I either receiued wrong of any other Christian Prince or State, or did wrong to any: I haue euer, I praise God, yet kept Peace and amitie with all, which hath bene so farre tyed to my person, as at my comming here you are witnesses I found the State embarqued in a great and tedious warre, and onely by mine arriuall here, and by the Peace in my Person, is now amitie kept, where warre was before, which is no smal

blessing

bleſſing to a Chriſtian Common-wealth: for by Peace abroad with their neighbours the Townes flouriſh, the Merchants become rich, the Trade doeth encreaſe, and the people of all ſorts of the Land enioy free libertie to exerciſe themſelues in their ſeuerall vocations without perill or diſturbance. Not that I thinke this outward Peace ſo vnſeparably tyed to my Perſon, as I dare aſſuredly promiſe to my ſelfe and to you, the certaine continuance thereof: but thus farre I can very well aſſure you, and in the word of a King promiſe vnto you, That I ſhall neuer giue the firſt occaſion of the breach thereof, neither ſhall I euer be moued for any particular or priuate paſſion of mind to interrupt your publique Peace, except I be forced thereunto, either for reparation of the honour of the Kingdom, or elſe by neceſſitie for the weale and preſeruation of the ſame: In which caſe, a ſecure and honourable warre muſt be preferred to an vnſecure and diſhonourable Peace: yet doe I hope by my experience of the by-paſt bleſſings of Peace, which God hath ſo long euer ſince my Birth beſtowed vpon mee, that hee wil not be weary to continue the ſame, nor repent him of his grace towards me, transferring that ſentence of King *Dauids* vpon his by-paſt victories of warre, to mine of Peace, That, *that God who preſerued me from the deuouring iawes of the Beare and of the Lion, and deliuered them into my hands, ſhall alſo now grant me victory ouer that vncircumciſed Philiſtine.*

BVt although outward Peace be a great bleſſing; yet is it as farre inferiour to peace within, as Ciuill warres are more cruell and vnnaturall then warres abroad. And therefore the ſecond great bleſſing that GOD hath with my Perſon ſent vnto you, is Peace within, and that in a double forme. Firſt, by my deſcent lineally out of the loynes of *Henry* the ſeuenth, is reunited and confirmed in mee the Vnion of the two Princely Roſes of the two Houſes of LANCASTER and YORKE, whereof that King of happy memorie was the firſt Vniter, as he was alſo the firſt ground-layer of the other Peace. The lamentable and miſerable euents by the Ciuill and bloody diſſention betwixt theſe two Houſes was ſo great and ſo late, as it need not be renewed vnto your memories: which, as it was firſt ſetled and vnited in him, ſo is it now reunited and confirmed in me, being iuſtly and lineally deſcended, not onely of that happie coniunction, but of both the Branches thereof many times before. But the Vnion of theſe two princely Houſes, is nothing comparable to the Vnion of two ancient and famous Kingdomes, which is the other inward Peace annexed to my Perſon.

And here I muſt craue your patiences for a little ſpace, to giue me leaue to diſcourſe more particularly of the benefits that doe ariſe of that Vnion which is made in my blood, being a matter that moſt properly belongeth to me to ſpeake of, as the head wherein that great Body is vnited. And firſt, if we were to looke no higher then to naturall and Phyſicall reaſons, we may eaſily be perſwaded of the great benefits that by that Vnion do redound

dound to the whole Iſland: for if twentie thouſand men be a ſtrong Armie, is not the double thereof, fourtie thouſand, a double the ſtronger Armie? If a Baron enricheth himſelfe with double as many lands as hee had before, is he not double the greater? Nature teacheth vs, that Mountaines are made of Motes, and that at the firſt, Kingdomes being diuided, and euery particular Towne or little Countie, as Tyrants or Vſurpers could obtaine the poſſeſſion, a Segniorie apart, many of theſe little Kingdomes are now in proceſſe of time, by the ordinance of God, ioyned into great Monarchies, whereby they are become powerfull within themſelues to defend themſelues from all outward inuaſions, and their head and gouernour thereby enabled to redeeme them from forreine aſſaults, and puniſh priuate tranſgreſſions within. Do we not yet remember, that this Kingdome was diuided into ſeuen little Kingdomes, beſides Wales? And is it not now the ſtronger by their vnion? And hath not the vnion of Wales to England added a greater ſtrength thereto? Which though it was a great Principalitie, was nothing comparable in greatneſſe and power to the ancient and famous Kingdome of Scotland. But what ſhould we ſticke vpon any naturall appearance, when it is manifeſt that God by his Almightie prouidence hath preordained it ſo to be? Hath not God firſt vnited theſe two Kingdomes both in Language, Religion, and ſimilitude of maners? Yea, hath hee not made vs all in one Iſland, compaſſed with one Sea, and of it ſelfe by nature ſo indiuiſible, as almoſt thoſe that were borderers themſelues on the late Borders, cannot diſtinguiſh, nor know, or diſcerne their owne limits? Theſe two Countries being ſeparated neither by Sea, nor great Riuer, Mountaine, nor other ſtrength of nature, but onely by little ſmall brookes, or demoliſhed little walles, ſo as rather they were diuided in apprehenſion, then in effect; And now in the end and fulneſſe of time vnited, the right and title of both in my Perſon, alike lineally deſcended of both the Crownes, whereby it is now become like a little World within it ſelfe, being intrenched and fortified round about with a naturall, and yet admirable ſtrong pond or ditch, whereby all the former feares of this Nation are now quite cut off: The other part of the Iſland being euer before now not onely the place of landing to all ſtrangers, that was to make inuaſion here, but likewiſe moued by the enemies of this State by vntimely incurſions, to make inforced diuerſion from their Conqueſts, for defending themſelues at home, and keeping ſure their backe-doore, as then it was called, which was the greateſt hinderance and let that euer my Predeceſſors of this Nation gat in diſturbing them from their many famous and glorious conqueſts abroad: What God hath conioyned then, let no man ſeparate. I am the Husband, and all the whole Iſle is my lawfull Wife; I am the Head, and it is my Body; I am the Shepherd, and it is my flocke: I hope therefore no man will be ſo vnreaſonable as to thinke that I that am a Chriſtian King vnder the Goſpel, ſhould be a Polygamiſt and husband to two wiues; that I being the Head, ſhould haue a diuided and monſtrous Body;

Body; or that being the Shepheard to so faire a Flocke (whose fold hath no wall to hedge it but the foure Seas) should haue my Flocke parted in two. But as I am assured, that no honest Subiect of whatsoeuer degree within my whole dominions, is lesse glad of this ioyfull Vnion then I am; So may the friuolous obiection of any that would bee hinderers of this worke, which God hath in my Person already established, bee easily answered, which can be none, except such as are either blinded with Ignorance, or els transported with Malice, being vnable to liue in a well gouerned Commonwealth, and onely delighting to fish in troubled waters. For if they would stand vpon their reputation and priuiledges of any of the Kingdomes, I pray you was not both the Kingdomes Monarchies from the beginning, and consequently could euer the Body bee counted without the Head, which was euer vnseparably ioyned thereunto? So that as Honour and Priuiledges of any of the Kingdomes could not be diuided from their Soueraigne; So are they now confounded & ioyned in my Person, who am equall and alike kindly Head to you both. When this Kingdome of *England* was diuided into so many little Kingdoms as I told you before; one of them behooued to eate vp another, till they were all vnited in one. And yet can *Wiltshire* or *Deuonshire*, which were of the *West Saxons*, although their Kingdome was of longest durance, and did by Conquest ouercome diuers of the rest of the little Kingdomes, make claime to Prioritie of Place or Honour before *Sussex*, *Essex*, or other Shires which were conquered by them? And haue we not the like experience in the Kingdome of *France*, being composed of diuers Dutchies, and one after another conquered by the sword? For euen as little brookes lose their names by their running and fall into great Riuers, and the very name and memorie of the great Riuers swallowed vp in the Ocean: so by the coniunction of diuers little Kingdomes in one, are all these priuate differences and questions swallowed vp. And since the successe was happie of the *Saxons* Kingdomes being conquered by the speare of *Bellona*; How much greater reason haue wee to expect a happie issue of this greater Vnion, which is only fastened and bound vp by the wedding Ring of *Astrea*? And as God hath made *Scotland* the one halfe of this Isle to enioy my Birth, and the first and most vnperfect halfe of my life, and you heere to enioy the perfect and the last halfe thereof; so can I not thinke that any would be so iniurious to me, no not in their thoughts and wishes, as to cut asunder the one halfe of me from the other. But in this matter I haue farre enough insisted, resting assured that in your hearts and mindes you all applaud this my discourse.

Mars.

Loue and Peace.

3 NOw although these blessings before rehearsed of Inward and Outward peace, be great: yet seeing that in all good things, a great part of their goodnesse and estimation is lost, if they haue not apparance of perpetuity or long continuance; so hath it pleased Almighty God to accompany my person also with that fauour, hauing healthful and hopefull

full Iſſue of my body, whereof ſome are here preſent, for continuance and propagation of that vndoubted right which is in my Perſon; vnder whom I doubt not but it will pleaſe God to proſper and continue for many yeeres this Vnion, and all other bleſſings of Inward and outward Peace, which I haue brought with me.

4 BVt neither Peace outward, nor Peace inward, nor any other bleſſings that can follow thereupon, nor appearance of the perpetuitie thereof, by propagation in the poſteritie, is but a weake pillar and a rotten reed to leane vnto, if God doe not ſtrengthen and by the ſtaffe of his bleſſing make them durable: For in vaine doeth the Watchman watch the Citie, if the Lord be not the principall defence thereof: In vaine doeth the builder build the houſe, if God giue not the ſucceſſe: And in vaine (as *Paul* ſaith) doeth *Paul* plant and *Apollo* water, if God giue not the increaſe: For all worldly bleſſings are but like ſwift paſſing ſhadowes, fading flowers, or chaffe blowen before the wind, if by the profeſſion of trew Religion, and works according thereunto, God be not moued to maintaine and ſettle the Thrones of Princes. And although that ſince mine entry into this Kingdome, I haue both by meeting with diuers of the Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate, and likewiſe by diuers Proclamations clearely declared my minde in points of Religion, yet doe I not thinke it amiſſe in this ſo ſolemne an Audience, I ſhould now take occaſion to diſcouer ſomewhat of the ſecrets of my heart in that matter: For I ſhall neuer (with Gods grace) bee aſhamed to make publike profeſſion thereof at all occaſions, leſt God ſhould bee aſhamed to profeſſe and allow mee before men and Angels, eſpecially leſt that at this time men might preſume further vpon the misknowledge of my meaning to trouble this Parliament of ours then were conuenient. At my firſt comming, although I found but one Religion, and that which by my ſelfe is profeſſed, publikely allowed, and by the Law maintained: Yet found I another ſort of Religion, beſides a priuate Sect, lurking within the bowels of this Nation. The firſt is the trew Religion, which by me is profeſſed, and by the Law is eſtabliſhed: The ſecond is the falſly called Catholikes, but trewly Papiſts: The third, which I call a ſect rather then Religion, is the *Puritanes* and *Nouelists*, who doe not ſo farre differ from vs in points of Religion, as in their confuſed forme of Policie and Paritie, being euer diſcontented with the preſent gouernment, & impatient to ſuffer any ſuperiority, which maketh their ſect vnable to be ſuffred in any wel gouerned Cõmon wealth. But as for my courſe toward them, I remit it to my Proclamations made vpon that Subiect. And now for the Papiſts, I muſt put a difference betwixt mine owne priuate profeſſion of mine owne ſaluation, and my politike gouernment of the Realme for the weale and quietnes thereof. As for mine owne profeſſion, you haue me your Head now amongſt you of the ſame Religion that the body is of. As I am no ſtranger to you in blood, no more am I a ſtranger to you in Faith, or in the matters concerning the houſe of

of God. And although this my profession be according to mine education, wherein (I thanke God) I sucked the milke of Gods trewth, with the milke of my Nurse: yet do I here protest vnto you, that I would neuer for such a conceit of constancy or other preiudicate opinion, haue so firmly kept my first profession, if I had not found it agreeable to all reason, and to the rule of my Conscience. But I was neuer violent nor vnreasonable in my profession: I acknowledge the Romane Church to be our Mother Church, although defiled with some infirmities and corruptions, as the Iewes were when they crucified Christ: And as I am none enemie to the life of a sicke man, because I would haue his bodie purged of ill humours; no more am I enemie to their Church, because I would haue them reforme their errors, not wishing the downethrowing of the Temple, but that it might be purged and cleansed from corruption: otherwise how can they wish vs to enter, if their house be not first made cleane? But as I would be loather to dispense in the least point of mine owne Conscience for any worldly respect, then the foolishest Precisian of them all; so would I bee as sory to straight the politique Gouernement of the bodies and mindes of all my Subiectes to my priuate opinions: Nay, my minde was euer so free from persecution, or thralling of my Subiects in matters of Conscience, as I hope that those of that profession within this Kingdome haue a proofe since my comming, that I was so farre from encreasing their burdens with *Rehoboam*, as I haue so much as either time, occasion, or law could permit, lightened them. And euen now at this time haue I bene carefull to reuise and consider deepely vpon the Lawes made against them, that some ouerture may be proponed to the present Parliament for clearing these Lawes by reason (which is the soule of the Law) in case they haue bene in times past further, or more rigorously extended by Iudges, then the meaning of the Law was, or might tend to the hurt aswell of the innocent as of guiltie persons. And as to the persons of my Subiects which are of that profession, I must diuide them into two rankes, Clerickes and Layickes; for the part of the Layicks, certainely I euer thought them farre more excusable then the other sort, because that sort of Religion containeth such an ignorant, doubtfull, and implicit kinde of faith in the Layickes grounded vpon their Church, as except they doe generally beleeue whatsoeuer their Teachers please to affirme, they cannot be thought guilty of these particular points of heresies and corruptions, which their Teachers doe so wilfully professe. And againe I must subdiuide the same Layickes into two rankes, that is, either quiet and well minded men, peaceable Subiects, who either being old, haue retayned their first drunken in liquor vpon a certaine shamefastnesse to be thought curious or changeable: Or being young men, through euill education haue neuer bene nursed or brought vp, but vpon such venim in place of wholesome nutriment. And that sort of people I would be sorry to punish their bodies for the errour of their minds, the reformation whereof must onely come of God and the trew Spirit. But the other ranke of Layicks, who either through Curiositie,

affectation

affectation of Noueltie, or discontentment in their priuat humours, haue changed their coates, onely to be factious stirrers of Sedition, and Perturbers of the common wealth, their backwardnesse in their Religion giueth a ground to me the Magistrate, to take the better heed to their proceeding, and to correct their obstinacie. But for the part of the Clerickes, I must directly say and affirme, that as long as they maintaine one speciall point of their doctrine, and another point of their practise, they are no way sufferable to remaine in this Kingdome. Their point of doctrine is that arrogant and ambitious Supremacie of their Head the Pope, whereby he not onely claimes to bee Spirituall head of all Christians, but also to haue an Imperiall ciuill power ouer all Kings and Emperors, dethroning and decrowning Princes with his foot as pleaseth him, and dispensing and disposing of all Kingdomes and Empires at his appetite. The other point which they obserue in continuall practise, is the assassinates and murthers of Kings, thinking it no sinne, but rather a matter of saluation, to doe all actions of rebellion and hostilitie against their naturall Soueraigne Lord, if he be once cursed, his subiects discharged of their fidelitie, and his Kingdome giuen a prey by that three crowned Monarch, or rather Monster their Head. And in this point, I haue no occasion to speake further here, sauing that I could wish from my heart, that it would please God to make me one of the members of such a generall Christian vnion in Religion, as laying wilfulnesse aside on both hands, wee might meete in the middest, which is the Center and perfection of all things. For if they would leaue, and be ashamed of such new and grosse Corruptions of theirs, as themselues cannot maintaine, nor denie to bee worthy of reformation, I would for mine owne part be content to meete them in the mid-way, so that all nouelties might be renounced on either side. For as my faith is the Trew, Ancient, Catholike and Apostolike faith, grounded vpon the Scriptures and expresse word of God: so will I euer yeeld all reuerence to antiquitie in the points of Ecclesiasticall pollicy; and by that meanes shall I euer with Gods grace keepe my selfe from either being an hereticke in Faith, or schismatick in matters of Pollicie. But of one thing would I haue the Papists of this Land to bee admonished, That they presume not so much vpon my Lenitie (because I would be loath to be thought a Persecuter) as thereupon to thinke it lawfull for them dayly to encrease their number and strength in this Kingdome, whereby if not in my time, at least in the time of my posteritie, they might be in hope to erect their Religion againe. No, let them assure themselues, that as I am a friend to their persons if they be good subiects: so am I a vowed enemie, and doe denounce mortall warre to their errors: And that as I would be sory to bee driuen by their ill behauiour from the protection and conseruation of their bodies and liues; So will I neuer cease as farre as I can, to tread downe their errors and wrong opinions. For I could not permit the encrease and growing of their Religion, without first betraying of my selfe, and mine owne conscience:

ſcience: Secondly, this whole Iſle, aſwell the part I am come from, as the part I remaine in, in betraying their Liberties, and reducing them to the former ſlauiſh yoke, which both had caſten off, before I came amongſt them: And thirdly, the libertie of the Crowne in my poſteritie, which I ſhould leaue againe vnder a new ſlauery, hauing found it left free to me by my Predeceſſors. And therefore would I wiſh all good Subiects that are deceiued with that corruption, firſt if they find any beginning of inſtinction in themſelues of knowledge and loue to the Trewth, to foster the ſame by all lawfull meanes, and to beware of quenching the ſpirit that worketh within them; And if they can find as yet no motion tending that way, to be ſtudious to reade and conferre with learned men, and to vſe all ſuch meanes as may further their Reſolution; aſſuring themſelues, that as long as they are diſconformable in Religion from vs, they cannot bee but halfe my Subiects, bee able to doe but halfe ſeruice, and I to want the beſt halfe of them, which is their ſoules. And here haue I occaſion to ſpeake to you my Lords the Biſhops: For as you, my Lord of Durham, ſaid very learnedly to day in your Sermon, Correction without inſtruction, is but a Tyrannie: So ought you, and all the Clergie vnder you, to be more carefull, vigilant, and diligent then you haue bene, to winne Soules to God, aſwell by your exemplary life, as doctrine. And ſince you ſee how carefull they are, ſparing neither labour, paines, nor extreme perill of their perſons to diuert, (the Deuill is ſo buſie a Biſhop) yee ſhould bee the more carefull and wakefull in your charges. Follow the rule preſcribed you by S. *Paul, Bee carefull to exhort and to inſtruct in ſeaſon, and out of ſeaſon*: and where you haue beene any way ſluggiſh before, now waken your ſelues vp againe with a new diligence in this point, remitting the ſucceſſe to God, who calling them either at the ſecond, third, tenth or twelfth houre, as they are alike welcome to him, ſo ſhall they bee to mee his Lieutenant here.

The third reaſon of my conuening of you at this time, which conteineth ſuch actions of my thankefulneſſe toward you, as I may either doe, or leaue vndone, yet ſhall with Gods grace euer preſſe to performe all the dayes of my life: It conſiſts in theſe two points; In making of Lawes at certaine times, which is onely at ſuch times as this in Parliament; or in the carefull execution thereof at all other times. As for the making of them, I will thus farre faithfully promiſe vnto you, That I will euer preferre the weale of the body, and of the whole Common-wealth, in making of good Lawes and conſtitutions, to any particular or priuate ends of mine, thinking euer the wealth and weale of the Common-wealth to bee my greateſt weale and worldly felicitie: A point wherein a lawfull King doeth directly differ from a Tyrant. But at this time I am onely thus farre to forewarne you in that point, That you beware to ſeeke the making of too many Lawes, for two eſpeciall reaſons: Firſt, becauſe *In corrup-*

The third reaſon of aſſembling the Parliament.

tissima Republica plurimæ leges; and the execution of good Lawes is farre more profitable in a Common-wealth, then to burden mens memories with the making of too many of them. And next, because the making of too many Lawes in one Parliament, will bring in confusion, for lacke of leisure wisely to deliberate before you conclude: For the Bishop said well to day, That to Deliberation would a large time be giuen, but to Execution a greater promptnesse was required. As for the execution of good Lawes, it hath bene very wisely and honourably foreseene and ordered by my predecessours in this Kingdome, in planting such a number of Iudges, and all sorts of Magistrates in conuenient places for the execution of the same: And therefore must I now turne mee to you that are Iudges and Magistrates vnder mee, as mine Eyes and Eares in this case. I can say none otherwise to you, then as *Ezekias* the good King of *Iuda* said to their Iudges, *Remember that the Thrones that you sit on are Gods, and neither yours nor mine*: And that as you must be answerable to mee, so must both you and I be answerable to GOD, for the due execution of our Offices. That place is no place for you to vtter your affections in, you must not there hate your foe nor loue your friend, feare the offence of the greater partie, or pity the miserie of the meaner; yee must be blinde and not see distinctions of persons, handlesse, not to receiue bribes; but keepe that iust temper and mid-course in all your proceedings, that like a iust ballance ye may neither sway to the right nor left hand. Three principall qualities are required in you; Knowledge, Courage, and Sinceritie: that you may discerne with knowledge, execute with courage, and doe both in vpright sinceritie. And as for my part, I doe vow and protest here in the presence of God, and of this honourable Audience, I neuer shall be wearie, nor omit no occasion, wherein I may shew my carefulnesse of the execution of good Lawes. And as I wish you that are Iudges not to be weary in your Office in doing of it; so shall I neuer be wearie, with Gods grace, to take account of you, which is properly my calling.

And thus hauing tolde you the three causes of my conuening of this Parliament, all three tending onely to vtter my thankefulnesse, but in diuers formes, the first by word, the other two by action; I doe confesse that when I haue done and performed all that in this Speech I haue promised, *Inutilis seruus sum*: Inutile, because the meaning of the word *Inutilis* in that place of Scripture is vnderstood, that in doing all that seruice which wee can to God, it is but our due, and wee doe nothing to God but that which wee are bound to doe. And in like maner, when I haue done all that I can for you, I doe nothing but that which I am bound to doe, and am accomptable to God vpon the contrary: For I doe acknowledge, that the speciall and greatest point of difference that is betwixt a rightfull King and an vsurping Tyrant is in this; That whereas the proude and ambitious Tyrant doeth thinke his Kingdome and people are

are onely ordeined for ſatisfaction of his deſires and vnreaſonable appetites; The righteous and iuſt King doeth by the contrary acknowledge himſelfe to bee ordeined for the procuring of the wealth and proſperitie of his people, and that his greateſt and principall worldly felicitie muſt conſiſt in their proſperitie. If you bee rich I cannot bee poore, if you bee happy I cannot but bee fortunate, and I proteſt that your welfare ſhall euer be my greateſt care and contentment: And that I am a Seruant it is moſt trew, that as I am Head and Gouernour of all the people in my Dominion who are my naturall vaſſals and Subiects, conſidering them in numbers and diſtinct Rankes; So if wee will take the whole People as one body and Maſſe, then as the Head is ordeined for the body and not the Body for the Head; ſo muſt a righteous King know himſelfe to bee ordeined for his people, and not his people for him: For although a King and people be *Relata*; yet can hee be no King if he want people and Subiects. But there be many people in the world that lacke a Head, wherefore I will neuer bee aſhamed to confeſſe it my principall Honour to bee the great Seruant of the Common-wealth, and euer thinke the proſperitie thereof to be my greateſt felicitie, as I haue already ſaid.

But as it was the whole Body of this Kingdome, with an vniforme aſſent and harmonie, as I tolde you in the beginning of my Speech, which did ſo farre oblige mee in good will and thankefulneſſe of requitall by their alacritie and readineſſe in declaring and receiuing mee to that place which God had prouided for mee, and not any particular perſons: (for then it had not bene the body) So is my thankefulneſſe due to the whole State. For euen as in matter of faults, *Quod à multis peccatur, impunè peccatur*: Euen ſo in the matter of vertuous and good deedes, what is done by the willing conſent and harmonie of the whole body, no particular perſon can iuſtly claime thankes as proper to him for the ſame. And therefore I muſt heere make a little Apologie for my ſelfe, in that I could not ſatiſfie the particular humours of euery perſon, that looked for ſome aduancement or reward at my hand ſince my entrie into this Kingdome. Three kinde of things were craued of mee: Aduancement to honour, Preferment to place of Credit about my Perſon, and Reward in matters of land or profit. If I had beſtowed Honour vpon all, no man could haue beene aduanced to Honour: for the degrees of Honour doe conſiſt in perferring ſome aboue their fellowes. If euery man had the like acceſſe to my Priuy or Bed-chamber, then no man could haue it, becauſe it cannot containe all. And if I had beſtowed Lands and Rewards vpon euery man, the fountaine of my liberalitie would be ſo exhauſted and dried, as I would lacke meanes to bee liberall to any man. And yet was I not ſo ſparing, but I may without vaunting affirme that I haue enlarged my fauour in all the three degrees, towards as many and more then euer King of *England* did in ſo ſhort a ſpace: No, I rather craue your pardon that I haue beene

ſo bountifull: for if the meanes of the Crowne bee waſted, I behoued then to haue recourſe to you my Subiects, and bee burdenſome to you, which I would bee lotheſt to bee of any King aliue. For as it is trew, that as I haue already ſaid, it was a whole Body which did deſerue ſo well at my hand, and not euery particular perſon of the people: yet were there ſome who by reaſon of their Office, credit with the people or otherwiſe, tooke occaſion both before, and at the time of my comming amongſt you, to giue proofe of their loue and affection towards me. Not that I am any way in doubt, that if other of my Subiects had beene in their places, and had had the like occaſion, but they would haue vttered the like good effects, (ſo generall and ſo great were the loue and affection of you all towards mee:) But yet this hauing beene performed by ſome ſpeciall perſons, I could not without vnthankfulneſſe but requite them accordingly. And therefore had I iuſt occaſion to aduance ſome in Honour, ſome to places of ſeruice about mee, and by rewarding to enable ſome who had deſerued well of mee, and were not otherwiſe able to maintaine the rankes I thought them capable of, and others who although they had not particularly deſerued before, yet I found them capable and worthy of place of preferment and credit, and not able to ſuſtaine thoſe places for which I thought them fit, without my helpe. Two eſpeciall cauſes moued mee to be ſo open handed: whereof the one was reaſonable and honourable; but the other I will not bee aſhamed to confeſſe vnto you, proceeded of mine owne infirmitie. That which was iuſt and honourable, was: That being ſo farre beholding to the body of the whole State, I thought I could not refuſe to let runne ſome ſmall brookes out of the fountaine of my thankefulneſſe to the whole, for refreſhing of particular perſons that were members of that multitude. The other which proceeded out of mine owne infirmitie, was the multitude and importunitie of Sutors. But although reaſon come by infuſion in a maner, yet experience groweth with time and labour: And therefore doe I not doubt, but experience in time comming will both teach the particular Subiects of this Kingdome, not to be ſo importune and vndiſcreete in crauing: And mee not to be ſo eaſily and lightly mooued, in granting that which may be harmefull to my Eſtate, and conſequently to the whole Kingdome.

And thus hauing at length declared vnto you my minde in all the points, for the which I called this Parliament: My concluſion ſhall onely now be to excuſe my ſelfe, in caſe you haue not found ſuch Eloquence in my Speech, as peraduenture you might haue looked for at my hands. I might, if I liſt, alledge the great weight of my Affaires and my continuall buſineſſe and diſtraction, that I could neuer haue leaſure to thinke vpon what I was to ſpeake, before I came to the place where I was to ſpeake: And I might alſo alledge that my firſt ſight of this ſo famous and Honourable an Aſſembly, might likewiſe breede ſome impediment. But leauing

leauing these excuses, I will plainely and freely in my maner tell you the trew cause of it, which is; That it becommeth a King, in my opinion, to vse no other Eloquence then plainnesse and sinceritie. By plainenesse I meane, that his Speeches should be so cleare and voyd of all ambiguitie, that they may not be throwne, nor rent asunder in contrary sences like the old Oracles of the Pagan gods. And by sinceritie, I vnderstand that vprightnesse and honestie which ought to be in a Kings whole Speeches and actions: That as farre as a King is in Honour erected aboue any of his Subiects, so farre should he striue in sinceritie to be aboue them all, and that his tongue should be euer the trew Messenger of his heart: and this sort of Eloquence may you euer assuredly looke for at my hands.

(* * *)

A SPEACH IN THE PARLIAMENT HOVSE,

AS NEERE THE VERY WORDS AS COVLD BE GATHERED at the instant.

Y Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and you the Knights and Burgesses of this Parliament, It was farre from my thoughts till very lately before my comming to this place, that this Subiect should haue bene ministred vnto mee, whereupon I am now to speake. But now it so falleth out, That whereas in the preceding Session of this Parliament, the principall occasion of my Speach was, to thanke and congratulate all you of this House, and in you, all the whole Common-wealth (as being the representatiue body of the State) for your so willing, and louing receiuing and embracing of mee in that place, which GOD and Nature by descent of blood, had in his owne time prouided for me: So now my Subiect is, to speake of a farre greater Thankesgiuing then before I gaue to you, being to a farre greater person, which is to GOD, for the great and miraculous Deliuery he hath at this time granted to me, and to you all, and consequently to the whole body of this Estate.

I must therefore begin with this old and most approued Sentence of Diuinitie, *Misericordia Dei supra omnia opera eius.* For Almightie God did not furnish so great matter to his glory by the Creation of this great World, as he did by the Redemption of the same. Neither did his generation of the little world in our old & first Adam, so much set forth the praises of God in his Iustice and Mercy, as did our Regeneration in the last & second Adam.

And

And now I muſt craue a little pardon of you, That ſince Kings are in the word of GOD itſelfe called Gods, as being his Lieutenants and Vicegerents on earth, and ſo adorned and furniſhed with ſome ſparkles of the Diuinitie; to compare ſome of the workes of GOD the great KING, towards the whole and generall world, to ſome of his workes towards mee, and this little world of my Dominions, compaſſed and ſeuered by the Sea from the reſt of the earth. For as GOD for the iuſt puniſhment of the firſt great ſinnes in the originall world, when the ſonnes of GOD went in to the daughters of men, and the cup of their iniquities of all ſorts was filled, and heaped vp to the full, did by a generall deluge and ouerflowing of waters, baptize the world to a generall deſtruction, and not to a generall purgation (onely excepted NOAH and his family, who did repent and beleeue the threatnings of GODS iudgement:) So now when the world ſhall waxe old as a garment, and that all the impieties and ſinnes that can be deuiſed againſt both the firſt and ſecond Table, haue and ſhall bee committed to the full meaſure; GOD is to puniſh the world the ſecond time by fire, to the generall deſtruction and not purgation thereof. Although as was done in the former to NOAH and his family by the waters; So ſhall all we that beleeue be likewiſe purged, and not deſtroyed by the fire. In the like ſort, I ſay, I may iuſtly compare theſe two great and fearefull *Domeſ-dayes*, wherewith GOD threatned to deſtroy mee and all you of this little world that haue intereſt in me. For although I confeſſe, as all mankinde, ſo chiefly Kings, as being in the higher places like the high Trees, or ſtayeſt Mountaines, and ſteepeſt Rockes, are moſt ſubiect to the dayly tempeſts of innumerable dangers; and I amongſt all other Kings haue euer bene ſubiect vnto them, not onely euer ſince my birth, but euen as I may iuſtly ſay, before my birth: and while I was yet in my mothers belly: yet haue I bene expoſed to two more ſpeciall and greater dangers then all the reſt.

The firſt of them, in the Kingdome where I was borne, and paſſed the firſt part of my life: And the laſt of them here, which is the greateſt. In the former I ſhould haue bene baptized in blood, and in my deſtruction not onely the Kingdom wherein I then was, but ye alſo by your future intereſt, ſhould haue taſted of my ruine: Yet it pleaſed GOD to deliuer mee, as it were from the very brinke of death, from the point of the dagger, and ſo to purge me by my thankefull acknowledgement of ſo great a benefite. But in this, which did ſo lately fall out, and which was a deſtruction prepared not for me alone, but for you all that are here preſent, and wherein no ranke, aage, nor ſexe ſhould haue bene ſpared; This was not a crying ſinne of blood, as the former, but it may well bee called a roaring, nay a thundring ſinne of fire and brimſtone, from the which GOD hath ſo miraculouſly deliuered vs all. What I can ſpeake of this, I know not: Nay rather, what can I not ſpeake of it? And therefore I muſt for horror ſay with the Poet, *Vox faucibus hæret.*

In

In this great and horrible attempt, whereof the like was neuer either heard or read, I obserue three wonderfull, or rather miraculous euents.

Three miraculous euents be to be obserued in the Attempt.

FIrst, in the crueltie of the Plot it selfe, wherein cannot be enough admired the horrible and fearefull crueltie of their deuice, which was not onely for the destruction of my Person, nor of my Wife and posteritie onely, but of the whole body of the State in generall; wherein should neither haue bene spared, or distinction made of yong nor of old, of great nor of small, of man nor of woman: The whole Nobilitie, the whole reuerend Clergie, Bishops, and most part of the good Preachers, the most part of the Knights and Gentrie; yea, and if that any in this Societie were fauourers of their profession, they should all haue gone one way: The whole Iudges of the land, with the most of the Lawyers, and the whole Clerkes: And as the wretch himselfe which is in the Tower, doeth confesse, it was purposely deuised by them, and concluded to be done in this house; That where the cruell Lawes (as they say) were made against their Religion, both place and persons should all be destroyed and blowne vp at once. And then consider therewithall the cruel fourme of that practise: for by three different sorts in generall may mankinde be put to death.

1. The crueltie of the Plot.

Three wayes how mankind may come to death.

The first, by other men, and reasonable creatures, which is least cruell: for then both defence of men against men may be expected, and likewise who knoweth what pitie God may stirre vp in the hearts of the Actors at the very instant? besides the many wayes and meanes, whereby men may escape in such a present furie.

1. By Man.

And the second way more cruell then that, is by *Animal* and vnreasonable creatures: for as they haue lesse pitie then men, so is it a greater horror and more vnnaturall for men to deale with them: But yet with them both resistance may auaile, and also some pitie may be had, as was in the Lions, in whose denne *Daniel* was throwne; or that thankefull Lion, that had the Romane in his mercie.

2. By vnreasonable creatures.

But the third, which is most cruel and vnmercifull of all, is the destruction by insensible and inanimate things, and amongst them all, the most cruell are the two Elements of Water and Fire; and of those two, the fire most raging and mercilesse.

3. By insensible things.

SEcondly, how wonderfull it is when you shall thinke vpon the small, or rather no ground, whereupon the practisers were entised to inuent this Tragedie. For if these Conspirators had onely bene bankrupt persons, or discontented vpon occasion of any disgraces done vnto them; this might haue seemed to haue bene but a worke of reuenge. But for my owne part, as I scarcely euer knew any of them, so cannot they alledge so much as a pretended cause of griefe: And the wretch himselfe in hands doeth confesse, That there was no cause mooving him or them,

2. The small ground the Conspirators had to moue them.

them, but meerely and only Religion. And ſpecially that chriſtian men, at leaſt ſo called, Engliſhmen, borne within the Countrey, and one of the ſpecials of them my ſworne Seruant in an Honourable place, ſhould practiſe the deſtruction of their King, his Poſterity, their Countrey and all: Wherein their following obſtinacie is ſo ioyned to their former malice, as the fellow himſelfe that is in hand, cannot be moued to diſcouer any ſignes or notes of repentance, except onely that he doeth not yet ſtand to auow, that he repents for not being able to performe his intent.

3 Miraculous euent, the diſcouerie.

THirdly, the diſcouery hereof is not a little wonderfull, which would bee thought the more miraculous by you all, if you were aſwell acquainted with my naturall diſpoſition, as thoſe are who be neere about me: For as I euer did hold Suſpition to be the ſicknes of a Tyrant, ſo was I ſo farre vpon the other extremity, as I rather contemned all aduertiſements, or apprehenſions of practiſes. And yet now at this time was I ſo farre contrary to my ſelfe, as when the Letter was ſhewed to me by my Secretary, wherein a generall obſcure aduertiſement was giuen of ſome dangerous blow at this time, I did vpon the inſtant interpret and apprehend ſome darke phraſes therein, contrary to the ordinary Grammer conſtruction of them, (and in an other ſort then I am ſure any Diuine, or Lawyer in any Vniuerſitie would haue taken them) to be meant by this horrible forme of blowing vs vp all by Powder; And thereupon ordered that ſearch to be made, whereby the matter was diſcouered, and the man apprehended: whereas if I had apprehended or interpreted it to any other ſort of danger, no worldly prouiſion or preuention could haue made vs eſcape our vtter deſtruction.

And in that alſo was there a wonderfull prouidence of God, that when the party himſelfe was taken, he was but new come out of his houſe from working, hauing his Fireworke for kindling ready in his pocket, wherewith as he confeſſeth, if he had bene taken but immediatly before when he was in the Houſe, he was reſolued to haue blowen vp himſelfe with his Takers.

One thing for mine owne part haue I cauſe to thanke GOD in, That if GOD for our ſinnes had ſuffered their wicked intents to haue preuailed, it ſhould neuer haue bene ſpoken nor written in aages ſucceeding, that I had died inglorioufly in an Ale-houſe, a Stews, or ſuch vile place, but mine end ſhould haue bene with the moſt Honourable and beſt company, and in that moſt Honourable and fitteſt place for a King to be in, for doing the turnes moſt proper to his Office. And the more haue We all cauſe to thanke and magnifie GOD for this his mercifull Deliuery; And ſpecially I for my part, that he hath giuen me yet once leaue, whatſoeuer ſhould come of me hereafter, to aſſemble you in this Honourable place; And here in this place, where our generall deſtruction ſhould haue bene, to magnifie and praiſe him for Our generall deliuery: That I may iuſtly now ſay of mine

Enemies

Enemies and yours, as *Dauid* doeth often say in the Psalme, *Inciderunt in foueam quam fecerunt.* And since *Scipio* an Ethnick, led onely by the light of Nature, That day when he was accused by the *Tribunes* of the people of *Rome* for mispending and wasting in his *Punick* warres the Cities Treasure, euen vpon the sudden brake out with that diuersion of them from that matter, calling them to remembrance how that day, was the day of the yeere, wherein God had giuen them so great a victory against *Hannibal*, and therefore it was fitter for them all, leauing other matters, to runne to the Temple to praise God for that so great deliuery, which the people did all follow with one applause: How much more cause haue we that are Christians to bestow this time in this place for Thankes-giuing to God for his great Mercy, though we had had no other errant of assembling here at this time? wherein if I haue spoken more like a Diuine then would seeme to belong to this place, the matter it selfe must plead for mine excuse: For being here commen to thanke God for a diuine worke of his Mercy, how can I speake of this deliuerance of vs from so hellish a practise, so well as in language of Diuinitie, which is the direct opposite to so damnable an intention? And therefore may I iustly end this purpose, as I did begin it with this Sentence, *The Mercie of God is aboue all his workes.*

It resteth now that I should shortly informe you what is to bee done hereafter vpon the occasion of this horrible and strange accident. As for your part that are my faithfull and louing Subiects of all degrees, I know that your hearts are so burnt vp with zeale in this errant, and your tongues so ready to vtter your duetifull affections, and your hands and feete so bent to concurre in the execution thereof, (for which as I neede not to spurre you, so can I not but praise you for the same:) As it may very well be possible that the zeale of your hearts shall make some of you in your speaches rashly to blame such as may bee innocent of this attempt; But vpon the other part I wish you to consider, That I would be sorie that any being innocent of this practise, either domesticall or forraine, should receiue blame or harme for the same. For although it cannot be denied, That it was the onely blinde superstition of their errors in Religion, that led them to this desperate deuice; yet doth it not follow, That all professing that *Romish* religion were guiltie of the same. For as it is trew, That no other sect of heretiques, not excepting *Turke*, *Iew*, nor *Pagan*, no not euen those of *Calicute*, who adore the deuill, did euer maintaine by the grounds of their religion, That it was lawfull, or rather meritorious (as the *Romish* Catholickes call it) to murther Princes or people for quarrell of Religion. And although particular men of all professions of Religion haue beene some Theeues, some Murtherers, some Traitors, yet euer when they came to their end and iust punishment, they confessed their fault to bee in their nature, and not in their profession, (These *Romish* Catholicks onely excepted:) Yet it is trew on the other side, that many honest men blinded peraduenture with some opinions of Popery, as if they be not sound in the questions of the

Reall

Reall presence, or in the number of the Sacraments, or some such Schoole question: yet doe they either not know, or at least not beleeue all the trew grounds of Popery, which is in deed *The mysterie of iniquitie.* And therefore doe we iustly confesse, that many Papists, especially our forefathers, laying their onely trust vpon CHRIST and his Merits at their last breath, may be, and often times are saued; detesting in that point, and thinking the crueltie of Puritanes worthy of fire, that will admit no saluation to any Papist. I therefore thus doe conclude this point, That as vpon the one part many honest men, seduced with some errors of Popery, may yet remaine good and faithfull Subiects: So vpon the other part, none of those that trewly know and beleeue the whole grounds, and Schoole conclusions of their doctrine, can euer proue either good Christians, or faithfull Subiects. And for the part of forraine Princes and States, I may so much the more acquite them, and their Ministers of their knowledge and consent to any such villanie, as I may iustly say, that in that point I better know all Christian Kings by my selfe, That no King nor Prince of Honour will euer abase himselfe so much, as to thinke a good thought of so base and dishonourable a Treachery, wishing you therefore, that as God hath giuen me an happie Peace and Amitie, with all other Christian Princes my neighbours (as was euen now very grauely told you by my L. Chancellor) that so you will reuerently iudge and speake of them in this case. And for my part I would wish with those ancient Philosophers, that there were a Christall window in my brest, wherein all my people might see the secretest thoughts of my heart, for then might you all see no alteration in my minde for this accident, further then in these two points. The first, Caution and warinesse in gouerniment, to discouer and search out the mysteries of this wickednesse as farre as may be: The other, after due triall, Seueritie of punishment vpon those that shall bee found guilty of so detestable and vnheard of villanie. And now in this matter if I haue troubled your eares with an abrupt speach, vndigested in any good methode or order; you haue to consider that an abrupt, and vnaduised speach doeth best become in the relation of so abrupt and vnorderly an accident.

And although I haue ordained the proroguing of this Parliament vntil after Christmas vpon two necessary respects: whereof the first is, that neither I nor my Councell can haue leisure at this time both to take order for the Apprehension and triall of these Conspiratours, and also to wait vpon the dayly affaires of the Parliament, as the Councell must doe: And the other reason is, the necessitie at this time of diuers of your presences in your Shires that haue Charges and Commandements there. For as these wretches thought to haue blowen vp in a maner the whole world of this Island, euery man being now commen vp here, either for publike causes of Parliament, or else for their owne priuate causes in Law, or otherwise: So these Rebels that now wander through the Countrey, could neuer haue gotten so fit a time of safetie in their passage, or whatsoeuer vnlawfull Actions,

ons,as now when the Countrey by the foresaid occasions is in a maner left desolate,and waste vnto them. Besides that,it may be that I shall desire you at your next Session, to take vpon you the Iudgement of this Crime: For as so extraordinary a Fact deserues extraordinary Iudgement, So can there not I thinke (following euen their owne Rule) be a fitter Iudgement for them, then that they should be measured with the same measure wherewith they thought to measure vs: And that the same place and persons, whom they thought to destroy, should be the iust auengers of their so vnnaturall a Parricide: Yet not knowing that I will haue occasion to meete with you my selfe in this place at the beginning of the next Session of this Paliament, (because if it had not been for deliuering of the Articles agreed vpon by the Commissioners of the Vnion, which was thought most conuenient to be done in my presence,where both Head and Members of the Parliament were met together, my presence had not otherwise been requisite here at this time.) I haue therefore thought good for conclusion of this Meeting, to discourse to you somewhat anent the trew nature and definition of a Parliament, which I will remit to your memories till your next sitting downe, that you may then make vse of it as occasion shall bee ministred.

For albeit it be trew,that at the first Session of my first Parliament,which was not long after mine Entrie into this Kingdome, It could not become me to informe you of any thing belonging to Law or State heere: (for all knowledge must either bee infused or acquired,and seeing the former sort thereof is now with Prophecie ceased in the world, it could not be possible for me at my first Entry here,before Experience had taught it me,to be able to vnderstand the particular mysteries of this State:) yet now that I haue reigned almost three yeeres amongst you, and haue beene carefull to obserue those things that belong to the office of a King, albeit that Time be but a short time for experience in others, yet in a King may it be thought a reasonable long time,especially in me, who,although I be but in a maner a new King heere, yet haue bene long acquainted with the office of a King in such another Kingdome, as doeth neerest of all others agree with the Lawes and customes of this State. Remitting to your consideration to iudge of that which hath beene concluded by the Commissioners of the Vnion, wherein I am at this time to signifie vnto you, That as I can beare witnesse to the foresaid Commissioners,that they haue not agreed nor concluded therein any thing,wherein they haue not foreseen as well the weale and commodity of the one Countrey,as of the other; So can they all beare mee record, that I was so farre from pressing them to agree to any thing, which might bring with it any preiudice to this people; as by the contrary I did euer admonish them, neuer to conclude vpon any such Vnion, as might cary hurt or grudge with it to either of the said Nations: for the leauing of any such thing, could not but be the greatest hinderance that might be to such an Action,which God by the lawes of Nature had proui-

ded to be in his owne time, and hath now in effect perfected in my Person, to which purpose my Lord Chancellour hath better spoken, then I am able to relate.

And as to the nature of this high Court of Parliament, It is nothing else but the Kings great Councell, which the King doeth assemble either vpon occasion of interpreting, or abrogating old Lawes, or making of new, according as ill maners shall deserue, or for the publike punishment of notorious euill doers, or the praise and reward of the vertuous and well deseruers; wherein these foure things are to be considered.

1 First, whereof this Court is composed.
2 Secondly, what matters are proper for it.
3 Thirdly, to what end it is ordeined.
4 And fourthly, what are the meanes and wayes whereby this end should bee brought to passe.

As for the thing it selfe, It is composed of a Head and a Body: The Head is the King, the Body are the members of the Parliament. This Body againe is subdiuided into two parts; The Vpper and Lower House: The Vpper compounded partly of Nobility, Temporall men, who are heritable Councellors to the high Court of Parliament by the honour of their Creation and Lands: And partly of Bishops, Spirituall men, who are likewise by the vertue of their place and dignitie Councellours, Life Renters, or *Ad vitam* of this Court. The other House is composed of Knights for the Shire; and Gentry, and Burgesses for the Townes. But because the number would be infinite for all the Gentlemen and Burgesses to bee present at euery Parliament, Therefore a certaine number is selected and chosen out of that great Body, seruing onely for that Parliament, where their persons are the representation of that Body.

Now the matters whereof they are to treate ought therefore to be generall, and rather of such matters as cannot well bee performed without the assembling of that generall Body, and no more of these generals neither, then necessity shall require: for as *in Corruptissima Republica sunt plurimæ leges:* So doeth the life and strength of the Law consist not in heaping vp infinite and confused numbers of Lawes, but in the right interpretation and good execution of good and wholesome Lawes. If this be so then, neither is this a place on the one side for euery rash and harebrained fellow to propone new Lawes of his owne inuention: nay rather I could wish these busie heads to remember that Law of the Lacedemonians, That whosoeuer came to propone a new Law to the people, behooued publikely to present himselfe with a rope about his necke, that in case the Law were not allowed, he should be hanged therwith. So warie should men be of proponing Nouelties, but most of all not to propone any bitter or seditious Laws, which can produce nothing but grudges and discontentment betweene the Prince and his people. Nor yet is it on the other side a conuenient place for priuate men vnder the colour of general Lawes, to pro-

to propone nothing but their owne particular gaine, either to the hurt of their priuate neighbours, or to the hurt of the whole State in generall, which many times vnder faire and pleasing Titles, are smoothly passed ouer, and so by stealth procure without consideration, that the priuate meaning of them tendeth to nothing but either to the wrecke of a particular partie, or else vnder colour of publike benefite to pill the poore people, and serue as it were for a generall Impost vpon them for filling the purses of some priuate persons.

And as to the end for which the Parliament is ordeined, being only for the aduancement of Gods glory, and the establishment and wealth of the King and his people: It is no place then for particular men to vtter there their priuate conceipts, nor for satisfaction of their curiosities, and least of all to make shew of their eloquence by tyning the time with long studied and eloquent Orations: No, the reuerence of God, their King, and their Countrey being well setled in their hearts, will make them ashamed of such toyes, and remember that they are there as sworne Councellours to their King, to giue their best aduise for the furtherance of his Seruice, and the florishing Weale of his Estate.

And lastly, if you will rightly consider the meanes and wayes how to bring all your labours to a good end, you must remember, That you are heere assembled by your lawfull King to giue him your best aduises, in the matters proposed by him vnto you, being of that nature, which I haue already told, wherein you are grauely to deliberate, and vpon your consciences plainely to determine how farre those things propounded doe agree with the weale, both of your King and of your Countrey, whose weales cannot be separated. And as for my selfe, the world shall euer beare mee witnesse, That I neuer shall propone any thing vnto you, which shall not as well tend to the weale publike, as to any benefite for me: So shall I neuer oppone my selfe to that, which may tend to the good of the Commonwealth, for the which I am ordeined, as I haue often said. And as you are to giue your aduise in such things as shall by your King be proposed: So is it on your part your dueties to propone any thing that you can after mature deliberation iudge to be needefull, either for these ends already spoken of, or otherwise for the discouery of any latent euill in the Kingdome, which peraduenture may not haue commen to the Kings eare. If this then ought to bee your graue maner of proceeding in this place, Men should bee ashamed to make shew of the quicknesse of their wits here, either in taunting, scoffing, or detracting the Prince or State in any point, or yet in breaking iests vpon their fellowes, for which the Ordinaries or Ale-houses are fitter places, then this Honourable and high Court of Parliament.

In conclusion then since you are to breake vp, for the reasons I haue already told you, I wish such of you as haue any charges in your Countreys, to hasten you home for the repressing of the insolencies of these Rebels, and apprehension of their persons, wherin as I heartily pray to the Almighty for

tie for your prosperous successe: So doe I not doubt, but we shall shortly heare the good newes of the same; And that you shall haue an happie returne, and meeting here to all our comforts.

Here the Lord Chancellor spake touching the proroguing of the Parliament: And hauing done, his Maiestie rose againe, and said,

SInce it pleased God to graunt mee two such notable Deliueries vpon one day of the weeke, which was Tuesday, and likewise one day of the Moneth, which was the fifth; Thereby to teach mee, That as it was the same deuill that still persecuted mee; So it was one and the same GOD that still mightily deliuered mee: I thought it therefore not amisse, That the one and twentieth day of Ianuary, which fell to be vpon Tuesday, should bee the day of meeting of this next Session of Parliament, hoping and assuring my selfe, that the same GOD, who hath now granted me and you all so notable and gracious a deliuerie, shall prosper all our affaires at that next Session, and bring them to an happie conclusion. And now I consider GOD hath well prouided it, that the ending of this Parliament hath bene so long continued: For as for my owne part, I neuer had any other intention, but onely to seeke so farre my weale, and prosperitie, as might coniunctly stand with the flourishing State of the whole Common-wealth, as I haue often told you; So on the other part I confesse, if I had bene in your places at the beginning of this Parliament, (which was so soone after mine entry into this Kingdome, wherein ye could not possibly haue so perfect a knowledge of mine inclination, as experience since hath taught you,) I could not but haue suspected, and mis-interpreted diuers things, In the trying whereof, now I hope, by your experience of my behauiour and forme of gouernment, you are well ynough cleared, and resolued.

(* * *)

A SPEACH

A SPEACH TO BOTH THE HOVSES OF PARLIAMENT, DELIVERED IN THE GREAT CHAMBER AT WHITE-HALL,

THE LAST DAY OF March 1607.

MY Lords of the higher House, and you Knights and Burgesses of the Lower house, All men at the beginning of a Feast bring foorth good Wine first, and after, worse. This was the saying of the Gouernour of the Feast at *Cana* in *Galile*, where CHRIST wrought his first miracle by changing water into Wine. But in this case now whereof I am to speake vnto you, I must follow that Gouernours rule, and not CHRISTS example, in giuing you the worst and sowrest Wine last. For all the time of this long Session of the Parliament you haue bene so fed and cloy'd, (specially you of the Lower house) with such banquets, and choise of delicate speeches, and your eares so seasoned with the sweetnesse of long precogitate Orations; as this my Speach now in the breaking vp of this Assembly, cannot but appeare vnto your taste as the worst Wine proposed in the end of the Banquet, since I am onely to deliuer now vnto you matter without curious forme, substance without ceremonie, trewth in all sinceritie. Yet considering the Person that speaketh, the parties to whom I speake, the matter whereof I meane to speake; it fits better to vtter mat-

ter, rather then wordes, in regard of the greatneſſe of my place who am to ſpeake to you, the grauitie of you the Auditorie, which is the high Court of Parliament; the weight of the matter, which concernes the ſecuritie and eſtabliſhment of this whole Empire, and litle world. Studied Orations and much eloquence vpon little matter is fit for the Vniuerſities, where not the Subiect which is ſpoken of, but the triall of his wit that ſpeaketh, is moſt commendable: but on the contrary, in all great Councels of Parliaments, feweſt wordes with moſt matter doeth become beſt, where the diſpatch of the great errands in hand, and not the praiſe of the perſon is moſt to bee looked vnto: like the garment of a chaſte woman, who is onely ſet forth by her naturall beautie, which is properly her owne: other deckings are but enſignes of an harlot that flies with borrowed feathers. And beſides the conueniencie, I am forced hereunto by neceſſitie, my place calling me to action, and not leauing me to the libertie of contemplation, hauing alwayes my thoughts buſied with the publique care of you all, where euery one of you hauing but himſelfe, and his owne priuate to thinke of, are at more leiſure to make ſtudied ſpeeches. And therefore the matter which I deliuer you confuſedly as in a ſacke, I leaue it to you when you are in your chambers, and haue better leyſure then I can haue, to ranke them in order, euery one in their owne place.

Thus much by way of Preface. But I proceed to the matter: Whereof I might ſay with *S. Paul*, I could ſpeake in as many tongues as you all, but I had rather ſpeake three wordes to edification, then talke all day without vnderſtanding. In vaine (ſaith the *Pſalmiſt*) doeth the builder build the houſe, or the watchman watch the Citie, vnleſſe the Lord giue his bleſſing thereunto. And in the New Teſtament S. *Paul* ſaith, That hee may plant, *Apollo* may water, but it is GOD onely that muſt giue the increaſe. This I ſpeake, becauſe of the long time which hath bene ſpent about the Treatie of the Vnion. For my ſelfe, I proteſt vnto you all, When I firſt propounded the Vnion, I then thought there could haue bene no more queſtion of it, then of your declaration and acknowledgement of my right vnto this Crowne, and that as two Twinnes, they would haue growne vp together. The errour was my miſtaking; I knew mine owne ende, but not others feares: But now finding many croſſings, long diſputations, ſtrange queſtions, and nothing done; I muſt needs thinke it proceeds either of miſtaking of the errand, or elſe from ſome iealouſie of me the Propounder, that you ſo adde delay vnto delay, ſearching out as it were the very bowels of Curioſitie, and conclude nothing. Neither can I condemne you for being yet in ſome iealouſie of my intention in this matter, hauing not yet had ſo great experience of my behauiour and inclination in theſe few yeeres paſt, as you may peraduenture haue in a longer time hereafter, and not hauing occaſion to conſult dayly with my ſelfe, and heare mine owne opinion in all thoſe particulars which are debated among you.

But

But here I pray you now mistake mee not at the first, when as I seeme to finde fault with your delayes and curiositie, as if I would haue you to resolue in an houres time, that which will take a moneths aduisement: for you all know, that *Rex est lex loquens*; And you haue oft heard mee say, That the Kings will and intention being the speaking Law, ought to bee *Luce clarius*: and I hope you of the Lower house haue the proofe of this my clearenesse by a Bil sent you downe from the Vpper house within these few dayes, or rather few houres: wherein may very well appeare vnto you the care I haue to put my Subiects in good securitie of their possessions for all posterities to come. And therefore that you may clearely vnderstand my meaning in that point, I doe freely confesse you had reason to aduise at leasure vpon so great a cause: for great matters doe euer require great deliberation before they be well concluded. *Deliberandum est diu quod statuendum est semel.* Consultations must proceed *lento pede*, but the execution of a sentence vpon the resolution would be speedie. If you will goe on, it matters not though you goe with leaden feet, so you make still some progresse, and that there be no let or needlesse delay, and doe not *Nodum in scirpo quærere*. I am euer for the *Medium* in euery thing. Betweene foolish rashnesse and extreame length, there is a middle way. Search all that is reasonable, but omit that which is idle, curious and vnnecessary; otherwise there can neuer be a resolution or end in any good worke.

And now from the generall I wil descend to particulars, and wil onely for the ease of your memories diuide the matter that I am to speake of, into foure heads, by opening vnto you, First, what I craue: Secondly, in what maner I desire it: Thirdly, what commodities will ensue to both the Kingdomes by it: Fourthly, what the supposed inconueniencie may be that giues impediments thereunto.

For the first, what I craue, I protest before GOD who knowes my heart, and to you my people before whom it were a shame to lie, that I claime nothing but with acknowledgement of my Bond to you; that as yee owe to me subiection and obedience: So my Soueraigntie obligeth mee to yeeld to you loue, gouernment and protection: Neither did I euer wish any happinesse to my selfe, which was not conioyned with the happinesse of my people. I desire a perfect Vnion of Lawes and persons, and such a Naturalizing as may make one body of both Kingdomes vnder mee your King, That I and my posteritie (if it so please God) may rule ouer you to the worlds ende; Such an Vnion as was of the Scots and Pictes in Scotland, and of the Heptarchie here in England. And for Scotland I auow such an Vnion, as if you had got it by Conquest, but such a Conquest as may be cemented by loue, the onely sure bond of subiection or friendship: that as there is ouer both but *vnus Rex*, so there may be in both but *vnus Grex & vna Lex*: For no more possible is it for one King to gouerne two Countreys *Contiguous*, the one a great, the other a lesse, a richer and a poorer, the greater drawing like an Adamant the lesser to the Commodities

dities thereof, then for one head to gouerne two bodies, or one man to be husband of two wiues, whereof Christ himselfe said, *Ab initio non fuit sic.*

But in the generall Vnion you must obserue two things: for I will discouer my thoughts plainly vnto you; I study clearenes, not eloquence, And therefore with the olde Philosopers, I would heartily wish my brest were a transparent glasse for you all to see through, that you might looke into my heart, and then would you be satisfied of my meaning. For when I speake of a perfect Vnion, I meane not confusion of all things: you must not take from Scotland those particular Priuiledges that may stand as well with this Vnion, as in England many particular customes in particular Shires, (as the Customes of Kent, and the Royalties of the Countie Palatine of Chester) do with the Common Law of the Kingdome: for euery particular Shire almost, and much more euery Countie, haue some particular customes that are as it were naturally most fit for that people. But I meane of such a generall Vnion of Lawes as may reduce the whole Iland, that as they liue already vnder one Monarch, so they may all bee gouerned by one Law: For I must needs confesse by that little experience I haue had since my comming hither, and I thinke I am able to prooue it, that the grounds of the Common Law of England, are the best of any Law in the world, either Ciuil or Municipall, and the fittest for this people. But as euery Law would be cleare and full, so the obscuritie in some points of this our written Law, and want of fulnesse in others, the variation of Cases and mens curiositie, breeding euery day new questions, hath enforced the Iudges to iudge in many Cases here, by Cases and presidents, wherein I hope Lawyers themselues will not denie but that there must be a great vncertaintie, and I am sure all the rest of you that are Gentlemen of other professions were long agoe wearie of it, if you could haue had it amended: For where there is varietie and vncertaintie, although a iust Iudge may do rightly, yet an ill Iudge may take aduantage to doe wrong; and then are all honest men that succeede him, tied in a maner to his vniust and partiall conclusions. Wherefore, leaue not the Law to the pleasure of the Iudge, but let your Lawes be looked into: for I desire not the abolishing of the Lawes, but onely the clearing and the sweeping off the rust of them, and that by Parliament our Lawes might be cleared and made knowen to all the Subiects. Yea rather it were lesse hurt, that all the approued Cases were set downe and allowed by Parliament for standing Lawes in all time to come: For although some of them peraduenture may bee vniust as set downe by corrupt Iudges; yet better it is to haue a certaine Law with some spots in it, nor liue vnder such an vncertaine and arbitrarie Law, since as the prouerbe is, It is lesse harme to suffer an inconuenience then a mischiefe. And now may you haue faire occasion of amending and polishing your Lawes, when Scotland is to bee vnited with you vnder them: for who can blame Scotland to say, If you will take away our owne Lawes, I pray you giue vs a better and cleerer in place thereof.

But

But this is not possible to bee done without a fit preparation. Hee that buildeth a Ship, must first prouide the timber; and as Christ himselfe said, No man will build an house, but he will first prouide the materials: nor a wise King will not make warre against another, without he first make prouision of money: and all great workes must haue their preparation: and that was my end in causing the Instrument of the Vnion to be made. Vnion is a mariage: would he not bee thought absurd that for furthering of a mariage betweene two friends of his, would make his first motion to haue the two parties be laid in bedde together, and performe the other turnes of mariage? must there not precede the mutuall sight and acquaintance of the parties one with another, the conditions of the contract, and Ioincture to be talked of and agreed vpon by their friends, and such other things as in order ought to goe before the ending of such a worke? The vnion is an eternall agreement and reconciliation of many long bloody warres that haue beene betweene these two ancient Kingdomes. Is it the readiest way to agree a priuate quarell betweene two, to bring them at the first to shake hands, and as it were kisse other, and lie vnder one roofe or rather in one bedde together, before that first the ground of their quarell be communed vpon, their mindes mitigated, their affections prepared, and all other circumstances first vsed, that ought to be vsed to proceed to such a finall agreement? Euery honest man desireth a perfect Vnion, but they that say so, and admit no preparation thereto, haue *mel in ore, fel in corde.* If after your so long talke of Vnion in all this long Session of Parliament, yee rise without agreeing vpon any particular; what will the neighbour Princes iudge, whose eyes are all fixed vpon the conclusion of this Action, but that the King is refused in his desire, whereby the Nation should bee taxed, and the King disgraced? And what an ill preparation is it for the mindes of Scotland toward the Vnion, when they shall heare that ill is spoken of their whole Nation, but nothing is done nor aduanced in the matter of the Vnion it selfe? But this I am glad was but the fault of one, and one is no number: yet haue your neighbours of Scotland this aduantage of you, that none of them haue spoken ill of you (nor shall as long as I am King) in Parliament, or any such publique place of Iudicature. Consider therefore well, if the mindes of Scotland had not neede to be well prepared to perswade their mutuall consent, seeing you here haue all the great aduantage by the Vnion. Is not here the personall residence of the King, his whole Court and family? Is not here the seate of Iustice, and the fountaine of Gouernment? must they not be subiected to the Lawes of England, and so with time become but as Cumberland and Northumberland, and those other remote and Northerne Shires? you are to be the husband, they the wife: you conquerours, they as conquered, though not by the sword, but by the sweet and sure bond of loue. Besides that, they as other Northerne Countreys will beseldome seene and saluted by their King, and that as it were but in a posting or hunting iourney.

How

How little cauſe then they may haue of ſuch a change of ſo ancient a Monarchie into the caſe of priuate Shires, iudge rightly herein. And that you may be the more vpright Iudges, ſuppoſe your ſelues the Patients of whom ſuch ſentence ſhould be giuen. But what preparation is it which I craue? onely ſuch as by the entrance may ſhew ſomething is done, yet more is intended. There is a conceipt intertained, and a double iealouſie poſſeſſeth many, wherein I am miſiudged.

Firſt, that this Vnion will be the *Criſis* to the ouerthrow of England, and ſetting vp of Scotland: England will then bee ouerwhelmed by the ſwarming of the Scots, who if the Vnion were effected, would raigne and rule all.

The ſecond is, my profuſe liberalitie to the Scottiſh men more then the Engliſh, and that with this Vnion all things ſhalbe giuen to them, and you turned out of all: To you ſhall bee left the ſweat and labour, to them ſhall bee giuen the fruite and ſweet; and that my forbearance is but till this Vnion may be gained. How agreeable this is to the trewth, Iudge you; And that not by my wordes, but by my Actions. Doe I craue the Vnion without exceptions? doe I not offer to binde my ſelfe and to reſerue to you, as in the Inſtrument, all places of Iudicature? doe I intend any thing which ſtandeth not with the equall good of both Nations? I could then haue done it, and not ſpoken of it: For all men of vnderſtanding muſt agree, that I might diſpoſe without aſſent of Parliament, Offices of Iudicature, and others, both Eccleſiaſticall and Temporall: But herein I did voluntarily offer by my Letters from Royſton to the Commiſſioners, to bind my Prerogatiue.

Some thinke that I will draw the Scottiſh Nation hither, talking idlely of tranſporting of Trees out of a barren ground into a better, and of leane cattell out of bad paſture into a more fertile ſoile. Can any man diſplant you, vnleſſe you will? or can any man thinke that Scotland is ſo ſtrong to pull you out of your houſes? or doe you not thinke I know England hath more people, Scotland more waſt ground? So that there is roumth in Scotland rather to plant your idle people that ſwarme in London ſtreets, and other Townes, and diſburden you of them, then to bring more vnto you; And in caſes of Iuſtice, if I bee partiall to either ſide, let my owne mouth condemne me, as vnworthy to be your King.

I appeale to your ſelues, if in fauour or Iuſtice I haue beene partiall: Nay, my intention was euer, you ſhould then haue moſt cauſe to praiſe my diſcretion, when you ſaw I had moſt power. If hitherto I haue done nothing to your preiudice, much leſſe meane I hereafter. If when I might haue done it without any breach of promiſe; Thinke ſo of mee, that much leſſe I will doe it, when a Law is to reſtraine me. I owe no more to the Scottiſh men then to the Engliſh. I was borne there, and ſworne here, and now raigne ouer both. Such particular perſons of the Scottiſh Nation, as might claime any extraordinary merit at my handes, I haue already reaſonably

reasonably rewarded, and I can assure you that there is none left, whom for I meane extraordinary to straine my selfe further, then in such ordinary benefit as I may equally bestow without mine owne great hurt, vpon any Subiect of either Nation; In which case no Kings handes can euer be fully closed. To both I owe Iustice and protection, which with Gods grace I shall euer equally ballance.

For my Liberalitie, I haue told you of it heretofore: my three first yeeres were to me as a Christmas, I could not then be miserable: should I haue bene ouersparing to them? they might haue thought *Ioseph* had forgotten his brethren, or that the King had beene drunke with his new Kingdome. But Suites goe not now so cheape as they were wont, neither are there so many fees taken in the Hamper and Pettibagge for the great Seale as hath beene. And if I did respect the English when I came first, of whom I was receiued with ioy, and came as in a hunting iourney, what might the Scottish haue iustly said, if I had not in some measure dealt bountifully with them that so long had serued me, so farre aduentured themselues with me, and beene so faithfull to mee. I haue giuen you now foure yeeres proofe since my comming, and what I might haue done more to haue raised the Scottish nation you all know, and the longer I liue, the lesse cause haue I to be acquainted with them, and so the lesse hope of extraordinary fauour towards them: For since my comming from them I doe not alreadie know the one halfe of them by face, most of the youth being now risen vp to bee men, who were but children when I was there, and more are borne since my comming thence.

Now for my lands and reuenues of my Crowne which you may thinke I haue diminished, They are not yet so farre diminished, but that I thinke no prince of Christendome hath fairer possessions to his Crowne then yet I haue: and in token of my care to preserue the same to my posteritie for euer, the intaile of my lands to the Crowne hath beene long agoe offered vnto you: and that it is not yet done, is not my fault as you know. My Treasurer here knoweth my care, and hath already in part declared it, and if I did not hope to treble my Reuenue more then I haue empaired it, I should neuer rest quietly in my bed. But notwithstanding my comming to the Crowne, with that extraordinarie applause which you all know, and that I had two Nations to bee the obiects of my liberalitie, which neuer any Prince had here before; will you compare my gifts out of mine inheritance with some Princes here that had onely this Nation to respect, and whose whole time of reigne was litle longer then mine hath bene already? It will be found that their gifts haue farre surpassed mine, albeit as I haue already said, they had nothing so great cause of vsing their liberalitie.

For the maner of the Vnion presently desired, It standeth in 3. parts: The first, taking away of hostile Lawes: for since there can bee now no Warres betwixt you, is it not reason hostile Lawes should cease? Secondly

For,

For, *deficiente causa deficit effectus.* The King of England now cannot haue warres with the King of Scotland, therefore this failes of it selfe. The second is communitie of Commerce. I am no stranger vnto you: for you all know I came from the loynes of your ancient Kings. They of Scotland be my Subiects as you are. But how can I bee naturall Liege Lord to you both, and you strangers one to the other? Shall they which be of one alleagance with you, be no better respected of you, nor freer amongst you, then Frenchmen and Spaniards? Since I am Soueraigne ouer both, you as Subiects to one King, it must needes follow that you conuerse and haue Commerce together. There is a rumour of some ill dealings that should be vsed by the Commissioners, Merchants of Scotland. They be heere in England, and shall remaine till your next meeting, and abide triall, to prooue themselues either honest men or knaues.

3. For the third point, of Naturalization, All you agree that they are no Aliens, and yet will not allow them to bee naturall. What kinde of prerogatiue will you make? But for the *Post nati*, your owne Lawyers and Iudges at my first comming to this Crowne, informed me, there was a difference betweene the *Antè* and the *Post nati* of each Kingdome, which caused mee to publish a Proclamation, that the *Post nati* were Naturalized (*Ipso facto*) by my Accession to this Crowne. I doe not denie but Iudges may erre as men, and therefore I doe not presse you here to sweare to all their reasons. I onely vrge at this time the conueniencie for both Kingdomes, neither pressing you to iudge nor to be iudged. But remember also it is as possible and likely your owne Lawyers may erre as the Iudges: Therefore as I wish you to proceede herein so farre as may tend to the weale of both Nations; So would I haue you on the other part to beware to disgrace either my Proclamations or the Iudges, who when the Parliament is done, haue power to trie your lands and liues, for so you may disgrace both your King and your Lawes. For the doing of any acte that may procure lesse reuerence to the Iudges, cannot but breede a loosenesse in the Gouernement, and a disgrace to the whole Nation. The reason that most mooues mee for ought I haue yet heard, that there cannot but bee a difference betweene the *Antè nati* and the *Post nati*, and that in the fauour of the last, is that they must bee neerer vnto you being borne vnder the present Gouernement and common Allegiance: but in point of conueniencie, there is no question but the *Post nati* are more to bee respected: For if you would haue a perfect and perpetuall Vnion, that cannot be in the *Antè nati*, who are but few in comparison of those that shall be in all aages succeeding, and cannot liue long. But in the *Post nati* shall the Vnion be continued and liue euer aage after aage, which wanting a difference cannot but leaue a perpetuall marke of separation in the worke of the Vnion: as also that argument of iealousie will be so farre remooued in the case of the *Post nati* which are to reape the benefit in all succeeding aages, as by the contrary there will then rise *Pharaos* which neuer knew *Ioseph.* The Kings my Succes-

Succeſſours, who beeing borne and bred heere, can neuer haue more occaſion of acquaintance with the Scottiſh Nation in generall, then any other Engliſh King that was before my time. Bee not therefore abuſed with the flattering ſpeeches of ſuch as would haue the *Antè nati* preferred, alleadging their merit in my Seruice, and ſuch other reaſons which indeede are but Sophiſmes: For, my rewarding out of my Liberalitie of any particular men, hath nothing adoe with the generall acte of the Vnion, which muſt not regard the deſerts of priuate perſons, but the generall weale and conioyning of the Nations. Beſides that, the actuall Naturalizing, which is the onely point that is in your handes, is already graunted to by your ſelues to the moſt part of ſuch particular perſons as can haue any vſe of it heere: and if any other well deſeruing men were to ſue for it hereafter, I doubt not but there would neuer bee queſtion mooued among you for the granting of it. And therefore it is moſt euident, that ſuch diſcourſers haue *mel in ore*, *fel in corde*, as I ſaid before; carying an outward appearance of loue to the Vnion, but indeed a contrary reſolution in their hearts. And as for limitations and reſtrictions, ſuch as ſhall by me be agreed vpon to be reaſonable and neceſſary after you haue fully debated vpon them, you may aſſure your ſelues I will with indifferencie grant what is requiſite without partiall reſpect of Scotland. I am, as I haue often ſaid, borne and ſworne King ouer both Kingdomes; onely this farre let me entreat you, in debating the point at your next meeting, That yee be as ready to reſolue doubts as to mooue them, and to be ſatisfied when doubts are cleered.

And as for Commodities that come by the Vnion of theſe Kingdoms, they are great and euident; Peace, Plentie, Loue, free Intercourſe and common Societie of two great Nations. All forreigne Kings that haue ſent their Ambaſſadours to congratulate with me ſince my comming, haue ſaluted me as Monarch of the whole Iſle, and with much more reſpect of my greatneſſe, then if I were King alone of one of theſe Realmes: and with what comfort doe your ſelues behold Iriſh, Scottiſh, Welſh, and Engliſh, diuers in Nation, yet all walking as Subiects and ſeruants within my Court, and all liuing vnder the allegiance of your King, beſides the honour and luſtre that the encreaſe of gallant men in the Court of diuers Nations carries in the eyes of all ſtrangers that repaire hither? Thoſe confining places which were the Borders of the two Kingdomes, where heretofore much blood was ſhed, and many of your anceſtours loſt their liues; yea, that lay waſte and deſolate, and were habitations but for runnagates, are now become the Nauell or Vmbilick of both Kingdomes, planted and peopled with Ciuilitie and riches: their Churches begin to bee planted, their doores ſtand now open, they feare neither robbing nor ſpoiling: and where there was nothing before heard nor ſeene in thoſe parts but bloodſhed, oppreſſions, complaints and outcries, they now liue euery man peaceably vnder his owne figgetree, and all their

former cryes and complaints turned onely into prayers to God for their King, vnder whom they enioy ſuch eaſe and happy quietneſſe. The Marches beyond and on this ſide Twede, are as fruitfull and as peaceable as moſt parts of England: If after all this there ſhall be a Sciſſure, what inconuenience will follow, iudge you.

And as for the inconueniences that are feared on Englands part, It is alleadged, that the Scots are a populous Nation, they ſhall be harboured in our neſts, they ſhall be planted and flouriſh in our good Soile, they ſhall eate our commons bare, and make vs leane: Theſe are fooliſh and idle ſurmiſes. That which you poſſeſſe, they are not to enioy; by Law they cannot, nor by my partialitie they ſhall not: for ſet apart conſcience and honour, (which if I ſhould ſet apart indeede, I had rather wiſh my ſelfe to bee ſet apart and out of all being) can any man conclude either out of common reaſon or good policie, that I will preferre thoſe which perhaps I ſhall neuer ſee, or but by poſte for a moneth, before thoſe with whom I muſt alwayes dwell? Can they conquer or ouercome you with ſwarmes of people, as the Goths and the Vandals did *Italy?* Surely the world knowes they are nothing ſo populous as you are: and although they haue had the honour and good fortune neuer to be conquered, yet were they euer but vpon the defenſiue part, and may in a part thanke their hilles and inacceſſible paſſages that preſerued them from an vtter ouerthrow at the handes of all that pretended to conquer them. Or are they ſo very poore and miſerable in their owne habitations, that neceſſitie ſhould force them all to make incurſions among you?

And for my part, when I haue two Nations vnder my gouernment, can you imagine I will reſpect the leſſer, and neglect the greater? would I not thinke it a leſſe euill and hazard to mee that the plague were at Northampton or Barwicke, then at London, ſo neere Weſtminſter, the Seat of my habitation, and of my wife and children? will not a man bee more carefull to quench the fire taken in his neereſt neighbours houſe, then if a whole Towne were a fire farre from him? You know that I am carefull to preſerue the woods and game through all England, nay, through all the Iſle: yet none of you doubts, but that I would be more offended with any diſorder in the Forreſt of Waltham, for ſtealing of a Stagge there, which lieth as it were vnder my noſe, and in a maner ioyneth with my garden, then with cutting of timber, or ſtealing of a Deare in any Forreſt of the North parts of Yorkeſhire or the Biſhopricke. Thinke you that I will preferre them that be abſent, leſſe powerfull, and farther off to doe me good or hurt, before you, with whom my ſecurity and liuing muſt be, and where I deſire to plant my poſterity? If I might by any ſuch fauours raiſe my ſelfe to a greatneſſe, it might bee probable: All I cannot draw, and to loſe a whole ſtate here to pleaſe a few there, were madneſſe. I neede ſpeake no more of this with proteſtations. Speake but of wit, it is not likely: and to doubt of my intention in this, were more then deuiliſh.

For

For mine owne part, I offer more then I receiue, and conueniencie I preferre before law, in this point. For, three parts, wherein I might hurt this Nation, by partiality to the Scots, you know doe absolutely lie in my hands and power: for either in disposition of rents, or whatsoeuer benefit, or in the preferring of them to any dignitie or office, ciuill or Ecclesiasticall, or in calling them to the Parliament, it doeth all fully and onely lie within the compasse of my Prerogatiue, which are the parts wherein the Scottish men can receiue either benefite or preferment by the Vnion, and wherein for the care I haue of this people, I am content to binde my selfe with some reasonable restrictions.

As for the fourth part, the Naturalizing, which onely lieth in your hands; It is the point wherein they receiue least benefit of any: for in that they can obteine nothing, but what they buy by their purse, or acquire by the selfe same meanes that you doe. And as for the point of naturalizing, which is the point thought so fit, and so precisely belonging to Parliament; not to speake of the Common law, wherein as yet I can professe no great knowledge, but in the Ciuill law wherein I am a little better versed, and which in the point of Coniunction of Nations should beare a great sway, it being the Law of Nations; I will mainteine two principles in it, which no learned and graue Ciuilian will deny, as being clearely to be proued, both out of the text it selfe in many places, and also out of the best approued Doctours and interpreters of that law; The one, that it is a speciall point of the Kings owne Prerogatiue, to make Aliens Citizens, and *donare Ciuitate*; The other, that in any case wherein the Law is thought not to be cleare (as some of your selues doe doubt, that in this case of the *post nati*, the Law of England doth not clearely determine) then in such a question wherein no positiue Law is resolute, *Rex est Iudex*, for he is *Lex loquens*, and is to supply the Law, where the Law wants, and if many famous histories be to be beleeued, they giue the example for mainteining of this Law in the persons of the Kings of England and France especially, whose speciall Prerogatiue they alleadge it to be. But this I speake onely as knowing what belongeth to a King, although in this case I presse no further then that which may agree with your loues, and stand with the weale and conueniencie of both Nations.

And whereas some may thinke this Vnion will bring preiudice to some Townes and Corporations within England; It may bee, a Merchant or two of Bristow, or Yarmouth, may haue an hundred pounds lesse in his packe: But if the Empire gaine, and become the greater, it is no matter: You see one Corporation is euer against another, and no priuate Companie can be set vp, but with some losse to another.

For the supposed inconueniences rising from Scotland, they are three. First, that there is an euill affection in the Scottish Nation to the Vnion. Next, the Vnion is incompatible betweene two such Nations. Thirdly, that the gaine is smal or none. If this be so, to what end do we talke of an Vnion? Fourth.

For proofe of the first point, there is alleadged an auersenesse in the Scottish Nation expressed in the Instrument, both in the preface and body of their Acte; In the preface, where they declare, That they will remaine an absolute and free Monarchie; And in the body of the Acte, where they make an exception of the ancient fundamentall Lawes of that Kingdome. And first for the generall of their auersenes, All the maine current in your Lower-house ranne this whole Session of Parliament with that opinion, That Scotland was so greedy of this Vnion, and apprehended that they should receiue so much benefit by it, as they cared not for the strictnesse of any conditions, so they might attaine to the substance: And yet you now say, they are backwards and auerse from the Vnion. This is a direct contradiction *in adiecto*: For how can they both be beggers and backwards, in one and the selfe same thing, at the same time?

But for answere to the particulars, It is an old Schoole point, *Eius est explicare, cuius est condere*. You cannot interpret their Lawes, nor they yours; I that made them with their assent, can best expound them.

And first I confesse, that the English Parliaments are so long, and the Scottish so short, that a meane betweene them would doe well: For the shortnesse of their continuing together, was the cause of their hastie mistaking, by setting these wordes of exception of fundamentall Lawes in the body of the Acte, which they onely did in pressing to imitate word by word the English Instrument, wherein the same wordes be conteined in your Preface. And as to their meaning and interpretation of that word, I will not onely deliuer it vnto you out of mine owne conceipt, but as it was deliuered vnto mee by the best Lawyers of Scotland, both Counsellours and other Lawyers, who were at the making thereof in Scotland, and were Commissioners here for performance of the same.

Their meaning in the word of Fundamentall Lawes, you shall perceiue more fully hereafter, when I handle the obiection of the difference of Lawes: For they intend thereby onely those Lawes whereby confusion is auoyded, and their Kings descent mainteined, and the heritage of the succession and Monarchie, which hath bene a Kingdome, to which I am in descent, three hundreth yeeres before CHRIST: Not meaning it, as you doe, of their Common Law, for they haue none, but that which is called IVS REGIS: and their desire of continuing a free Monarchie, was onely meant, That all such particular Priuiledges (whereof I spake before) should not bee so confounded, as for want either of Magistrate, Law, or Order, they might fall in such a confusion, as to become like a naked Prouince, without Law or libertie vnder this Kingdome. I hope you meane not I should set Garrisons ouer them, as the Spaniards doe ouer Sicily and Naples, or gouerne them by Commissioners, which are seldome found succeedingly all wise and honest men.

This I must say for Scotland, and I may trewly vaunt it; Here I sit and gouerne

gouerne it with my Pen, I write and it is done, and by a Clearke of the Councell I gouerne Scotland now, which others could not doe by the ſword. And for their auerſenſſe in their heart againſt the Vnion, It is trew indeede, I proteſt they did neuer craue this Vnion of me, nor ſought it either in priuate, or the State by letters, nor euer once did any of that Nation preſſe mee forward or wiſh mee to accelerate that buſineſſe. But on the other part, they offered alwayes to obey mee when it ſhould come to them, and all honeſt men that deſire my greatneſſe haue beene thus minded, for the perſonall reuerence and regard they beare vnto my Perſon, and any of my reaſonable and iuſt deſires.

I know there are many *Piggots* amongſt them, I meane a number of ſeditious and diſcontented particular perſons, as muſt be in all Commonwealths, that where they dare, may peraduenture talke lewdly enough: but no Scottiſh man euer ſpake diſhonourably of England in Parliament. For here muſt I note vnto you the difference of the two Parliaments in theſe two Kingdomes, for there they muſt not ſpeake without the Chauncellors leaue, and if any man doe propound or vtter any ſeditious or vncomely ſpeeches, he is ſtraight interrupted and ſilenced by the Chauncellors authoritie. where as here, the libertie for any man to ſpeake what hee liſt, and as long as he liſt, was the onely cauſe he was not interrupted.

It hath bin obiected, that there is a great Antipathy of the Lawes and Cuſtomes of theſe two Nations. It is much miſtaken: for Scotland hath no Common Law as here, but the Law they haue is of three ſorts.

All the Lawe of Scotland for Tenures, Wards and Liueries, Seigniories and Lands, are drawen out of the Chauncerie of England, and for matters of equitie and in many things elſe, differs from you but in certaine termes: *Iames* the firſt, bred here in England, brought the Lawes thither in a written hand. The ſecond is Statute lawes, which be their Acts of Parliament, wherein they haue power as you, to make and altar Lawes: and thoſe may be looked into by you, for I hope you ſhall be no more ſtrangers to that Nation. And the principall worke of this Vnion will be, to reconcile the Statute Lawes of both Kingdomes. The third is the Ciuill Law: *Iames* the fift brought it out of France by eſtabliſhing the Seſſion there, according to the forme of the Court of Parliament of Fraunce, which he had ſeene in the time of his being there: who occupie there the place of Ciuill Iudges in all matters of Plee or controuerſie, yet not to gouerne abſolutely by the Ciuill Law as in Fraunce. For if a man plead that the Law of the Nation is otherwiſe, it is a barre to the Ciuill, and a good Chauncellor or Preſident, will oftentimes repell and put to ſilence an Argument that the Lawyers bring out of the Ciuill Law, where they haue a cleare ſolution in their owne Law. So as the Ciuil Law in Scotland is admitted in no other caſes, but to ſupply ſuch caſes wherein the Municipall Law is defectiue. Then may you ſee it is not ſo hard a matter as is thought, to reduce that Countrey to bee vnited with you vnder this Law, which neither are

ſubiect to the Ciuill Lawe, nor yet haue any olde Common Law of their owne, but ſuch as in effect is borrowed from yours. And for their Statute Lawes in Parliament, you may alter and change them as oft as occaſion ſhall require, as you doe here. It hath likewiſe beene obiected as an other impediment, that in the Parliament of Scotland the King hath not a negatiue voice, but muſt paſſe all the Lawes agreed on by the Lords and Commons. Of this I can beſt reſolue you: for I am the eldeſt Parliament man in Scotland, and haue ſit in more Parliaments then any of my Predeceſſors. I can aſſure you, that the forme of Parliament there, is nothing inclined to popularitie. About a twentie dayes or ſuch a time before the Parliament, Proclamation is made throughout the Kingdome, to deliuer in to the Kings Clearke of Regiſter (whom you heere call the Maſter of the Rolles) all Bills to be exhibited that Seſſion before a certaine day. Then are they brought vnto the King, and peruſed and conſidered by him, and onely ſuch as I allowe of are put into the Chancellors handes to bee propounded to the Parliament, and none others; And if any man in Parliament ſpeake of any other matter then is in this forme firſt allowed by mee, The Chancellor tells him there is no ſuch Bill allowed by the King.

Beſides, when they haue paſſed them for lawes, they are preſented vnto me, and I with my Scepter put into my hand by the Chancellor, muſt ſay, *I ratifie and approue all things done in this preſent Parliament.* And if there bee any thing that I diſlike, they raſe it out before. If this may bee called a negatiue voyce, then I haue one I am ſure in that Parliament.

The laſt impediment is the French liberties: which is thought ſo great, as except the Scots forſake Fraunce, England cannot bee vnited to them. If the Scottiſh Nation would bee ſo vnwilling to leaue them as is ſaid, it would not lye in their hands: For the League was neuer made betweene the people, as is miſtaken, but betwixt the *Princes* onely and their Crownes. The beginning was by a Meſſage from a King of Fraunce, *Charlemaine* I take it (but I cannot certainely remember) vnto a King of Scotland, for a League defenſiue and offenſiue betweene vs and them againſt England, Fraunce being at that time in Warres with England.

The like at that time was then deſired by England againſt Fraunce, who alſo ſent their Ambaſſadours to Scotland. At the firſt, the Diſputation was long maintained in fauour of England, that they being our neereſt Neighbours ioyned in one continent, and a ſtrong and powerfull Nation, it was more fitte for the weale and ſecuritie of the State of Scotland, to be in League and Amitie with them, then with a Countrey, though neuer ſo ſtrong, yet diuided by Sea from vs: eſpecially England lying betwixt vs and them, where we might be ſure of a ſuddaine miſchiefe, but behooued to abide the hazard of wind and weather, and other accidents that might hinder our reliefe.

But

But after, when the contrary part of the Argument was maintained: wherein allegation was made, that England euer ſought to conquer Scotland, and therefore in regarde of their pretended intereſt in the Kingdoome, would neuer keepe any ſound Amitie with them longer, then they ſaw their aduantage; whereas France lying more remote and clayming no intereſt in the Kingdome, would therefore bee found a more conſtant and faithfull friend: It was vnhappily concluded in fauour of the laſt partie, through which occaſion Scotland gate many miſchiefes after: And it is by the very tenour thereof ordered, to bee renewed and confirmed from King to King ſucceſſiuely, which accordingly was euer performed by the mediation of their Ambaſſadours, and therefore meerely perſonall, and ſo was it renewed in the Queene my mothers time, onely betweene the two Kings, and not by aſſent of Parliament or conuention of the three Eſtates, which it could neuer haue wanted if it had beene a League betweene the people. And in my time when it came to be ratified, becauſe it appeared to be in *odium tertii*, it was by me left vnrenewed or confirmed as a thing incompatible to my Perſon, in conſideration of my Title to this Crowne. Some Priuiledges indeede in the Merchants fauour for point of Commerce, were renewed and confirmed in my time: wherein for my part of it, there was ſcarce three Counſellours more then my Secretarie, to whoſe place it belonged, that medled in that matter.

It is trew, that it behooued to be enterteined, as they call it, in the Court of Parliament of *Paris*: but that onely ſerues for publication, and not to giue it Authoritie: That Parliament (as you know) being but a Iudiciall Seate of Iudges and Lawyers, and nothing agreeing with the definition or office of our Parliaments in this Iſle. And therefore that any fruites or Priuiledges poſſeſſed by the League with Fraunce is able now to remaine in Scotland, is impoſſible: For ye may be ſure, that the French King ſtayes onely vpon the ſight of the ending of this Vnion, to cut it off himſelfe. Otherwiſe when this great worke were at an end, I would be forced for the generall care I owe to all my Subiects, to craue of France like Priuiledges to them all as Scotland alreadie enioyes, ſeeing the perſonall friendſhip remaines as great betweene vs as betweene our Progenitors; and all my Subiects muſt be alike deare vnto me: which either hee will neuer grant, and ſo all will fall to the ground; or elſe it will turne to the benefite of the whole Iſland: and ſo the Scottiſh Priuiledges cannot hold longer then my League with France laſteth.

And for another Argument to prooue that this league is only betweene the Kings, and not betweene the people: They which haue Penſions, or are priuie Intelligence giuers in France without my leaue, are in no better caſe by the Law of Scotland, then if they were Penſioners to Spaine.

As for the Scottiſh Guard in France, the beginning thereof was, when an Earle of *Boghan* was ſent in aide of the French with tenne thouſand men, and there being made Conſtable, and hauing obtained a victorie,

was

was murthered with the moſt of the Scottiſh Armie. In recompenſe whereof, and for a future ſecuritie to the Scottiſh Nation, the Scottiſh Guard was ordeined to haue the priuiledge and prerogatiue before all other Guards in guarding the Kings perſon.

And as for the laſt point of this ſubdiuiſion concerning the gaine that England may make by this Vnion, I thinke no wiſe nor honeſt man will aske any ſuch queſtion. For who is ſo ignorant, that doeth not know the gaine will bee great? Doe you not gaine by the Vnion of Wales? And is not Scotland greater then Wales? Shall not your Dominions bee encreaſed of Landes, Seas, and perſons added to your greatneſſe? And are not your Landes and Seas adioyning? For who can ſet downe the limits of the Borders, but as a Mathematicall line or *Idea*? Then will that backe doore bee ſhut, and thoſe portes of *Ianus* be for euer cloſed: you ſhall haue them that were your enemies to moleſt you, a ſure backe to defend you: their bodies ſhall bee your aides, and they muſt bee partners in all your quarrels: Two ſnow-balls put together, make one the greater: Two houſes ioyned, make one the larger: two Caſtle walles made in one, makes one as thicke and ſtrong as both. And doe you not ſee in the Low countreys how auaileable the Engliſh and the Scottiſh are being ioyned together? This is a point ſo plaine, as no man that hath wit or honeſtie, but muſt acknowledge it feelingly.

And where it is obiected that the Scottiſhmen are not tyed to the ſeruice of the King in the warres aboue forty dayes; It is an ignorant miſtaking. For the trewth is, That in reſpect the Kings of Scotland did not ſo abound in Treaſure and money to take vp an Armie vnder pay, as the Kings of England did; Therefore was the Scottiſh Army wont to be rayſed onely by Proclamation, vpon the penaltie of their breach of alleageance; So as they were all forced to come to the Warre like Snailes who carry their houſe about with them; Euery Nobleman and Gentleman bringing with him their Tents, money, prouiſion for their houſe, victuals of all ſorts, and all other neceſſaries, the King ſupplying them of nothing: Neceſſitie thereupon enforcing a warning to be giuen by the Proclamation of the ſpace of their attendance, without which they could not make their prouiſion accordingly, eſpecially as long as they were within the bounds of Scotland, where it was not lawfull for them to helpe themſelues by the ſpoile or waſting of the Countrey. But neither is there any Law Preſcribing preciſely ſuch a certaine number of dayes, nor yet is it without the limits of the Kings power to keepe them together, as many more dayes as hee liſt, to renew his Proclamations from time to time ſome reaſonable number of dayes, before the expiring of the former, they being euer bound to ſerue and waite vpon him, though it were an hundreth yeere if need were.

Now to conclude, I am glad of this occaſion, that I might *Liberare animam meam*; You are now to recede: when you meete againe, remember I pray

I pray you, the trewth and ſincerity of my meaning, which in ſeeking Vnion, is onely to aduance the greatneſſe of your Empire ſeated here in England; And yet with ſuch caution I wiſh it, as may ſtand with the weale of both States. What is now deſired, hath oft before bene ſought when it could not bee obteined: To refuſe it now then, were double iniquitie. Strengthen your owne felicitie, *London* muſt bee the Seate of your King, and Scotland ioyned to this kingdome by a Golden conqueſt, but cymented with loue, (as I ſaid before) which within will make you ſtrong againſt all Ciuill and inteſtine Rebellion, as without wee will bee compaſſed and guarded with our walles of braſſe. Iudge mee charitably, ſince in this I ſeeke your equall good, that ſo both of you might bee made fearefull to your Enemies, powerfull in your ſelues, and auaileable to your friendes. Studie therefore hereafter to make a good Concluſion, auoyd all delayes, cut off all vaine queſtions, that your King may haue his lawfull deſire, and be not diſgraced in his iuſt endes. And for your ſecuritie in ſuch reaſonable points of reſtrictions, whereunto I am to agree, yee need neuer doubt of my inclination: For I will not ſay any thing which I will not promiſe, nor promiſe any thing which I will not ſweare;

What I ſweare I will ſigne, and what I ſigne,
I ſhall with GODS grace euer
performe.

A SPEACH TO THE LORDS AND COMMONS OF THE PARLIAMENT AT *WHITE-HALL*, *ON WEDNESDAY THE* XXI. OF MARCH.

ANNO 1609.

E being now in the middeſt of this ſeaſon appointed for penitence and prayer, it hath ſo fallen out, that theſe two laſt dayes haue bene ſpent in a farre other ſort of exerciſe, I meane in Eucharisticke Sacrifice, and gratulation of thankes, preſented vnto mee by both the parts of this body of Parliament: and therefore to make vp the number of three, (which is the number of Trinitie, and perfection) I haue thought good to make this the third Day, to be ſpent in this exerciſe.

As ye made mee a faire Preſent indeed in preſenting your thankes and louing dueties vnto mee: So haue I now called you here, to recompence you againe with a great and a rare Preſent, which is a faire and a Chriſtall Mirror; Not ſuch a Mirror wherein you may ſee your owne faces, or ſhadowes; but ſuch a Mirror, or Chriſtall, as through the tranſparantneſſe thereof, you may ſee the heart of your King. The Philoſophers wiſh, That euery mans breaſt were a Chriſtall, where-through his heart might be ſeene, is vulgarly knowne, and I touched it in one of my former Speaches vnto you: But though that were impoſſible in the generall, yet will I now performe this for my part, That as it is a trew Axiome in Diuinitie,

nitie, That *Cor Regis* is *in manu Domini*, So wil now set *Cor Regis in oculis populi*. I know that I can say nothing at this time, whereof some of you that are here, haue not at one time or other, heard me say the like already: Yet as corporall food nourisheth and mainteineth the body, it doeth *Reminiscentia* nourish and mainteine memory.

I Will reduce to three generall and maine grounds, the principall things that haue bene agitated in this Parliament, and whereof I will now speake.

First, the Arrand for which you were called by me; And that was, for supporting of my state, and necessities.

The second is, that which the people are to mooue vnto the King: To represent vnto him such things, whereby the Subiects are vexed, or wherein the state of the Common wealth is to be redressed: And that is the thing which you call grieuances.

The third ground that hath bene handled amongst you, and not onely in talke amongst you in the Parliament, but euen in many other peoples mouthes, aswell within, as without the Parliament, is of a higher nature then any of the former (though it be but an Incident?) and the reason is, because it concernes a higher point; And this is a doubt, which hath bene in the heads of some, of my Intention in two things.

First, whether I was resolued in the generall, to continue still my gouernment according to the ancient forme of this State, and the Lawes of this Kingdome: Or if I had an intention not to limit my selfe within those bounds, but to alter the same when I thought conuenient, by the absolute power of a King.

The other branch is anent the Common Law, which some had a conceit I disliked, and (in respect that I was borne where another forme of Law was established) that I would haue wished the Ciuill Law to haue bene put in place of the Common Law for gouernment of this people. And the complaint made amongst you of a booke written by doctour *Cowell*, was a part of the occasion of this incident: But as touching my censure of that booke, I made it already to bee deliuered vnto you by the Treasurer here sitting, which he did out of my owne directions and notes; and what he said in my name, that had he directly from me: But what hee spake of himselfe therein without my direction, I shal alwayes make good; for you may be sure I will be loth to make so honest a man a lyer, or deceiue your expectations: alwayes within very few dayes my Edict shall come forth anent that matter, which shall fully discouer my meaning.

There was neuer any reason to mooue men to thinke, that I could like of such grounds: For there are two qualities principally, or rather priuations that make Kings subiect to flatterie; *Credulitie* and *Ignorance*; and I hope none of them can bee iustly obiected to mee: For if *Alexander* the great, for all his learning, had bene wise in that point to haue considered the state

ſtate of his owne naturall body and diſpoſition, hee would neuer haue thought himſelfe a god. And now to the matter. As it is a Chriſtan duety in euery man, *Reddere rationem fidei*, and not to be aſhamed to giue an account of his profeſſion before men, and Angels, as oft as occaſion ſhall require: So did I euer hold it a neceſſitie of honour in a iuſt and wiſe King, though not to giue an account to his people of his actions, yet clearely to deliuer his heart and intention vnto them vpon euery occaſion. But I muſt inuert my order, and begin firſt with that incident which was laſt in my diuiſion (though higheſt of nature) and ſo goe backward.

THe State of MONARCHIE is the ſupremeſt thing vpon earth: For Kings are not onely GODS Lieutenants vpon earth, and ſit vpon GODS throne, but euen by GOD himſelfe they are called Gods. There bee three principall ſimilitudes that illuſtrate the ſtate of MONARCHIE: One taken out of the word of GOD; and the two other out of the grounds of Policie and Philoſophie. In the Scriptures Kings are called Gods, and ſo their power after a certaine relation compared to the Diuine power. Kings are alſo compared to Fathers of families: for a King is trewly *Parens patriæ*, the politique father of his people. And laſtly, Kings are compared to the head of this Microcoſme of the body of man.

Kings are iuſtly called Gods, for that they exerciſe a manner or reſemblance of Diuine power vpon earth: For if you wil conſider the Attributes to God, you ſhall ſee how they agree in the perſon of a King. God hath power to create, or deſtroy, make, or vnmake at his pleaſure, to giue life, or ſend death, to iudge all, and to bee iudged nor accomptable to none: To raiſe low things, and to make high things low at his pleaſure, and to God are both ſoule and body due. And the like power haue Kings: they make and vnmake their ſubiects: they haue power of raiſing, and caſting downe: of life, and of death: Iudges ouer all their ſubiects, and in all cauſes, and yet accomptable to none but God onely. They haue power to exalt low things, and abaſe high things, and make of their ſubiects like men at the Cheſſe; A pawne to take a Biſhop or a Knight, and to cry vp, or downe any of their ſubiects, as they do their money. And to the King is due both the affection of the ſoule, and the ſeruice of the body of his ſubiects: And therefore that reuerend Biſhop here amongſt you, though I heare that by diuers he was miſtaken or not wel vnderſtood, yet did he preach both learnedly and trewly annent this point concerning the power of a King: For what he ſpake of a Kings power in *Abſtracto*, is moſt trew in Diuinitie: For to Emperors, or Kings that are Monarches, their Subiects bodies & goods are due for their defence and maintenance. But if I had bene in his place, I would only haue added two words, which would haue cleared all: For after I had told as a Diuine, what was due by the Subiects to their Kings in general, I would then haue concluded as an Engliſhman, ſhewing this people,

That as in generall all Subiects were bound to relieue their King; So to exhort them, that as wee liued in a ſetled ſtate of a Kingdome which was gouerned by his owne fundamentall Lawes and Orders, that according thereunto, they were now (being aſſembled for this purpoſe in Parliament) to conſider how to helpe ſuch a King as now they had; And that according to the ancient forme, and order eſtabliſhed in this Kingdome: putting ſo, a difference betweene the generall power of a King in Diuinity, and the ſetled and eſtabliſhed State of this Crowne, and Kingdome. And I am ſure that the Biſhop meant to haue done the ſame, if hee had not bene ſtraited by time, which in reſpect of the greatneſſe of the preſence preaching before me, and ſuch an Auditory, he durſt not preſume vpon.

As for the Father of a familie, they had of olde vnder the Law of Nature *Patriam poteſtatem*, which was *Poteſtatem vitæ & necis*, ouer their children or familie, (I meane ſuch Fathers of families as were the lineall heires of thoſe families whereof Kings did originally come:) For Kings had their firſt originall from them, who planted and ſpread themſelues in *Colonies* through the world. Now a Father may diſpoſe of his Inheritance to his children, at his pleaſure: yea, euen diſinherite the eldeſt vpon iuſt occaſions, and preferre the youngeſt, according to his liking; make them beggers, or rich at his pleaſure; reſtraine, or baniſh out of his preſence, as hee findes them giue cauſe of offence, or reſtore them in fauour againe with the penitent ſinner: So may the King deale with his Subiects.

And laſtly, as for the head of the naturall body, the head hath the power of directing all the members of the body to that vſe which the iudgement in the head thinkes moſt conuenient. It may apply ſharpe cures, or cut off corrupt members, let blood in what proportion it thinkes fit, and as the body may ſpare, but yet is all this power ordeined by God *Ad ædificationem, non ad deſtructionem.* For although God haue power aſwell of deſtruction, as of creation or maintenance; yet will it not agree with the wiſedome of God, to exerciſe his power in the deſtruction of nature, and ouerturning the whole frame of things, ſince his creatures were made, that his glory might thereby be the better expreſſed: So were hee a fooliſh father that would diſinherite or deſtroy his children without a cauſe, or leaue off the carefull education of them; And it were an idle head that would in place of phiſicke ſo poyſon or phlebotomize the body as might breede a dangerous diſtemper or deſtruction thereof.

But now in theſe our times we are to diſtinguiſh betweene the ſtate of Kings in their firſt originall, and betweene the ſtate of ſetled Kings and Monarches, that doe at this time gouerne in ciuill Kingdomes: For euen as God, during the time of the olde Teſtament, ſpake by Oracles, and wrought by Miracles; yet how ſoone it pleaſed him to ſetle a *Church* which was bought, and redeemed by the blood of his onely Sonne *Chriſt*, then was there a ceſſation of both; Hee euer after gouerning his people and Church within the limits of his reueiled will. So in the firſt originall of Kings,

Kings, whereof ſome had their beginning by Conqueſt, and ſome by election of the people, their wills at that time ſerued for Law; Yet how ſoone Kingdomes began to be ſetled in ciuilitie and policie, then did Kings ſet downe their minds by Lawes, which are properly made by the King onely; but at the rogation of the people, the Kings grant being obteined thereunto. And ſo the King became to be *Lex loquens*, after a ſort, binding himſelfe by a double oath to the obſeruation of the fundamentall Lawes of his kingdome: *Tacitly*, as by being a King, and ſo bound to protect aſwell the people, as the Lawes of his Kingdome; And *Expreſly*, by his oath at his Coronation: So as euery iuſt King in a ſetled Kingdome is bound to obſerue that paction made to his people by his Lawes, in framing his gouernment agreeable thereunto, according to that paction which God made with *Noe* after the deluge, *Hereafter Seed-time, and Harueſt, Cold and Heate, Summer and Winter, and Day and Night ſhall not ceaſe, ſo long as the earth remaines.* And therefore a King gouerning in a ſetled Kingdome, leaues to be a King, and degenerates into a Tyrant, aſſoone as he leaues off to rule according to his Lawes. In which caſe the Kings conſcience may ſpeake vnto him, as the poore widow ſaid to Philip of Macedon; Either gouerne according to your Law, *Aut ne Rex ſis.* And though no Chriſtian man ought to allow any rebellion of people againſt their Prince, yet doeth God neuer leaue Kings vnpuniſhed when they tranſgreſſe theſe limits: For in that ſame Pſalme where God ſaith to Kings, *Vos Dij eſtis*, hee immediatly thereafter concludes; *But ye ſhall die like men.* The higher wee are placed, the greater ſhall our fall be. *Vt caſus ſic dolor*: the taller the trees be, the more in danger of the winde; and the tempeſt beats foreſt vpon the higheſt mountaines. Therefore all Kings that are not tyrants, or periured, wil be glad to bound themſelues within the limits of their Lawes; and they that perſwade them the contrary, are vipers, and peſts, both againſt them and the Commonwealth. For it is a great difference betweene a Kings gouernment in a ſetled State, and what Kings in their originall power might doe in *Indiuiduo vago.* As for my part, I thanke God, I haue euer giuen good proofe, that I neuer had intention to the contrary: And I am ſure to goe to my graue with that reputation and comfort, that neuer King was in all his time more carefull to haue his Lawes duely obſerued, and himſelfe to gouerne thereafter, then I.

I conclude then this point touching the power of Kings, with this Axiome of Diuinitie, That as to diſpute what God may doe, is Blaſphemie; but *quid vult Deus*, that Diuines may lawfully, and doe ordinarily diſpute and diſcuſſe; for to diſpute *A Poſſe ad Eſſe* is both againſt Logicke and Diuinitie: So is it ſedition in Subiects, to diſpute what a King may do in the height of his power: But iuſt Kings wil euer be willing to declare what they wil do, if they wil not incurre the curſe of God. I wil not be content that my power be diſputed vpon: but I ſhall euer be willing to make the reaſon appeare of all my doings, and rule my actions according to my Lawes.

The other branch of this incident is concerning the Common Law, being conceiued by ſome, that I contemned it, and preferred the Ciuil Law thereunto. As I haue already ſaid, Kings Actions (euen in the ſecreteſt places) are as the actions of thoſe that are ſet vpon the Stages, or on the tops of houſes: and I hope neuer to ſpeake that in priuate, which I ſhall not auow in publique, and Print it if need be, (as I ſaid in my BASILICON DORON.) For it is trew, that within theſe few dayes I ſpake freely my minde touching the Common Law in my Priuie Chamber, at the time of my dinner, which is come to all your eares; and the ſame was likewiſe related vnto you by my Treaſurer; and now I will againe repeate and confirme the ſame my ſelfe vnto you. Firſt, as a King I haue leaſt cauſe of any man to diſlike the Common Law: For no Law can bee more fauourable and aduantagious for a King, and extendeth further his Prerogatiue, then it doeth: And for a King of England to deſpiſe the Common Law, it is to neglect his owne Crowne. It is trew, that I doe greatly eſteeme the Ciuill Law, the profeſſion thereof ſeruing more for generall learning, and being moſt neceſſary for matters of Treatie with all forreine Nations: And I thinke that if it ſhould bee taken away, it would make an entrie to Barbariſme in this Kingdome, and would blemiſh the honour of England: For it is in a maner LEX GENTIVM, and maintaineth Intercourſe with all forreine Nations: but I onely allow it to haue courſe here, according to thoſe limits of Iuriſdiction, which the Common Law it ſelfe doeth allow it: And therefore though it bee not fit for the generall gouernment of the people here; it doeth not follow, it ſhould be extinct, no more, then becauſe the Latine tongue is not the Mother or Radicall Language of any Nation in the world at this time, that therefore the Engliſh tongue ſhould onely now be learned in this Kingdome, which were to bring in Barbariſme. My meaning therefore is not, to preferre the Ciuill Law before the Common Law; but onely that it ſhould not be extinguiſhed, and yet ſo bounded, (I meane to ſuch Courts and Cauſes) as haue beene in ancient vſe; As the Eccleſiaſticall Courts, Court of Admiraltie, Court of Requeſts, and ſuch like, reſeruing euer to the Common Law to meddle with the fundamentall Lawes of this Kingdome, either concerning the Kings Prerogatiue, or the poſſeſſions of Subiects, in any queſtions, either betweene the King, and any of them, or amongſt themſelues, in the points of *Meum & tuum.* For it is trew, that there is no Kingdome in the world, not onely Scotland, but not France, nor Spaine, nor any other Kingdome gouerned meerely by the Ciuill Law, but euery one of them hath their owne municipall Lawes agreeable to their Cuſtomes, as this Kingdome hath the Common Law: Nay, I am ſo farre from diſallowing the Common Law, as I proteſt, that if it were in my hand to chuſe a new Law for this Kingdome, I would not onely preferre it before any other Nationall Law, but euen before the very Iudiciall Law of *Moyſes*: and yet I ſpeake no blaſphemie in preferring it for conue-

conueniencie to this Kingdome, and at this time, to the very Law of God: For God gouerned his ſelected people by theſe three Lawes, *Ceremoniall, Morall,* and *Iudiciall*: The *Iudiciall*, being onely fit for a certaine people, and a certaine time, which could not ſerue for the general of all other people and times. As for example, If the Law of hanging for Theft, were turned here to reſtitution of treble or quadruple, as it was in the Law of *Moyſes*, what would become of all the middle Shires, and all the Iriſhrie and Highlanders? But the maine point is, That if the fundamentall Lawes of any Kingdome ſhould be altered, who ſhould diſcerne what is *Meum & tuum*, or how ſhould a King gouerne? It would be like the *Gregorian* Calender, which deſtroyes the old, and yet doeth this new trouble all the debts and Accompts of Traffiques and Merchandizes: Nay by that accompt I can neuer tell mine owne aage; for now is my Birth-day remooued by the ſpace of ten dayes neerer me then it was before the change. But vpon the other part, though I haue in one point preferred our Common Law, concerning our vſe, to the very Law of GOD; yet in another reſpect I muſt ſay, both our Law and all Lawes elſe are farre inferiour to that Iudiciall Law of GOD; for no booke nor Law is perfect nor free from corruption, except onely the booke and Law of GOD. And therefore I could wiſh ſome three things ſpecially to be purged & cleared in the Common Law; but alwayes by the aduiſe of Parliament: For the King with his Parliament here are abſolute, (as I vnderſtand) in making or forming of any ſort of Lawes.

Firſt I could wiſh that it were written in our vulgar Language: for now it is in an old, mixt, and corrupt Language, onely vnderſtood by Lawyers: whereas euery Subiect ought to vnderſtand the Law vnder which he liues: For ſince it is our plea againſt the Papiſts, that the language in GODS Seruice ought not to be in an vnknowne tongue, according to the rule in the Law of *Moyſes*, That the Law ſhould be written in the fringes of the Prieſts garment, and ſhould be publikely read in the eares of all the people: ſo mee thinkes ought our Law to be made as plaine as can be to the people, that the excuſe of ignorance may be taken from them, for conforming themſelues thereunto.

Next, our Common Law hath not a ſetled Text in all Caſes, being chiefly grounded either vpon old Cuſtomes, or elſe vpon the Reports and Caſes of Iudges, which ye call *Reſponſa Prudentum.* The like whereof is in all other Lawes: for they are much ruled by Preſidents (ſaue onely in *Denmarke* and *Norway*, where the letter of the Law reſolues all doubts without any trouble to the Iudge,) But though it be trew, that no Text of Law can be ſo certaine, wherein the circumſtances will not make a variation in the Caſe, (for in this aage, mens wits increaſe ſo much by ciuilitie, that the circumſtances of euery particular caſe varies ſo much from the generall Text of Law, as in the Ciuill Law it ſelfe, there are therefore ſo many Doctors that cõment vpon the Text, & neuer a one almoſt agrees with another; Otherwiſe there needed no Iudges, but the bare letter of the

Law.) Yet could I wish that some more certaintie were set downe in this case by Parliament: for since the very Reports themselues are not alwayes so binding, but that diuers times Iudges doe disclaime them, and recede from the iudgment of their predecessors; it were good, that vpon a mature deliberation, the exposition of the Law were set downe by Acte of Parliament, and such reports therein confirmed, as were thought fit to serue for Law in all times hereafter, and so the people should not depend vpon the bare opinions of Iudges, and vncertaine Reports.

And lastly, there be in the Common Law diuers contrary Reports, and Presidents: and this corruption doeth likewise concerne the Statutes and Acts of Parliament, in respect there are diuers crosse and cuffing Statutes, and some so penned, as they may be taken in diuers, yea contrary sences. And therefore would I wish both those Statutes and Reports, aswell in the Parliament as Common Law, to be once maturely reuiewed, and reconciled; And that not onely all contrarieties should be scraped out of our Bookes, but euen that such penall Statutes as were made, but for the vse of the time (from breach whereof no man can be free) which doe not now agree with the condition of this our time, might likewise be left out of our bookes, which vnder a tyrannous or auaritious King could not be endured. And this reformation might (me thinkes) bee made a worthy worke, and well deserues a Parliament to be set of purpose for it.

I know now that being vpon this point of the Common Law, you looke to heare my opinion concerning *Prohibitions*; and I am not ignorant that I haue bene thought to be an enemie to all *Prohibitions*, and an vtter stayer of them: But I will shortly now informe you what hath bene my course in proceeding therein. It is trew that in respect of diuers honorable Courts, and Iurisdictions planted in this Kingdome, I haue often wished that euery Court had his owne trew limit, and iurisdiction clearely set downe, and certainly knowne; which if it be exceeded by any of them, or that any of them encroch one vpon another, then I grant that a *Prohibition* in that case is to goe out of the *Kings Bench*, but chiefliest out of the *Chancery*; for other Benches I am not yet so well resolued of their Iurisdiction in that point. And for my part, I was neuer against *Prohibitions* of this nature, nor the trew vse of them, which is indeed to keepe euery Riuer within his owne banks and channels. But when I saw the swelling and ouerflowing of *Prohibitions* in a farre greater abundance then euer before, euery Court striuing to bring in most moulture to their owne Mill, by multitudes of Causes, which is a disease very naturall to all Courts and Iurisdictions in the world; Then dealt I with this Cause, and that at two seuerall times, once in the middest of Winter, and againe in the middest of the next following Summer; At euery of which times I spent three whole daies in that labour. And then after a large hearing, I told them as *Christ* said concerning Mariage, *Ab initio non fuit sic.* For as God conteins the Sea within his owne bounds and marches (as it is in the *Psalmes*,) So is it my office to make euery

euery Court conteine himselfe within his own limits; And therfore I gaue admonitions to both sides: To the other Courts, that they should be carefull hereafter euery of them, to conteine themselues within the bounds of their owne Iurisdictions; and to the Courts of Common Law, that they should not bee so forward, and prodigall in multiplying their *Prohibitions*. Two cautions I willed them to obserue in graunting their *Prohibitions*: First, that they should be graunted in a right and lawfull forme: And next, that they should not grant them, but vpon a iust and reasonable cause. As to the forme, it was, That none should be graunted by any one particular Iudge, or in time of Vacation, or in any other place, but openly in Court. And to this the Iudges themselues gaue their willing assent. And as to the Cause, That they should not be granted vpon euery sleight surmise, or information of the partie, but alwayes that a due and graue examination should first precede. Otherwise if *Prohibitions* should rashly, and headily be granted, then no man is the more secure of his owne, though hee hath gotten a Sentence with him: For as good haue no Law, or Sentence, as to haue no execution thereof. A poore Minister with much labour and expense, hauing exhausted his poore meanes, and being forced to forbeare his studie, and to become *non resident* from his flocke, obtaines a *Sentence*, and then when hee loookes to enioy the fruits thereof, he is defrauded of all by a *Prohibition*, according to the parable of Christ, That night when hee thinkes himselfe most happy, shall his soule be taken from him: And so is he tortured like *Tantalus*, who when he hath the Apple at his mouth, and that he is gaping and opening his mouth to receiue it, then must it be pulled from him by a *Prohibition*, and he not suffered to taste thereof. So as to conclude this point, I put a difference betweene the trew vse of *Prohibitions*, and the superabounding abuse thereof: for as a thing which is good, ought not therefore bee abused; so ought not the lawfull vse of a good thing be forborne, because of the abuse thereof.

NOw the second generall ground whereof I am to speake, concernes the matter of *Grieuances*: There are two speciall causes of the peoples presenting *Grieuances* to their King in time of Parliament. First, for that the King cannot at other times be so well informed of all the *Grieuances* of his people, as in time of Parliament, which is the representatiue body of the whole Realme. Secondly, the Parliament is the highest Court of Iustice, and therefore the fittest place where diuers natures of *Grieuances* may haue their proper remedie, by the establishment of good and wholsome Lawes. But though my Speech was before directed to the whole Body of Parliament; yet in this case I must addresse my Speech in speciall to you of the Lower House.

I am now then to recommend vnto your considerations the matter and manner of your handling and presenting of *Grieuances*. As for the manner, though I will not denie, but that yee, representing the Body of the people,

ple, may as it were both *opportunè* and *inopportunè* (I meane either in Parliament as a Body, or out of Parliament as priuate men) present your *Grieuances* vnto mee; yet would I haue you to vse this caution in your behauiour in this point: which is, that your *Grieuances* be not as it were greedily sought out by you, or taken vp in the streetes (as one said) thereby to shew a willingnesse that you would haue a shew made, that there are many abuses in the gouernment, and many causes of complaint: but that according to your first institution, ye should only meddle with such *Grieuances*, as your selues doe know had neede of reformation, or had informations thereof in your countreys for which you serue, and not so to multiply them, as might make it noised amongst the people, that all things in the gouernment were amisse and out of frame: For euen at the beginning of this very Session of Parliament, the generall name of *Grieuances* being mentioned among you, such a conceipt came in the heads of many, that you had a desire to multiply and make a great muster of them, as euery one exhibited what his particular spleene stirred him vnto. Indeed there fell out an accident vpon this occasion, for which I haue reason to thanke you of the Lower house, I meane for your fire worke; wherein I confesse you did Honour to me, and right to your selues: For hauing one afternoone found many *Grieuances* closely presented in papers, and so all thrust vp in a sacke together, (rather like *Pasquils*, then any lawfull Complaints) farre against your owne Orders, and diuers of them proceeding from grudging and murmuring spirits; you, vpon the hearing read two or three of the first lines of diuers of them, were not content with a publique consent to condemne them, and to discharge any further reading of them, but you also made a publique bonefire of them. In this, I say, you shewed your care and ielousie of my Honour, and I sent you thankes for it by the Chancellour of the Exchequer, a member of your owne House, who by your appointment, that same night acquainted me with your proceedings; And by him also I promised at that time, that you should heare more of my thankes for the same at the first occasion; And now I tell you it my selfe, that you may know how kindely I take your duetifull behauiour in this case. But since this was a good effect of an euill cause, I must not omit also to admonish you vpon the other part, to take a course amongst your selues, to preuent the like accident in all times hereafter: otherwise the Lower house may become a place for *Pasquils*, and at another time such *Grieuances* may be cast in amongst you, as may conteine Treason or scandal against Me, or my Posterity. Therfore in this case, looke ouer your ancient Orders, & follow them, and suffer not hereafter any petitions or *Grieuances* to be deliuered obscurely or in the darke, but openly and auowedly in your Publique house, and there to be presented to the Speaker. And as to the matter of your *Grieuances*, I wish you here now to vnderstand me rightly. And because I see many writing and noting, I will craue your pardons, to holde you a little longer by speaking the more distinctly, for feare of mistaking.

First

First then, I am not to finde fault that you informe your selues of the particular iust *Grieuances* of the people; Nay, I must tell you, ye can neither be iust nor faithfull to me, or to your Countreys that trust and imploy you, if you doe it not: For true Plaints proceede not from the persons imployed, but from the Body represented, which is the people. And it may very well bee, that many Directions and Commissions iustly giuen forth by me, may be abused in the Execution thereof, vpon the people: and yet I neuer to receiue information, except it come by your meanes, at such a time as this is; (as in the case of *Stephen Procter.*) But I would wish you to be carefull to auoide three things in the matter of *Grieuances.*

First, that you doe not meddle with the maine points of Gouernment; that is my craft: *tractent fabrilia fabri*; to meddle with that, were to lesson me: I am now an old King; for sixe and thirtie yeeres haue I gouerned in *Scotland* personally, and now haue I accomplished my apprenticeship of seuen yeeres heere; and seuen yeeres is a great time for a Kings experience in Gouernment: Therefore there would not bee too many *Phormios* to teach *Hannibal*: I must not be taught my Office.

Secondly, I would not haue you meddle with such ancient Rights of mine, as I haue receiued from my Predecessors, possessing them, *More Maiorum*: such things I would bee sorie should bee accounted for *Grieuances.* All nouelties are dangerous as well in a politique as in a naturall Body: And therefore I would be loth to be quarrelled in my ancient Rights and possessions: for that were to iudge mee vnworthy of that which my Predecessors had, and left me.

And lastly, I pray you beware to exhibite for *Grieuance* any thing that is established by a setled Law, and whereunto (as you haue already had a proofe) you know I will neuer giue a plausible answere: For it is an vndutifull part in Subiects to presse their King, wherein they know beforehand he will refuse them. Now, if any Law or Statute be not conuenient, let it be amended by Parliament, but in the meane time terme it not a *Grieuance*: for to be grieued with the Law, is to be grieued with the King, who is sworne to bee the Patron and mainteiner thereof. But as all men are flesh, and may erre in the execution of Lawes; So may ye iustly make a *Grieuance* of any abuse of the Law, distinguishing wisely betweene the faults of the person, and the thing it selfe. As for example, Complaints may be made vnto you of the high Commissioners: If so be, trie the abuse, and spare not to complaine vpon it, but say not there shall be no Commission; For that were to abridge the power that is in me: and I will plainely tell you, That something I haue with my selfe resolued annent that point, which I meane euer to keepe, except I see other great cause: which is, That in regard the high Commission is of so high a nature, from which there is no appellation to any other Court, I haue thought good to restraine it onely to the two Archbishops, where before it was common amongst a great part of the Bishops in England. This Law I haue set to my selfe, and therefore you may

may be assured, that I will neuer finde fault with any man, nor thinke him the more Puritane, that will complaine to me out of Parliament, aswell as in Parliament, of any error in execution thereof, so that hee prooue it; Otherwise it were but a calumnie. Onely I would bee loath that any man should grieue at the Commission it selfe, as I haue already said. Yee haue heard (I am sure) of the paines I tooke both in the causes of the Admiralty, and of the Prohibitions: If any man therefore will bring me any iust complaints vpon any matters of so high a nature as this is, yee may assure your selues that I will not spare my labour in hearing it. In faith you neuer had a more painefull King, or that will be readier in his person to determine causes that are fit for his hearing. And when euer any of you shall make experience of me in this point, ye may be sure neuer to want accesse, nor ye shall neuer come wrong to me, in, or out of Parliament.

And now to conclude this purpose of *Grieuances*, I haue one generall *grieuance* to commend vnto you, and that in the behalfe of the Countreys from whence ye come. And this is, to pray you to beware that your *Grieuances* sauour not of particular mens thoughts, but of the generall griefes rising out of the mindes of the people, and not out of the humor of the propounder. And therefore I would wish you to take heede carefully, and consider of the partie that propounds the *grieuance*: for ye may (if ye list) easily discerne whether it bee his owne passion, or the peoples griefe, that makes him to speake: for many a man will in your house propound a *Grieuance* out of his owne humour, because (peraduenture) he accounts highly of that matter: and yet the countrey that imployes him, may perhaps either be of a contrary minde, or (at least) little care for it. As for example, I assure you, I can very well smell betweene a Petition that mooues from a generall *Grieuance*, or such a one as comes from the spleene of some particular person, either against Ecclesiasticall gouernment in generall, or the person of any one Noble man, or Commissioner in particular.

AND now the third point remaines to bee spoken of; which is the cause of my calling of this Parliament. And in this I haue done but as I vse to doe in all my life, which is to leaue mine owne errand hindmost.

It may bee you did wonder that I did not speake vnto you publikely at the beginning of this Session of Parliament, to tell you the cause of your calling, as I did (if I bee rightly remembred) in euery Session before. But the trewth is, that because I call you at this time for my particular Errand, I thought it fitter to bee opened vnto you by my Treasurer, who is my publike and most principall Officer in matters of that nature, then that I should doe it my selfe: for I confesse I am lesse naturally eloquent, and haue greater cause to distrust mine elocution in matters of this nature, then in any other thing. I haue made my Treasurer already to giue you a very cleere and trew accompt both of my hauing, and expenses: A fauour I confesse,

confesse, that Kings doe seldome bestow vpon their Subiects, in making them so particularly acquainted with their state. If I had not more then cause, you may be sure I would be loth to trouble you: But what he hath affirmed in this, vpon the honour of a Gentleman, (whom you neuer had cause to distrust for his honestie,) that doe I now confirme and auow to be trew in the word and honour of a King; And therein you are bound to beleeue me. Duetie I may iustly claime of you as my Subiects; and one of the branches of duetie which Subiects owe to their Soueraigne, is Supply: but in what quantitie, and at what time, that must come of your loues. I am not now therefore to dispute of a Kings power, but to tell you what I may iustly craue, and expect with your good wills. I was euer against all extremes; and in this case I will likewise wish you to auoyd them on both sides. For if you faile in the one, I might haue great cause to blame you as Parliament men, being called by me for my Errands: And if you fall into the other extreme, by supply of my necessities without respectiue care to auoyd oppression or partialitie in the Leuie, both I and the Countrey will haue cause to blame you.

When I thinke vpon the composition of this body of Parliament, I doe well consider that the Vpper house is composed of the Seculer Nobilitie, who are hereditary Lords of Parliament; and of Bishops, that are liue Renter Barons of the same: And therefore what is giuen by the Vpper house, is giuen onely from the trew body of that House, and out of their owne purposes that doe giue it; whereas the Lower house is but the representatiue body of the Commons, and so what you giue, you giue it aswell for others, as for your selues: and therefore you haue the more reason to eschew both the extreames. On the one part, ye may the more easily be liberall, since it comes not all from your selues; and yet vpon the other part, if yee giue more then is fit for good and louing Subiects to yeeld vpon such necessary occasions, yee abuse the King, and hurt the people; And such a gift I will neuer accept: For in such a case you might deceiue a King, in giuing your flattering consent to that which you know might moue the people generally to grudge and murmure at it, and so should the King find himselfe deceiued in his *Calcule*, and the people likewise grieued in their hearts; the loue and possession of which (I protest) I did, and euer will accompt the greatest earthly securitie (next the fauour of GOD) to any wise or iust King. For though it was vainely saide by one of your House, That yee had need to beware, that by giuing mee too much, your throats were not in danger of cutting at your comming home: yet may ye assure your selues, that I will euer bee lothe to presse you to doe that which may wrong the people, and make you iustly to beare the blame thereof. But that yee may the better bee acquainted with my inclination, I will appeale to a number of my Priuie Councell here present, if that before the calling of this Parliament, and when I found that the necessitie of my estate required so great a supply, they found me more desirous to obtaine that

that which I was forced to ſeeke, then carefull that the people might yeeld me a ſupply in ſo great a meaſure as my neceſſities required, without their too great loſſe. And you all that are Parliament men, and here preſent of both Houſes can beare me witneſſe, if euer I burthened or imployed any of you for any particular Subſidies, or ſummes by name, further then my laying open the particular neceſſities of my ſtate, or yet if euer I ſpake to any Priuie Councellour, or any of my learned Councell, to labour voyces for me to this end; I euer deteſted the hunting for *Emendicata Suffragia*. A King that will rule and gouerne iuſtly, muſt haue regard to Conſcience, Honour and Iudgement, in all his great Actions, (as your ſelfe M. Speaker remembred the other day.) And therefore ye may aſſure your ſelues, That I euer limit all my great Actions within that compaſſe. But as vpon the one ſide, I doe not deſire you ſhould yeeld to that extreame, in giuing me more then (as I ſaid formerly) vpon ſuch neceſſary occaſions are fit for good and louing Subiects to yeeld; For that were to giue me a purſe with a knife: So on the other ſide, I hope you will not make vaine pretences of wants, out of cauſeleſſe apprehenſions, or idle excuſes, neither cloake your owne humours (when your ſelues are vnwilling) by alledging the pouertie of the people. For although I will be no leſſe iuſt, as a King, to ſuch perſons, then any other: (For my Iuſtice with Gods grace, ſhalbe alike open to all) yet ye muſt thinke I haue no reaſon to thanke them, or gratifie them with any ſuits or matters of grace, when their errand ſhall come in my way; And yet no man can ſay, that euer I quarrelled any man for refuſing mee a Subſidie, if hee did it in a moderate faſhion, and with good reaſons. For him that denies a good Law, I will not ſpare to quarrell: But for graunting or denying money, it is but an effect of loue: And therefore for the point of my neceſſities, I onely deſire that I be not refuſed in that which of duety I ought to haue: For I know if it were propounded in the generall amongſt you, whether the Kings wants ought to be relieued or not, there is not one of you, that would make queſtion of it. And though in a ſort this may ſeeme to be my particular; yet it can not bee diuided from the generall good of the Common wealth; For the King that is *Parens Patriæ*, telles you of his wants. Nay, *Patria ipſa* by him ſpeakes vnto you. For if the King want, the State wants, and therefore the ſtrengthening of the King is the preſeruation and the ſtanding of the State; And woe be to him that diuides the weale of the King from the weale of the Kingdome. And as that King is miſerable (how rich ſoeuer he bee) that raines ouer a poore people, (for the hearts and riches of the people, are the Kings greateſt treaſure;) So is that Kingdome not able to ſubſiſt, how rich and potent ſoeuer the people be, if their King wants meanes to mainaine his State: for the meanes of your King are the ſinewes of the kingdome both in warre and peace: for in peace I muſt miniſter iuſtice vnto you, and in warre I muſt defend you by Armes: but neither of theſe can I do without ſufficient means, which muſt come from

your

your Aide and Supply. I confeſſe it is farre againſt my nature to be burthenſome to my people: for it cannot but grieue me to craue of others, that was borne to be begged of. It is trew, I craue more then euer King of England did; but I haue farre greater and iuſter cauſe and reaſon to craue, then euer King of England had. And though my Treaſurer hath at length declared the reaſons vnto you of my neceſſities, and of a large ſupply that he craued for the ſame, wherein he omitted no arguments that can be vſed for that purpoſe; yet will I my ſelfe now ſhortly remember you ſome of the weightieſt reaſons that come in my head, to proue the equitie of my demaund.

Firſt, ye all know, that by the acceſſion of more Crownes, which in my Perſon I haue brought vnto you, my charge muſt be the greater in all reaſon: For the greater your King be, both in his dominion and number of Subiects, he cannot but be forced thereby to be at the more charge, and it is the more your honour, ſo to haue it.

Next, that poſteritie and iſſue which it hath pleaſed God to ſend me for your vſe, cannot but bring neceſſarily with it a greater proportion of charge. You all know that the late Queene of famous memory (notwithſtanding her orbitie) had much giuen vnto her, and more then euer any of her predeceſſors had before her.

Thirdly, the time of creation of my Sonne doeth now draw neere, which I chuſe for the greater honour to bee done in this time of Parliament. As for him I ſay no more; the ſight of himſelfe here ſpeakes for him.

Fourthly, it is trew I haue ſpent much; but yet if I had ſpared any of thoſe things, which cauſed a great part of my expenſe, I ſhould haue diſhonored the kingdome, my ſelfe, and the late Queene. Should I haue ſpared the funerall of the late Queene? or the ſolemnitie of mine and my wiues entrie into this Kingdome, in ſome honourable ſort? or ſhould I haue ſpared our entrie into *London*, or our Coronation? And when moſt of the Monarches, and great Princes in Chriſtendome ſent their Ambaſſadours to congratulate my comming hither, and ſome of them came in perſon, was I not bound, both for my owne honour, and the honour of the Kingdome, to giue them good entertainement? But in caſe it might be obiected by ſome, that it is onely vpon occaſions of warre; that Kings obtaine great Supplies from their Subiects: notwithſtanding my interne Peace, I am yet in a kinde of warre, which if it bee without, the more is your ſafetie: For (as the Treaſurer tolde you at large) I am now forced both in reſpects of State, and my promiſe, and for the generall cauſe of Religion, to ſend a Supply of forces to *Cleues*, and how long that occaſion may laſt, or what greater ſupply the neceſſitie of that Errand may draw mee vnto, no man can yet tell. Beſides that, although I haue put downe that forme of warlike keeping of *Barwicke*; yet are all thoſe commaunders my penſioners that were the late Queenes ſouldiers, And I hope I ſuſtaine a prettie Seminarie of Souldiers in my Forts within this Kingdome, beſides

the two cautionary Townes in the Low-countreys, *Flushing* and *Brill.* And as for *Ireland*, yee all know how vncertaine my charges are euer there, that people being so easily stirred, partly through their barbaritie, and want of ciuilitie, and partly through their corruption in Religion to breake foorth in rebellions. Yee know, how vnlooked for a Rebellion brake foorth there the last yeere, which could not but put mee to extraordinary charges. Besides I doe maintaine there continually an Armie, which is a goodly Seminarie of expert and old Souldiers. And I dare neuer suffer the same to be diminished, till this Plantation take effect, which (no doubt) is the greatest moate that euer came in the Rebels eyes: and it is to be looked for, that if euer they will bee able to make any stirre, they will presse at it by all meanes, for the preuenting and discouraging this Plantation. Now it is trew, that besides all these honourable and necessary occasions of my charge, I haue spent much in liberalitie: but yet I hope you will consider, that what I haue giuen, hath bene giuen amongst you; and so what comes in from you, goes out againe amongst you. But it may be thought that I haue giuen much amongst Scottishmen. Indeed if I had not beene liberall in rewarding some of my old seruants of that Nation, ye could neuer haue had reason to expect my thankefulnesse towards any of you that are more lately become my Subiects, if I had beene ingrate to the old: And yet yee will find, that I haue dealt twice as much amongst English men as I haue done to Scottishmen. And therefore he that in your House was not ashamed to affirme, that the siluer and gold did so abound in *Edenburgh*, was very farre mistaken; but I wish him no worse punishment, then that hee should onely liue vpon such profit of the money there. But I hope you will neuer mislike me for my liberalitie, since I can looke very few of you this day in the face, that haue not made suits to mee, at least for some thing, either of honour or profit. It is trew, a Kings liberalitie must neuer be dried vp altogether: for then he can neuer maintaine nor oblige his seruants and well deseruing Subiects: But that vastnesse of my expence is past, which I vsed the first two or three yeeres after my comming hither: And, as I oft vsed to say, that Christmas and open tide is ended: For at my first comming here, partly ignorance of this State (which no man can acquire but by time and experience) and partly the forme of my comming being so honourable and miraculous, enforced me to extend my liberalitie so much the more at the beginning. Ye saw I made Knights then by hundreths, and Barons in great numbers: but I hope you find I doe not so now, nor minde not to doe so hereafter. For to conclude this point anent expences, I hold that a Kings expence must alwayes bee honourable, though not wastefull, and the charges of your King in maintaining those ancient honourable formes of liuing that the former Kings of *England* my Predecessours haue done, and his liuing to bee ruled according to the proportion of his greatnesse, is aswell for the honour of your Kingdome,

as

as of your King. Now this cannot be ſupplied out of the ayre or liquid elements, but muſt come from the people. And for remouing of that diffidence which men may haue, that I minde not to liue in any waſtefull ſort hereafter, will you but looke vpon my ſelfe and my poſteritie; and if there were no more but that, it will teach you that if I were but a naturall man, I muſt needs bee carefull of my expences: For as for my owne perſon, I hope none that knowes me well, can thinke me but as little inclined to any prodigall humours of vnneceſſary things, as any other reaſonable man of a farre meaner eſtate. Therefore ſince (as I haue ſaid) I cannot be helped but from the people; I aſſure my ſelfe that you will well allow mee ſuch meaſure of Supplie, as the people may beare, and ſupport him with more Honourable meanes then others haue had, that (as I may ſay without vaunting) hath brought you more Honour then euer you had: For I hope there are no good Subiects either within, or out of the Parliament Houſe, that would not be content for ſetting ſtreight once and ſetling the Honourable State of their King, to ſpare ſo much euery one of them out of their purſes, which peraduenture they would in one night throw away at Dice or Cards, or beſtow vpon a horſe for their fancies, that might breake his necke or his legge the next morning: Nay I am ſure euery good Subiect would rather chuſe to liue more ſparingly vpon his owne, then that his Kings State ſhould be in want.

For concluſion then of this purpoſe, I wiſh you now to put a ſpeedie end to your buſineſſe. Freeneſſe in giuing graceth the gift, *Bis dat, qui citò dat*; The longer I want helpe, the greater will my debt ſtill riſe: and ſo muſt I looke for the greater helpes. And now I would pray you to turne your eyes with mee from home, and looke vpon forreine States. Conſider that the eyes of all forreine States are vpon this affaire, and in expectation what the ſucceſſe thereof will be; And what can they thinke, if ye depart without relieuing mee in that proportion that may make me able to maintaine my State, but that either ye are vnwilling to helpe mee, thinking me vnworthy thereof, or at leaſt that my State is ſo deſperate, as it cannot be repaired, and ſo that the Parliament parts in diſgrace with the King, and the King in diſtaſte with the Parliament, which cannot but weaken my reputation both at home and abroad? For of this you may be aſſured, that forreine Princes care the more one for an other, if they may haue reaſon to expect that they may bee able to doe them good or harme in Retribution. And ye know, that if a King fall to be contemned with his neighbours, that cannot but bring an oppreſſion and warre by them vpon him, and then will it be too late to ſupport the King, when the cure is almoſt deſperate. Things foreſeene and preuented, are euer eaſlieſt remedied: And therefore I would aduiſe you now ſo to ſettle your buſineſſe, as ye may not take in hand ſo many things at once, as may both croſſe my errand, and euery one of them croſſe another. Yee remember the French Prouerbe, *Qui trop embraſſe, rien eſtreint*; We are not in this

Parliament to make our Teſtament, as if wee ſhould neuer meete againe, and that all things that were to be done in any Parliament, were to be done at this time: and yet for filling vp of your vacant houres, I will recommend to your conſideration ſuch nature of things, as are to bee ſpecially thought vpon in theſe times. Firſt I will beginne at GOD: for the beginning with him makes all other actions to bee bleſſed: And this I meane by the cauſe of Religion. Next I will ſpeake of ſome things that concerne the Common-wealth. And thirdly, matters of Pleaſure and ornament to the Kingdome.

As for Religion, we haue all great cauſe to take heed vnto it; Papiſts are waxed as proud at this time as euer they were, which makes many to think they haue ſome new plot in hand. And although the pooreſt ſort of them bee (God be thanked) much decreaſed, yet doeth the greater ſort of them dayly increaſe, eſpecially among the fœminine Sexe; nay they are waxed ſo proud, that ſome ſay, no man dare preſent them, nor Iudges meddle with them, they are ſo backed and vpholden by diuers great Courtiers. It is a ſurer and better way to remooue the materials of fire before they bee kindled, then to quench the fire when once it is kindled.

Nam leuius lædit quicquid præuidimus antè.

I doe not meane by this to mooue you to make ſtronger Lawes then are already made, but ſee thoſe Lawes may bee well executed that are in force; otherwiſe they cannot but fall into contempt and become ruſtie. I neuer found, that blood and too much ſeueritie did good in matters of Religion: for, beſides that it is a ſure rule in Diuinitie, that God neuer loues to plant his Church by violence and bloodſhed; naturall reaſon may euen perſwade vs, and dayly experience prooues it trew, That when men are ſeuerely perſecuted for Religion, the gallantneſſe of many mens ſpirits, and the wilfulnes of their humors, rather then the iuſtneſſe of the cauſe, makes them to take a pride boldy to endure any torments, or death it ſelfe, to gaine thereby the reputatiom of Martyrdome, though but in a falſe ſhadow.

Some doubts haue beene conceiued anent the vſing of the Oath of Allegiance, and that part of the Acte which ordaines the taking thereof, is thought ſo obſcure, that no man can tell who ought to bee preſſed therewith. For I my ſelfe, when vpon a time I called the Iudges before mee at their going to their Circuits, I mooued this queſtion vnto them; wherein, as I thought they could not reſolutely anſwere me: And therefore if there bee any ſcruple touching the miniſtring of it, I would wiſh it now to bee cleared. And ſince I haue with my owne pen brought the Popes quarell vpon mee, and proclaimed publique defiance to *Babylon* in maintaining it; ſhould it now ſleepe, and ſhould I ſeeme (as it were) to ſteale from it againe?

As for Recuſants, let them bee all duely preſented without exception: for in times paſt there hath beene too great a conniuence, and forbearing of

of them, especially of great mens wiues, and their kinne and followers. None ought to be spared from being brought vnder the danger of Law, and then it is my part to vse mercie, as I thinke conuenient. To winke at faults, and not to suffer them to bee discouered, is no Honour, nor Mercy in a King, neither is he euer thanked for it; It onely argues his dulnesse: But to forgiue faults after they are confessed, or tried, is Mercie. And now I must turne me in this case to you, my Lords the Bishops, and euen exhort you earnestly, to be more carefull, then you haue bene, that your Officers may more duely present Recusants, then heretofore they haue done, without exception of persons; That althought it must be the worke of GOD that must make their mindes to bee altered, yet at least by this course they may be stayed from increasing, or insulting vpon vs.

And that yee all may know the trewth of my heart in this case, I diuide all my Subiects that are Papists, into two rankes: either olde Papists, that were so brought vp in times of Poperie, like old Queene *Mary* Priests, and those, that though they bee younger in yeeres, yet haue neuer drunke in other milke, but beene still nusled in that blindnesse: Or else such as doe become Apostats; hauing once beene of our Profession, and haue forsaken the trewth, either vpon discontent, or practise, or else vpon a light vaine humour of Noueltie, making no more scruple to seeke out new formes of Religion, then if it were but a new forme of Garment, or a new cut or courtsey after the French fashion.

For the former sort, I pitie them; but if they bee good and quiet Subiects, I hate not their persons; and if I were a priuate man, I could well keepe a ciuill friendship and conuersation with some of them: But as for those Apostates, who, I know, must be greatest haters of their owne Sect, I confesse I can neuer shew any fauourable countenance toward them, and they may all of them be sure without exception, that they shall neuer finde any more fauour of mee, further then I must needs in Iustice afford them. And these would I haue the Law to strike seuerelieſt vpon, and you carefullest to discouer. Yee know there hath beene great stirre kept for begging Concealements these yeeres past; and I pray you, let mee begge this concealement both of the Bishops, and Iudges, That Papists be no longer concealed.

Next, as concerning the Common wealth, I doe specially recommend vnto you the framing of some new Statute for preseruation of woods. In the end of the last Session of Parliament, ye had a Bill amongst you of that subiect; but because you found some faults therein, you cast out the whole Bil: But I could haue rather wished that yee had either mended it, or made a new one; For to cast out the whole Bill because of some faults, was euen as if a man, that had a new garment brought him, would chuse rather to go naked, then haue his garment made fit for him: But on my cõscience, I cannot

imagine why you ſhould ſo lightly haue eſteemed a thing, ſo neceſſary for the Common wealth, if it were not out of a litle frowardneſſe amongſt you at that time, that what I then recommended earneſtly vnto you, it was the worſe liked of. The maintenance of woods is a thing ſo neceſſary for this Kingdome, as it cannot ſtand, nor be a Kingdome without it: For it concernes you both in your *Eſſe*, *Bene eſſe*, and in pleaſures. Your *Eſſe*: for without it you want the vſe of one of the moſt neceſſarie Elements (which is Fire and fewell to dreſſe your meate with; for neither can the people liue in theſe colde Countries, if they want fire altogether, nor yet can you dreſſe your meate without it; and I thinke you will ill liue like the Cannibals vpon raw fleſh: for the education of this people is farre from that. As to your *bene eſſe*; The decay of woods will neceſſarily bring the decay of Shipping, which both is the ſecurity of this Kingdome, ſince God hath by nature made the Sea to bee the wall of this Iland; and the rather now, ſince God hath vnited it all in my Perſon and Crowne; As alſo by the decay of Shipping will you looſe both all your forraine commodities that are fit for this countrey, and the venting of our owne, which is the loſſe of Trade, that is a maine pillar of this kingdome. And as for Pleaſure, yee know my delight in Hunting and Hawking, and many of your ſelues are of the ſame minde; and all this muſt needes decay, by the decay of Woods: Ye haue reaſon therefore to prouide a good Law vpon this Subiect.

Now as to the laſt point concerning matters of Pleaſure, it conſiſts in the preſeruing of Game, which is now almoſt vtterly deſtroyed through all the Kingdome. And if you offer not now a better Law for this, then was made in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, I will neuer thanke you for it: For as for your Law anent Partridge and Pheſant, you haue giuen leaue to euery man how poore a Farmour that euer hee bee, to take and deſtroy them in his owne ground how he liſt. But I pray you, how can the Game bee maintained, if Gentlemen that haue great Lordſhips ſhall breed and preſerue them there, and ſo ſoone as euer they ſhall but flie ouer the hedge and light in a poore fellowes Cloſe, they ſhall all be deſtroyed? Surely I know no remedie for preſeruing the Game that breedes in my grounds, except I caſt a roofe ouer all the ground, or elſe put veruels to the Partridges feet with my Armes vpon them, as my Hawkes haue: otherwiſe I know not how they ſhall bee knowen to be the Kings Partridges, when they light in a Farmours Cloſe.

And by your Lawe againſt ſtealing of Deere or Conies, after a long diſcourſe and prohibition of ſtealing them, you conclude in the end with a reſtriction, that all this puniſhment ſhall bee vnderſtood to bee vſed againſt them that ſteale the Game in the night: Which hath much encouraged all the looſer ſort of people, that it is no fault to ſteale Deere, ſo they doe it not like theeues in the night. As was that Law of the *Lacedemonians* againſt

against theft, that did not forbid theft, but onely taught them to doe it cunningly, and without discouerie: Whereupon a foolish boy suffered a Foxe to gnaw his heart through his breast. And this doctrine is like that Lesson of the Cannon Law, *Si non castè, tamen cautè.* I knowe you thinke that I speake partially in this case like a Hunter; But there is neuer a one of you that heares mee, that cares the least for the sport, for preseruation of the Game, but he would be as glad to haue a pastie of Venison if you might get it, as the best Hunter would: And if the Game be not preserued, you can eate no Venison. As for Partridge and Phesant, I doe not denie that Gentlemen should haue their sport, and specially vpon their owne ground. But first I doe not thinke such Game and pleasures should be free to base people. And next I would euen wish that Gentlemen should vse it in a Gentlemanlike fashion, and not with Nets, or Gunnes, or such other vngentlemanlike fashions that serue but for vtter destruction of all Game, nor yet to kill them at vnseasonable times, as to kill the Phesant and Partridges when they are no bigger then Mice, when as for euery one their Hawkes kill, ten will be destroyed with their Dogs and Horse feet; besides the great and intolerable harme they doe to Corne in that season.

And now in the end of all this faschious Speach, I must conclude like a Grey Frier, in speaking for my selfe at last. At the beginning of this Session of Parliament, when the Treasourer opened my necessities vnto you, then my Purse onely laboured; But now that word is spread both at home and abroad of the demaunds I haue made vnto you; my Reputation laboureth aswell as my Purse: For if you part without the repairing of my State in some reasonable sort, what can the world thinke, but that the euill will my Subiects beare vnto mee, hath bred a refuse? And yee can neuer part so, without apprehending that I am distasted with your behauiour, and yet to be in feare of my displeasure. But I assure and promise my selfe farre otherwise.

THus haue I now performed my promise, in presenting vnto you the Christall of your Kings heart.

Yee know that principally by three wayes yee may wrong a Mirrour.

First, I pray you, looke not vpon my Mirrour with a false light: which yee doe, if ye mistake, or mis-vnderstand my Speach, and so alter the sence thereof.

But secondly, I pray you beware to soile it with a foule breath, and vncleane hands: I meane, that yee peruert not my words by any corrupt affections,

fections, turning them to an ill meaning, like one, who when hee heares the tolling of a Bell, fancies to himselfe, that it speakes those words which are most in his minde.

And lastly, (which is worst of all) beware to let it fall or breake; (for glasse is brittle) which ye doe, if ye lightly esteeme it, and by contemning it, conforme not your selues to my perswasions.

To conclude then: As all these three dayes of *Iubile* haue fallen in the midst of this season of penitence, wherein you haue presented your thanks to me, and I the like againe to you: So doe I wish and hope, that the end of this Parliament will bee such, as wee may all haue cause (both I your Head, and yee the Body) to ioyne in Eucharisticke Thanks and Praises vnto God, for our so good and happie an end.

(* * *)

A SPEACH

A SPEACH IN THE STARRE-CHAMBER, *THE XX. OF IVNE.* ANNO 1616.

IVE THY IVDGEMENTS TO THE KING, O GOD, AND THY RIGHTEOVSNES TO THE KINGS SONNE.

These be the first words of one of the Psalmes of the Kingly Prophet *Dauid*, whereof the literall sense runnes vpon him, and his sonne *Salomon*, and the mysticall sense vpon GOD and CHRIST his eternall Sonne: but they are both so wouen together, as some parts are, and can onely bee properly applied vnto GOD and CHRIST, and other parts vnto *Dauid* and *Salomon*, as this Verse, *Giue thy Iudgements to the King, O God, and thy Righteousnesse to the Kings Sonne*, cannot be properly spoken of any, but of *Dauid* and his sonne; because it is said, *Giue thy Iudgements, &c.* Now God cannot giue to himselfe. In another part of the same Psalme, where it is said, that *Righteousnes shall flourish, and abundance of Peace, as long as the Moone endureth*, it signifieth eternitie, and cannot be properly applied but to GOD and CHRIST: But both senses, aswell literall as mysticall, serue to Kings for imitation, and especially to Christian Kings: for Kings sit in the Throne of GOD, and they themselues are called Gods.

And therefore all good Kings in their gouernment, must imitate GOD and

and his Christ, in being iust and righteous; *Dauid* and *Salomon*, in being godly and wise: To be wise, is vnderstood, able to discerne, able to iudge others: To be godly is, that the fountaine be pure whence the streames proceed: for what auailes it though all his workes be godly, if they proceed not from godlinesse: To bee righteous, is to a mans selfe: To bee iust, is towards others. But Iustice in a King auailes not, vnlesse it be with a cleane heart: for except he bee Righteous aswell as Iust, he is no good King; and whatsoeuer iustice he doeth; except he doeth it for Iustice sake, and out of the purenesse of his owne heart, neither from priuate ends, vaine-glory, or any other by-respects of his owne, all such Iustice is vnrighteousnesse, and no trew Iustice. From this imitation of GOD and CHRIST, in whose Throne wee sit, the gouernment of all Commonwealths, and especially Monarchies, hath bene from the beginning setled and established. Kings are properly Iudges, and Iudgement properly belongs to them from GOD: for Kings sit in the Throne of GOD, and thence all Iudgement is deriued.

In all well setled Monarchies, where Law is established formerly and orderly, there Iudgement is deferred from the King to his subordinate Magistrates; not that the King takes it from himselfe, but giues it vnto them: So it comes not to them *Priuatiuè*, but *cumulatiuè*, as the Shoolemen speake. The ground is ancient, euer sithence that Counsell which *Iethro* gaue to *Moses*: for after that *Moses* had gouerned a long time, in his owne person, the burthen grew so great, hauing none to helpe him, as his father in law comming to visite him, found him so cumbred with ministring of Iustice, that neither the people were satisfied, nor he well able to performe it; Therefore by his aduice, Iudges were deputed for easier questions, and the greater and more profound were left to *Moses*: And according to this establishment, all Kings that haue had a formall gouernement, especially Christian Kings in all aages haue gouerned their people, though after a diuers maner.

This Deputation is after one manner in *France*, after another here, and euen my owne Kingdomes differ in this point of gouernment: for *Scotland* differs both from *France* and *England* herein; but all agree in this, (I speake of such Kingdomes or States where the formalitie of Law hath place) that the King that sits in Gods Throne, onely deputes subalterne Iudges, and he deputes not one but a number (for no one subalterne Iudges mouth makes Law) and their office is to interprete Law, and administer Iustice. But as to the number of them, the forme of gouernement, the maner of interpretation, the distinction of Benches, the diuersitie of Courts; these varie according to the varietie of gouernment, and institution of diuers Kings: So this ground I lay, that the seate of Iudgement is properly Gods, and Kings are Gods Vicegerents; and by Kings Iudges are deputed vnder them, to beare the burden of gouernement, according to the first example of *Moses* by the aduice of *Iethro*, and sithence

ſithence practiſed by *Dauid* and *Salomon*, the wiſeſt Kings that euer were; which is in this Pſalme ſo interlaced, that as the firſt verſe cannot be applied properly but to *Dauid* and *Salomon*, in the words, *Giue thy Iudgements to the King*, &c. So the other place in the ſame Pſalme, *Righteouſneſſe ſhall flouriſh, and abundance of peace ſhall remaine as long as the Moone endureth*, properly ſignifieth the eternitie of CHRIST. This I ſpeake, to ſhew what a neere coniunction there is betweene God and the King vpward, and the King and his Iudges downewards: for the ſame coniunction that is betweene God and the King vpward; the ſame coniunction is betweene the King and his Iudges downewards.

As Kings borrow their power from God, ſo Iudges from Kings: And as Kings are to accompt to God, ſo Iudges vnto God and Kings; and both Kings and Iudges by imitation, haue two qualities from God and his Chriſt, and two qualities from *Dauid* and his *Salomon*: Iudgement and Righteouſneſſe, from God and Chriſt: Godlineſſe and Wiſedome from *Dauid* and *Salomon*. And as no King can diſcharge his accompt to God, vnleſſe he make conſcience not to alter, but to declare and eſtabliſh the will of God: So Iudges cannot diſcharge their accompts to Kings, vnleſſe they take the like care, not to take vpon them to make Law, but ioyned together after a deliberate conſultation, to declare what the Law is; For as Kings are ſubiect vnto Gods Law, ſo they to mans Law. It is the Kings Office to protect and ſettle the trew interpretation of the Law of God within his Dominions: And it is the Iudges Office to interprete the Law of the King, whereto themſelues are alſo ſubiect.

Hauing now perfourmed this ancient Prouerbe, *A Ioue principium*; which though it was ſpoken by a Pagan, yet it is good and holy: I am now to come to my particular Errand, for which I am heere this day; wherein I muſt handle two parts: Firſt, the reaſon why I haue not theſe fourteene yeeres, ſithence my Coronation vntill now, ſatisfied a great many of my louing ſubiects, who I know haue had a great expectation, and as it were a longing, like them that are with child, to heare mee ſpeake in this place, where my Predeceſſors haue often ſitten, and eſpecially King *Henry* the ſeuenth, from whom, as diuers wayes before, I am lineally deſcended, and that doubly to this Crowne; and as I am neereſt deſcended of him, ſo doe I deſire to follow him in his beſt actions.

The next part is the reaſon, Why I am now come: The cauſe that made mee abſtaine, was this: When I came into *England*, although I was an old King, paſt middle aage, and practiſed in gouernment euer ſithence I was twelue yeeres olde; yet being heere a ſtranger in gouernement, though not in blood, becauſe my breeding was in another Kingdome; I reſolued therefore with *Pythagoras* to keepe ſilence ſeuen yeeres, and learne my ſelfe the Lawes of this Kingdome, before I would take vpon mee to teach them vnto others: When this Apprentiſhip was ended, then another impediment came, which was in the choice of that cauſe, that ſhould firſt bring

bring me hither. I expected ſome great cauſe to make my firſt entry vpon: For I thought that hauing abſtained ſo long, it ſhould be a worthy matter that ſhould bring mee hither. Now euery cauſe muſt be great or ſmall: In ſmall cauſes I thought it diſgracefull to come, hauing beene ſo long abſent: In great cauſes, they muſt be either betwixt the King and ſome of his Subiects, or betwixt Subiect and Subiect.

In a cauſe where my ſelfe was concerned, I was loath to come, becauſe men ſhould not thinke I did come for my owne priuate, either Prerogatiue or profit; or for any other by-reſpect: And in that caſe I will alwayes abide the triall of men and Angels, neuer to haue had any particular end, in that which is the Maine of all things, *Iuſtice.*

In a great cauſe alſo betweene partie and partie, great in reſpect either of the queſtion, or value of the thing, my comming might ſeeme, as it were obliquely, to be in fauour of one partie, and for that cauſe this Counſellour, or that Courtier might be thought to mooue me to come hither; And a meane cauſe was not worthy of mee, eſpecially for my firſt entrance: So, lacke of choice in both reſpects kept mee off till now: And now hauing paſſed a double apprentiſhip of twice ſeuen yeeres, I am come hither to ſpeake vnto you. And next as to the reaſons of my comming at this time, they are theſe.

I haue obſerued in the time of my whole Reigne here, and my double Apprentiſhip, diuers things fallen out in the Iudicatures here at *Weſtminſter* Hall, that I thought required and vrged a reformation at my hands; whereupon I reſolued with my ſelfe, that I could not more fitly begin a reformation, then here to make an open declaration of my meaning. I remember Chriſts ſaying, *My ſheepe heare my voyce*, and ſo I aſſure my ſelfe, my people will moſt willingly heare the voyce of me, their owne Shepheard and King; whereupon I tooke this occaſion in mine owne perſon here in this Seate of Iudgement, not iudicially, but declaratorily and openly to giue thoſe directions, which, at other times, by piece-meale, I haue deliuered to ſome of you in diuers leſſe publike places; but now will put it vp in all your audience, where I hope it ſhall bee trewly caried, and cannot be miſtaken, as it might haue bene when it was ſpoken more priuately: I will for order ſake take mee to the methode of the number of Three, the number of perfection, and vpon that number diſtribute all I haue to declare to you.

FIrſt, I am to giue a charge to my ſelfe: for a King, or Iudge vnder a King, that firſt giues not a good charge to himſelfe, will neuer be able to giue a good charge to his inferiours; for as I haue ſaid, Good riuers cannot flow but from good ſprings; if the fountaine be impure, ſo muſt the riuers be.

Secondly, to the Iudges: And thirdly, to the Auditory, and the reſt of the inferiour miniſters of Iuſtice.

Firſt,

First, I protest to you all, in all your audience, heere sitting in the seate of Iustice, belonging vnto GOD, and now by right fallen vnto mee, that I haue resolued, as Confirmation in Maioritie followeth Baptisme in minoritie; so now after many yeeres, to renew my promise and Oath made at my Coronation concerning Iustice, and the promise therein for maintenance of the Law of the Land. And I protest in GODS presence, my care hath euer beene to keepe my conscience cleare in all the points of my Oath, taken at my Coronation, so farre as humane frailtie may permit mee, or my knowledge enforme mee, I speake in point of Iustice and Law; For Religion, I hope I am reasonably well knowen already: I meane therefore of Lawe and Iustice; and for Law, I meane the Common Law of the Land, according to which the King gouernes, and by which the people are gouerned. For the Common Law, you can all beare mee witnesse, I neuer pressed alteration of it in Parliament; but on the contrary, when I endeauoured most an Vnion reall, as was already in my person, my desire was to conforme the Lawes of *Scotland* to the Law of *England*, and not the Law of *England* to the Law of *Scotland*; and so the prophecie to be trew of my wise Grandfather *Henry* the seuenth, who foretold that the lesser Kingdome by marriage, would follow the greater, and not the greater the lesser; And therefore married his eldest daughter *Margaret* to *Iames* the fourth, my great Grandfather.

It was a foolish Querke of some Iudges, who held that the Parliament of *England*, could not vnite *Scotland* and *England* by the name of *Great Britaine*, but that it would make an alteration of the Lawes, though I am since come to that knowledge, that an Acte of Parliament can doe greater wonders: And that old wise man the Treasourer *Burghley* was wont to say, Hee knew not what an Acte of Parliament could not doe in *England*; For my intention was alwayes to effect vnion by vniting *Scotland* to *England*, and not *England* to *Scotland*: For I euer meant, being euer resolued, that this Law should continue in this Kingdome, and two things mooued mee thereunto; One is, that in matter of Policie and State, you shall neuer see any thing anciently and maturely established, but by Innouation or alteration it is worse then it was, I meane not by purging of it from corruptions, and restoring it to the ancient integritie; Another reason was, I was sworne to maintaine the Law of the Land, and therefore I had beene periured if I had altered it; And this I speake to root out the conceit and misapprehension, if it be in any heart, that I would change, damnifie, vilifie or suppresse the Law of this Land: GOD is my Iudge I neuer meant it; And this confirmation I make before you all.

To this I ioyne the point of Iustice, which I call *Vnicuique suum tribuere*. All my Councell, and Iudges dead and aliue, can, and could beare mee witnesse, how vnpartiall I haue beene in declaring of Law.

And where it hath concerned mee in my owne inheritance, I haue as willingly ſubmitted my intereſt to the Lawe, as any my Subiects could doe; and it becomes mee ſo to doe, to giue example to others: much leſſe then will I be partiall to others, where I am not to my ſelfe. And ſo reſolue your ſelues, Iuſtice with mee may bee moderated in point of clemencie: for no Iuſtice can be without mercie. But in matters of Iuſtice to giue euery man his owne, to be blinde without eyes of partialitie; This is my full reſolution.

I vſed to ſay when I was in *Scotland*, if any man mooued mee to delay Iuſtice, that it was againſt the Office of a King ſo to doe; But when any made ſuite to haſten Iuſtice, I told them I had rather grant fourtie of theſe ſuits, then one of the other: This was alwayes my cuſtome and ſhall be euer, with Gods leaue.

Now what I haue ſpoken of Law and Iuſtice, I meane by the Lawe kept in her owne bounds: For I vnderſtand the inheritance of the King, and Subiects in this land, muſt bee determined by the Common Law, &c; and that is, by the Law ſet downe in our forefathers time, expounded by learned men diuers times after in the declaratory Comments, called *Reſponſa Prudentum*; Or elſe by Statute Law ſet downe by Acte of Parliament, as occaſion ſerues: By this I doe not ſeclude all other Lawes of *England*; but this is the Law of inheritance in this Kingdome.

There is another Law, of all Lawes free and ſupreame, which is GODS LAVV: And by this all Common and municipall Lawes muſt be gouerned: And except they haue dependance vpon this Law, they are vniuſt and vnlawfull.

When I ſpeake of that Law, I onely giue this touch, That that Law in this Kingdome hath beene too much neglected, and Churchmen too much had in contempt; I muſt ſpeake trewth, Great men, Lords, Iudges, and people of all degrees from the higheſt to the loweſt, haue too much contemned them: And God will not bleſſe vs in our owne Lawes, if wee doe not reuerence and obey GODS LAVV; which cannot bee, except the interpreters of it be reſpected and reuerenced.

And it is a ſigne of the latter dayes drawing on; euen the contempt of the Church, and of the Gouernours and Teachers thereof now in the Church of ENGLAND, which I ſay in my Conſcience, of any Church that euer I read or knew of, preſent or paſt, is moſt pure, and neereſt the Primitiue and Apoſtolicall Church in Doctrine and Diſcipline, and is ſureſt founded vpon the word of God, of any Church in Chriſtendome.

Next vnto this Law is the Law of Nations, which God forbid ſhould bee barred, and that for two cauſes: One, becauſe it is a Law to ſatisfie Strangers, which will not ſo well hold themſelues ſatisfied with other municipall Lawes: Another, to ſatisfie our owne Subiects in matters of Piracie, Marriage, Wills, and things of like nature: That Law I

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diuide into Ciuil and Canon; And this Law hath bene so much encroched vpon, sithence my comming to the Crowne, and so had in contempt, that young men are discouraged from studying, and the rest wearie of their liues that doe professe it, and would be glad to seeke any other craft.

So, speaking of the Common Law, I meane the Common Law kept within her owne limits, and not derogating from these other Lawes, which by longer custome haue beene rooted here; first, the Law of GOD and his Church; and next, the Law Ciuill and Canon, which in many cases cannot be wanting.

To conclude this charge which I giue my selfe, I professe to maintaine all the points of mine Oath, especially in Lawes, and of Lawes, especially the Common Law.

And as to maintaine it, so to purge it; for else it cannot bee maintained: and especially to purge it from two corruptions, Incertaintie and Noueltie: Incertaintie is found in the Law it selfe, wherein I will bee painefull to cleare it to the people; and this is properly to bee done in Parliament by aduice of the Iudges.

The other corruption is introduced by the Iudges themselues, by Nicities that are vsed, where it may be said, *Ab initio non fuit sic.*

Nothing in the world is more likely to be permanent to our eyes then yron or steele, yet the rust corrupts it, if it bee not kept cleane: which sheweth, nothing is permanent here in this world, if it be not purged; So I cannot discharge my conscience in maintaining the Lawes, if I keepe them not cleane from corruption.

And now that I may bee like the Pastor, that first takes the Sacrament himselfe, and then giues it to the people: So I haue first taken my owne charge vpon me, before I giue you your Charge, lest it might be said,

Turpe est doctori, cùm culpa redarguit ipsum.

NOw my Lords the Iudges for your parts, the Charge I haue to giue you, consists likewise in three parts.

First in generall, that you doe Iustice vprightly, as you shall answere to GOD and mee: For as I haue onely GOD to answere to, and to expect punishment at his hands, if I offend; So you are to answere both to GOD and to mee, and expect punishment at GODS hands and mine, if you be found in fault.

Secondly, to doe Iustice indifferently betweene Subiect and Subiect, betweene King and Subiect, without delay, partialitie, feare or bribery, with stout and vpright hearts, with cleane and vncorrupt hands.

When I bid you doe Iustice boldly, yet I bid you doe it fearefully; fearefully in this, to vtter your owne conceites, and not the trew meaning of the Law: And remember you are no makers of Law, but Interpretours of Law, according to the trew sence thereof; for your Office is *Ius dicere*, and not *Ius dare*: And that you are so farre from making Law, that euen in the higher house of Parliament, you haue no voyce in

making of a Law, but only to giue your aduice when you are required.

And though the Laws be in many places obſcure, and not ſo wel knowen to the multitude as to you; and that there are many parts that come not into ordinary practiſe, which are knowen to you, becauſe you can finde out the reaſon thereof by bookes and preſidents; yet know this, that your interpretations muſt be alwayes ſubiect to common ſenſe and reaſon.

For I will neuer truſt any Interpretation, that agreeth not with my common ſenſe and reaſon, and trew Logicke: for *Ratio eſt anima Legis* in all humane Lawes, without exception; it muſt not be Sophiſtrie or ſtraines of wit that muſt interprete, but either cleare Law, or ſolide reaſon.

But in Countreys where the formalitie of Law hath no place, as in *Denmarke*, which I may trewly report, as hauing my ſelfe beene an eye-witneſſe thereof; all their State is gouerned onely by a written Law; there is no Aduocate or Proctour admitted to plead, onely the parties themſelues plead their owne cauſe, and then a man ſtands vp and reads the Law, and there is an end; for the very Law-booke it ſelfe is their onely Iudge. Happy were all Kingdomes if they could be ſo: But heere, curious wits, various conceits, different actions, and varietie of examples breed queſtions in Law: And therefore when you heare the queſtions, if they be plaine, there is a plaine way in it ſelfe; if they be ſuch as are not plaine (for mens inuentions dayly abound) then are you to interprete according to common ſenſe, and draw a good and certaine *Minor* of naturall reaſon, out of the *Maior* of direct Lawe, and thereupon to make a right and trew *Concluſion.*

For though the Common Law be a myſtery and skill beſt knowen vnto your ſelues, yet if your interpretation be ſuch, as other men which haue Logicke and common ſenſe vnderſtand not the reaſon, I will neuer truſt ſuch an Interpretation.

Remember alſo you are Iudges, and not a Iudge; and diuided into Benches, which ſheweth that what you doe, that you ſhould doe with aduice and deliberation, not haſtily and raſhly, before you well ſtudy the caſe, and conferre together; debating it duely, not giuing ſingle opinions, *per emendicata ſuffragia*; and ſo to giue your Iudgement, as you will anſwer to God and me.

Now hauing ſpoken of your Office in generall, I am next to come to the limits wherein you are to bound your ſelues, which likewiſe are three. Firſt, Incroach not vpon the Prerogatiue of the Crowne: If there fall out a queſtion that concernes my Prerogatiue or myſtery of State, deale not with it, till you conſult with the King or his Councell, or both: for they are tranſcendent matters, and muſt not be ſliberely caried with ouer-raſh wilfulneſſe; for ſo may you wound the King through the ſides of a priuate perſon: and this I commend vnto your ſpeciall care, as ſome of you of late haue done very well, to blunt the ſharpe edge and vaine popular humour of ſome Lawyers at the Barre, that

that thinke they are not eloquent and bold ſpirited enough, except they meddle with the Kings Prerogatiue: But doe not you ſuffer this; for certainely if this liberty be ſuffered, the Kings Prerogatiue, the Crowne, and I, ſhall bee as much wounded by their pleading, as if you reſolued what they diſputed: That which concernes the myſterie of the Kings power, is not lawfull to be diſputed; for that is to wade into the weakeneſſe of Princes, and to take away the myſticall reuerence, that belongs vnto them that ſit in the Throne of God.

Secondly, That you keepe your ſelues within your owne Benches, not to inuade other Iuriſdictions, which is vnfit, and an vnlawful thing; In this I muſt inlarge my ſelfe. Beſides the Courts of Common Law, there is the Court of Requeſts; the Admiraltie Court; the Court of the Preſident and Councell of Walles, the Preſident and Councell of the North; High Commiſſion Courts, euery Biſhop in his owne Court.

Theſe Courts ought to keepe their owne limits and boundes of their Commiſſion and Inſtructions, according to the ancient Preſidents: And like as I declare that my pleaſure is, that euery of theſe ſhall keepe their owne limits and boundes; So the Courts of Common Lawe are not to encroach vpon them, no more then it is my pleaſure that they ſhould encroach vpon the Common Law. And this is a thing Regall, and proper to a King, to keepe euery Court within his owne bounds.

In *Weſtminſter* Hall there are foure Courts: Two that handle cauſes Ciuill, which are the Common-pleas, and the Exchequer: Two that determine cauſes Criminall, which are the Kings-Bench, and the Starre-Chamber, where now I ſit. The Common-Pleas is a part and branch of the Kings-Bench; for it was firſt all one Court; and then the Common-Pleas being extracted, it was called Common-Pleas; becauſe it medled with the Pleas of Priuate perſons, and that which remained, the Kings-Bench. The other of the Courts for ciuill Cauſes, is the Exchequer, which was ordeined for the Kings Reuenew: That is the principall Inſtitution of that Court, and ought to be their chiefe ſtudie; and as other things come orderly thither by occaſion of the former, they may be handled, and Iuſtice there adminiſtred.

Keepe you therefore all in your owne bounds, and for my part, I deſire you to giue me no more right in my priuate Prerogatiue, then you giue to any Subiect; and therein I will be acquieſcent: As for the abſolute Prerogatiue of the Crowne, that is no Subiect for the tongue of a Lawyer, nor is lawfull to be diſputed.

It is Athieſme and blaſphemie to diſpute what God can doe: good Chriſtians content themſelues with his will reuealed in his word. ſo, it is preſumption and high contempt in a Subiect, to diſpute what a King can doe, or ſay that a King cannot doe this, or that; but reſt in that which is the Kings reuealed will in his Law.

The Kings-Bench is the principall Court for criminall cauſes, and in

ſome reſpects it deales with Ciuill cauſes.

Then is there a Chancerie Court; this is a Court of Equitie, and hath power to deale likewiſe in Ciuill cauſes: It is called the diſpenſer of the Kings Conſcience, following alwayes the intention of Law and Iuſtice; not altering the Law, not making that blacke which other Courts made white, nor *è conuerſo*; But in this it exceeds other Courts, mixing Mercie with Iuſtice, where other Courts proceed onely according to the ſtrict rules of Law: And where the rigour of the Law in many caſes will vndoe a Subiect, there the Chancerie tempers the Law with equitie, and ſo mixeth Mercy with Iuſtice, as it preſerues men from deſtruction.

And thus (as before I told you) is the Kings Throne eſtabliſhed by Mercy and Iuſtice.

The Chancerie is vndependant of any other Court, and is onely vnder the King: There it is written *Teſte meipſo*; from that Court there is no Appeale. And as I am bound in my Conſcience to maintaine euery Courts Iuriſdiction, ſo eſpecially this, and not ſuffer it to ſuſtaine wrong; yet ſo to maintaine it, as to keepe it within the owne limits, and free from corruption. My Chancellour that now is, I found him Keeper of the Seale, the ſame place in ſubſtance, although I gaue him the Stile of Chancellour, and God hath kept him in it till now; and I pray God he may hold it long; and ſo I hope he will. He will beare mee witneſſe, I neuer gaue him other warrant, then to goe on in his Court according to Preſidents, warranted by Law in the time of the beſt gouerning Kings, and moſt learned Chancellours: Theſe were the limits I gaue vnto him; beyond the ſame limits he hath promiſed me he will neuer goe.

And as he hath promiſed me to take no other Iuriſdiction to himſelfe, ſo is it my promiſe euer to maintaine this Iuriſdiction in that Court: Therefore I ſpeake this to vindicate that Court from miſconceipt and contempt.

It is the duetie of Iudges to puniſh thoſe that ſeeke to depraue the proceedings of any the Kings Courts, and not to encourage them any way: And I muſt confeſſe I thought it an odious and inept ſpeach, and it grieued me very much, that it ſhould be ſaid in *Weſtminſter* Hall, that a *Premunire* lay againſt the Court of the Chancery and Officers there: How can the King grant a *Premunire* againſt himſelfe?

It was a fooliſh, inept, and preſumptuous attempt, and fitter for the time of ſome vnworthy King: vnderſtand mee aright; I meane not, the Chancerie ſhould exceed his limite; but on the other part, the King onely is to correct it, and none elſe: And therefore I was greatly abuſed in that attempt: For if any was wronged there, the complaint ſhould haue come to mee. None of you but will confeſſe you haue a King of reaſonable vnderſtanding, and willing to reforme; why then ſhould you ſpare to complaine to me, that being the high way, and not goe the other way, and backe-way, in contempt of our Authoritie?

And

And therefore ſitting heere in a ſeat of Iudgement, I declare and command, that no man hereafter preſume to ſue a *Premunire* againſt the Chancery; which I may the more eaſily doe, becauſe no *Premunire* can bee ſued but at my Suit: And I may iuſtly barre my ſelfe at mine owne pleaſure.

As all inundations come with ouerflowing the bankes, and neuer come without great inconuenience, and are thought prodigious by Aſtrologers in things to come: So is this ouerflowing the bankes of your Iuriſdiction in it ſelfe inconuenient, and may proue prodigious to the State.

Remember therefore, that hereafter you keepe within your limits and Iuriſdictions. It is a ſpeciall point of my Office to procure and command, that amongſt Courts there bee a concordance, and muſicall accord; and it is your parts to obey, and ſee this kept: And, as you are to obſerue the ancient Lawes and cuſtomes of *England*; ſo are you to keepe your ſelues within the bound of direct Law, or Preſidents; and of thoſe, not euery ſnatched Preſident, carped now here, now there, as it were running by the way; but ſuch as haue neuer beene controuerted, but by the contrary, approued by common vſage, in times of beſt Kings, and by moſt learned Iudges.

The *Starre-Chamber* Court hath bene likewiſe ſhaken of late, and the laſt yeere it had receiued a ſore blow, if it had not bene aſſiſted and caried by a few voyces; The very name of *Starre-Chamber*, ſeemeth to procure a reuerence to the Court.

I will not play the Criticke to deſcant on the name; It hath a name from heauen, a Starre placed in it; and a Starre is a glorious creature, and ſeated in a glorious place, next vnto the Angels. The *Starre-Chamber* is alſo glorious in ſubſtance: for in the compoſition, it is of foure ſorts of perſons: The firſt two are Priuie Counſellours and Iudges, the one by wiſedome in matters of State; the other, by learning in matters of Law, to direct and order all things both according to Law and State: The other two ſorts are Peeres of the Realme, and Biſhops: The Peeres are there by reaſon of their greatneſſe, to giue authority to that Court: The Biſhops becauſe of their learning in Diuinitie, and the intereſt they haue in the good gouernment of the Church: And ſo, both the learning of both Diuine and humane Law, and experience and practiſe in Gouernment, are conioyned together in the proceedings of this Court.

There is no Kingdome but hath a Court of Equitie, either by it ſelfe, as is heere in *England*, or elſe mixed, and incorporate in their Office that are Iudges in the Law, as it is in *Scotland*: But the order of *England* is much more perfect, where they are diuided. And as in caſe of Equitie, where the Law determines not clearely, there the Chancerie doeth determine, hauing Equitie belonging to it, which doeth belong to no other Court: So the *Starre-Chamber* hath that belonging to it, which belongs to no other Court: For in this Court Attempts are puniſhable, where other Courts puniſh onely facts; And alſo where the Law puniſheth facts eaſily,

easily, as in case of Riots or Combates, there the Starre-Chamber punisheth in a higher degree; And also all combinations of practises and conspiracies; And if the King be dishonoured or contemned in his Prerogatiue, it belongeth most properly to the Peeres and Iudges of this Court to punish it: So then this Court being instituted for so great causes, it is great reason it should haue great honour.

Remember now how I haue taught you brotherly loue one toward another: For you know well, that as you are Iudges, you are all brethren, and your Courts are sisters. I pray you therefore, labour to keepe that sweete harmonie, which is amongst those sisters the *Muses*. What greater miserie can there bee to the Law, then contempt of the Law? and what readier way to contempt, then when questions come, what shall bee determined in this Court, and what in that? Whereupon two euils doe arise; The one, that men come not now to Courts of iustice, to heare matters of right pleaded, and Decrees giuen accordingly, but onely out of a curiositie, to heare questions of the Iurisdictions of Courts disputed, and to see the euent, what Court is like to preuaile aboue the other; And the other is, that the Pleas are turned from Court to Court in an endlesse circular motion, as vpon *Ixions* wheele: And this was the reason why I found iust fault with that multitude of Prohibitions: For when a poore Minister had with long labour, and great expence of charge and time, gotten a sentence for his Tithes, then comes a Prohibition, and turnes him round from Court to Court, and so makes his cause immortall and endlesse: for by this vncertaintie of Iurisdiction amongst Courts, causes are scourged from Court to Court, and this makes the fruit of Suits like *Tantalus* fruite, still neere the Suiters lips, but can neuer come to taste it. And this in deed is a great delay of Iustice, and makes causes endlesse: Therefore the onely way to auoyd this, is for you to keepe your owne bounds, and nourish not the people in contempt of other Courts, but teach them reuerence to Courts in your publique speaches, both in your Benches, and in your Circuits; so shall you bring them to a reuerence, both of GOD, and of the King.

Keepe therefore your owne limits towards the King, towards other Courts, and towards other Lawes, bounding your selues within your owne Law, and make not new Law. Remember, as I said before, that you are Iudges, to declare, and not to make Law: For when you make a Decree neuer heard of before, you are Law-giuers, and not Law-tellers.

I haue laboured to gather some Articles, like an *Index expurgatorius*, of nouelties new crept into the Law, and I haue it ready to bee considered of: Looke to *Plowdens* Cases, and your old *Responsa prudentum*; if you finde it not there, then (*ab initio non fuit sic*) I must say with CHRIST, Away with the new polygamie, and maintaine the ancient Law pure and vndefiled, as it was before.

To

TO the Auditory I haue but little to ſay, yet that little will not bee ill beſtowed to be ſaid at this time.

Since I haue now renewed and confirmed my reſolution to maintaine my Oath, the Law and Iuſtice of the Land; So doe I expect, that you my Subiects doe ſubmit your ſelues as you ought, to the obſeruance of that Law.

And as I haue diuided the two former parts of my Charge; So will I diuide this your ſubmiſſion into three parts; for orderly diuiſions and methode, cauſe things better to be remembred.

Firſt in generall, that you giue due reuerence to the Law; and this generall diuides it ſelfe into three.

Firſt, not to ſue, but vpon iuſt cauſe.

Secondly, beeing ſued, and Iudgement paſſed againſt you, Acquieſce in the Iudgement, and doe not tumultuate againſt it; and take example from mee, whom you haue heard here proteſt, that when euer any Decree ſhall be giuen againſt me in my priuate right, betweene me and a Subiect, I will as humbly acquieſce as the meaneſt man in the Land. Imitate me in this, for in euery Plea there are two parties, and Iudgement can be but for one, and againſt the other; ſo one muſt alwayes be diſpleaſed.

Thirdly, doe not complaine and importune mee againſt Iudgements; for I hold this Paradoxe to bee a good rule in Gouernment, that it is better for a King to maintaine an vniuſt Decree, then to queſtion euery Decree and Iudgement, after the giuing of a ſentence, for then Suites ſhall neuer haue end: Therefore as you come gaping to the Law for Iuſtice, ſo bee ſatisfied and contented when Iudgement is paſt againſt you, and trouble not mee; but if you finde briberie or corruption, then come boldly: but when I ſay boldly, beware of comming to complaine, except you bee very ſure to prooue the iuſtice of your cauſe: Otherwiſe looke for *Lex Talionis* to bee executed vpon you; for your accuſing of an vpright Iudge, deſerues double puniſhment, in that you ſeeke to lay infamie vpon a worthy perſon of that reuerent calling.

And be not tild on with your own Lawyers tales, that ſay the cauſe is iuſt for their owne gaine; but beleeue the Iudges that haue no hire but of me.

Secondly, in your Pleas, preſume not to meddle with things againſt the Kings Prerogatiue, or Honour: Some Gentlemen of late haue beene too bold this wayes; If you vſe it, the Iudges will puniſh you; and if they ſuffer it, I muſt puniſh both them and you. Plead not vpon new Puritanicall ſtraines, that make all things popular; but keepe you within the ancient Limits of Pleas.

Thirdly, make not many changes from Court to Court: for hee that changeth Courts, ſhewes to miſtruſt the iuſtneſſe of the cauſe. Goe to the right place, and the Court that is proper for your cauſe; change not thence, and ſubmit your ſelues to the Iudgement giuen there.

Thus hauing finiſhed the Charge to my ſelfe, the Iudges and the Auditorie,

torie, I am to craue your pardon if I haue forgotten any thing, or beene inforced to breake my Methode; for you must remember, I come not hither with a written Sermon: I haue no Bookes to reade it out of, and a long speach, manifold businesse, and a little leasure may well pleade pardon for any fault of memorie; and trewly I know not if I haue forgotten any thing or not.

And now haue I deliuered, First my excuse, why I came not till now: Next, the reasons why I came now: Thirdly, my charge, and that to my selfe, to you my Lords the Iudges, and to the Auditory.

I haue also an ordinary charge that I vse to deliuer to the Iudges before my Councell, when they goe their Circuits; and seeing I am come to this place, you shall haue that also, and so I will make the old saying trew, *Combe seldome, combe sore*, I meane by my long deteining you at this time, which will bee so much the more profitable in this Auditorie; because a number of the Auditorie will be informed here, who may relate it to their fellow Iustices in the countrey.

My Lords the Iudges, you know very well, that as you are Iudges with mee when you sit here; so are you Iudges vnder mee, and my Substitutes in the Circuits, where you are Iudges Itinerant to doe Iustice to my people.

It is an ancient and laudable custome in this Kingdome, that the Iudges goe thorow the Kingdome in Circuits, easing the people thereby of great charges, who must otherwise come from all the remote parts of the Kingdome to *Westminster Hall*, for the finding out and punishing of offences past, and preuenting the occasion of offences that may arise.

I can giue you no other charge in effect, but onely to remember you againe of the same in substance which I deliuered to you this time Twelue-moneth.

First, Remember that when you goe your Circuits, you goe not onely to punish and preuent offences, but you are to take care for the good gouernment in generall of the parts where you trauell, as well as to doe Iustice in particular betwixt party and party, in causes criminall and ciuill.

You haue charges to giue to Iustices of peace, that they doe their dueties when you are absent, aswell as present: Take an accompt of them, and report their seruice to me at your returne.

As none of you will hold it sufficient to giue a charge, except in taking the accompt, you finde the fruit of it: So I say to you, it will not bee sufficient for you, to heare my charge, if at your returne you bring not an accompt to the haruest of my sowing, which cannot be done in generall, but in making to me a particular report what you haue done.

For, a King hath two Offices.

First, to direct things to be done:

Secondly, to take an accompt how they are fulfilled; for what is it the better for me to direct as an Angel, if I take not accompt of your doings.

I know

I know not whether misunderstanding, or slackness bred this, that I had no accompt but in generall, of that I gaue you in particular in charge the last yeere: Therefore I now charge you againe, that at your next returne, you repaire to my Chancellour, and bring your accompts to him in writing, of those things which in particular I haue giuen you in charge: And then when I haue seene your accompts, as occasion shall serue, it may bee I will call for some of you, to be informed of the state of that part of the countrey where your Circuit lay.

Of these two parts of your seruice, I know the ordinary Legall part of *Nisi prius* is the more profitable to you: But the other part of Iustice is more necessary for my seruice. Therefore as CHRIST said to the Pharises, *Hoc agite*, as the most principall: yet I will say, *Et illud non omittite:* which, that you may the better doe, I haue allowed you a day more in your Circuits, then my Predecessours haue done.

And this you shall finde, that euen as a King, (let him be neuer so godly, wise, righteous, and iust) yet if the subalterne Magistrates doe not their parts vnder him, the Kingdome must needes suffer: So let the Iudges bee neuer so carefull and industrious, if the Iustices of Peace vnder them, put not to their helping hands, in vaine is all your labour: For they are the Kings eyes and eares in the countrey. It was an ancient custome, that all the Iudges both immediatly before their going to their Circuits, and immediatly vpon their returne, repaired to the Lord Chancellour of *England*, both to receiue what directions it should please the King by his mouth to giue vnto them; as also to giue him an accompt of their labours, who was to acquaint the King therewith: And this good ancient custome hath likewise beene too much slacked of late; And therefore first of all, I am to exhort and command you, that you be carefull to giue a good accompt to me and my Chancellour, of the dueties performed by all Iustices of Peace in your Circuits: Which gouernment by Iustices, is so laudable and so highly esteemed by mee, that I haue made *Scotland* to bee gouerned by Iustices and Constables, as *England* is. And let not Gentlemen be ashamed of this Place; for it is a place of high Honour, and great reputation, to be made a Minister of the Kings Iustice, in seruice of the Common-wealth.

Of these there are two sorts, as there is of all Companies, especially where there is a great number; that is, good and bad Iustices: For the good, you are to enforme me of them, that I may know them, thanke them, and reward them, as occasion serues: For I hold a good Iustice of Peace in his Countrey, to doe mee as good seruice, as hee that waites vpon mee in my Priuie Chamber, and as ready will I be to reward him; For I accompt him as capable of any Honour, Office, or preferment about my Person, or for any place of Councell or State, as well as any Courteour that is neere about mee, or any that haue deserued well of me in forreine employments: Yea, I esteeme the seruice done me by a good Iustice

of

of Peace, three hundred miles, yea ſixe hundred miles out of my ſight, as well as the ſeruice done me in my preſence: For as God hath giuen me large limits, ſo muſt I be carefull that my prouidence may reach to the farthest parts of them: And as Law cannot be honoured, except Honour be giuen to Iudges: ſo without due reſpect to Iuſtices of Peace, what regard will be had of the ſeruice?

Therefore let none be aſhamed of this Office, or be diſcouraged in being a Iuſtice of Peace, if he ſerue worthily in it.

The Chancellour vnder me, makes Iuſtices, and puts them out; but neither I, nor he can tell what they are: Therefore wee muſt bee informed by you Iudges, who can onely tell, who doe well, and who doe ill; without which, how can the good be cheriſhed and maintained, and the reſt put out? The good Iuſtices are carefull to attend the ſeruice of the King and countrey, for thanks onely of the King, and loue to their countrey, and for no other reſpect.

The bad are either idle Slowbellies, that abide alwayes at home, giuen to a life of eaſe and delight, liker Ladies then men; and thinke it is enough to contemplate Iuſtice, when as *Virtus in actione conſiſtit*: contemplatiue Iuſtice is no iuſtice, and contemplatiue Iuſtices are fit to be put out.

Another ſort of Iuſtices are buſie-bodies, and will haue all men dance after their pipe, and follow their greatneſſe, or elſe will not be content; A ſort of men, *Qui ſe primos omnium eſſe putant, nec ſunt tamen*: theſe proud ſpirits muſt know, that the countrey is ordained to obey and follow GOD and the King, and not them.

Another ſort are they, that goe ſeldome to the Kings ſeruice, but when it is to helpe ſome of their kindred or alliance; So as when they come, it is to helpe their friends, or hurt their enemies, making Iuſtice to ſerue for a ſhadow to Faction, and tumultuating the countrey.

Another ſort are Gentlemen of great worth in their owne conceit, and cannot be content with the preſent forme of Gouernement, but muſt haue a kind of libertie in the people, and muſt be gracious Lords, and Redeemers of their libertie; and in euery cauſe that concernes Prerogatiue, giue a ſnatch againſt a Monarchie, through their Puritanicall itching after Popularitie: Some of them haue ſhewed themſelues too bold of late in the lower houſe of Parliament: And when all is done, if there were not a King, they would be leſſe cared for then other men.

And now hauing ſpoken of the qualities of the Iuſtices of Peace; I am next to ſpeake of their number. As I euer held the midway in all things to be the way of Vertue, in eſchewing both extremities: So doe I in this: for vpon the one part, a multitude of Iuſtices of Peace in the countrey more then is neceſſary, breeds but confuſion: for although it bean old Prouerbe, that *Many handes make light worke*; yet too many make ſlight worke; and too great a number of Iuſtices of Peace, will make the buſineſſe of the countrey to be the more neglected, euery one truſting to another, ſo as nothing

ſhall

ſhall bee well done; beſides the breeding of great corruption: for where there is a great number, it can hardly bee, but ſome will bee corrupted. And vpon the other part, too few Iuſtices of Peace, will not be able to vndergoe the burthen of the ſeruice; And therefore I would neither haue too few, nor too many, but as many in euery countrey, as may, according to the proportion of that countrey, bee neceſſary for the performing of the ſeruice there, and no more.

As to the Charge you are to giue to the Iuſtices, I can but repeat what formerly I haue told you; yet in ſo good a buſineſſe,

Lectio lecta placet, decies repetita placebit.

And as I began with fulfilling the Prouerbe, *A Ioue principium*; ſo will I begin this Charge you are to giue to the Iuſtices with Church-matters: for GOD will bleſſe euery good buſineſſe the better, that he and his Church haue the precedence. That which I am now to ſpeake, is anent Recuſants and Papiſts. You neuer returned from any Circuit, but by your accompt made vnto me, I both conceiued great comfort and great griefe: Comfort, when I heard a number of Recuſants in ſome Circuits to be diminiſhed: Griefe to my heart and ſoule, when I heard a number of Recuſants to be in other Circuits increaſed.

I proteſt vnto you, nothing in the earth can grieue mee ſo much, as mens falling away from Religion in my dayes; And nothing ſo much ioyes mee, as when that Religion increaſeth vnder mee. GOD is my witneſſe, I ſpeake nothing for vaine-glory; but ſpeake it againe; My heart is grieued when I heare Recuſants increaſe: Therefore I wiſh you Iudges, to take it to heart, as I doe, and preuent it as you can; and make me knowen to my people, as I am.

There are three ſorts of Recuſants: The firſt are they that for themſelues will bee no Recuſants, but their wiues and their families are; and they themſelues doe come to Church, but once or twice in a yeere, inforced by Law, or for faſhion ſake; Theſe may be formall to the Law, but more falſe to GOD then the other ſort.

The ſecond ſort are they that are Recuſants and haue their conſcience miſſe-led, and therefore refuſe to come to Church, but otherwiſe liue as peaceable Subiects.

The third ſort are practiſing Recuſants: Theſe force all their ſeruants to bee Recuſants with them; they will ſuffer none of their Tenants, but they muſt bee Recuſants; and their neighbours if they liue by them in peace, muſt be Recuſants alſo.

Theſe you may finde out as a foxe by the foule ſmell, a great way round about his hole; This is a high pride and preſumption, that they for whoſe ſoules I muſt anſwere to GOD, and who enioy their liues and liberties vnder mee, will not onely be Recuſants themſelues, but infect and draw others after them.

As I haue ſaid in Parliament houſe, I can loue the perſon of a Papiſt,

being otherwise a good man and honestly bred, neuer hauing knowen any other Religion: but the person of an Apostate Papist, I hate. And surely for those Polypragmaticke Papists, I would you would studie out some seuere punishment for them: for they keepe not infection in their owne hearts onely, but also infect others our good Subiects. And that which I say for Recusants, the same I say for Priests: I confesse I am loath to hang a Priest onely for Religion sake, and saying Masse; but if he refuse the Oath of Alleagiance (which, let the Pope and all the deuils in Hell say what they will) yet (as you finde by my booke and by diuers others, is meerely Ciuill) those that so refuse the Oath, and are Polypragmaticke Recusants; I leaue them to the Law; it is no persecution, but good Iustice.

And those Priests also, that out of my Grace and Mercy haue beene let goe out of prisons, and banished, vpon condition not to returne; aske mee no questions touching these, quit me of them, and let mee not heare of them: And to them I ioyne those that breake prison; for such Priests as the prison will not hold, it is a plaine signe nothing will hold them but a halter: Such are no Martyrs that refuse to suffer for their conscience. *Paul*, notwithstanding the doores were open, would not come foorth: And *Peter* came not out of the prison till led by the Angel of God: But these will goe forth though with the angel of the Diuell.

I haue giuen order to my Lord of *Canterbury*, and my Lord of *London* for the distinction, &c. of the degrees of Priests; and when I haue an accompt from them, then will I giue you another charge concerning them.

Another thing that offendeth the Realme, is abundance of Ale-houses; and therefore to auoyd the giuing occasion of euill, and to take away the root, and punish the example of vice, I would haue the infamous Ale houses pulled downe, and a command to all Iustices of Peace that this be done.

I may complaine of Ale-houses, for receipt of Stealers of my Deere; but the countrey may complaine for stealing their horses, oxen, and sheepe; for murder, cutting of purses, and such like offences; for these are their haunts. Deuouring beasts, as Lyons and Beares, will not bee where they haue no dennes nor couert; So there would be no theeues, if they had not their receipts, and these Ale-houses as their dennes.

Another sort, are a kinde of Alehouses, which are houses of haunt and receipt for debaushed rogues and vagabonds, and idle sturdie fellowes; and these are not properly Ale-houses, but base victuallers, such as haue nothing else to liue by, but keeping houses of receipt for such kinde of customers. I haue discouered a strange packe of late, That within tenne or twelue miles of *London*, there are ten or twelue persons that liue in spight of mee, going with Pistols, and walking vp and downe from harbour to harbour killing my Deere, and so shift from hold to hold, that they cannot be apprehended.

For Rogues, you haue many good Acts of Parliament: *Edward* the sixt, though

though hee were a child, yet for this, he in his time gaue better order then many Kings did in their aage: You muſt take order for theſe Beggars and Rogues; for they ſo ſwarme in euery place, that a man cannot goe in the ſtreetes, nor in the high wayes, nor any where for them.

Looke to your houſes of Correction, and remember that in the chiefe Iuſtice *Pophams* time, there was not a wandering begger to bee found in all *Somerſetſhire*, being his natiue countrey.

Haue a care alſo to ſuppreſſe the buildingof Cottages vpon Commons, which are as bad as Alehouſes, and the dwellers in them doe commonly ſteale Deere, Conies, ſheepe, oxen, horſes; breake houſes, and doe all maner of villanies. It is trew, ſome ill Iuſtices make gaine of theſe baſe things: take an accompt of the Iuſtices of Peace, that they may know they doe theſe things againſt the will of the King.

I am likewiſe to commend vnto you a thing very neceſſarie, High-wayes and Bridges; becauſe no Common-weale can bee without paſſage: I proteſt, that as my heart doeth ioy in the erection of Schooles and Hoſpitals, which haue beene more in my time, then in many aages of my predeceſſours; ſo it grieues mee, and it is wonderfull to ſee the decay of charitie in this; how ſcant men are in contributing towards the amendment of High-wayes and Bridges: Therefore take a care of this, for that is done to day with a penie, that will not bee done hereafter with an hundred pounds, and that will be mended now in a day, which hereafter will not be mended in a yeere; and that in a yeere, which will not bee done in our time, as we may ſee by *Pauls* Steeple.

Another thing to be cared for, is, the new Buildings here about the Citie of *London*; concerning which my Proclamations haue gone foorth, and by the chiefe Iuſtice here, and his Predeceſſor *Popham*, it hath bene reſolued to be a generall nuſans to the whole Kingdome: And this is that, which is like the Spleene in the body, which in meaſure as it ouergrowes, the body waſtes. For is it poſſible but the Countrey muſt diminiſh, if *London* doe ſo increaſe, and all ſorts of people doe come to *London?* and where doeth this increaſe appeare? not in the heart of the Citie, but in the ſuburbes; not giuing wealth or profit to the Citie, but bringing miſerie and ſurcharge both to Citie and Court; cauſing dearth and ſcarſitie through the great prouiſion of victuals and fewel, that muſt be for ſuch a multitude of people: And theſe buildings ſerue likewiſe to harbour the worſt ſort of people, as Alehouſes and Cottages doe. I remember, that before Chriſtmas was Twelue-moneth I made a Proclamation for this cauſe, That all Gentlemen of qualitie ſhould depart to their owne countreys and houſes, to maintaine Hoſpitalitie amongſt their neighbours; which was equiuocally taken by ſome, as that it was meant onely for that Chriſtmas: But my will and meaning was, and here I declare that my meaning was, that it ſhould alwayes continue.

One of the greateſt cauſes of all Gentlemens deſire, that haue no calling

or errand, to dwell in *London*, is apparently the pride of the women: For if they bee wiues, then their husbands; and if they be maydes, then their fathers muſt bring them vp to *London*; becauſe the new faſhion is to bee had no where but in *London*: and here, if they be vnmarried, they marre their marriages, and if they be married, they looſe their reputations, and rob their husbands purſes. It is the faſhion of *Italy*, eſpecially of *Naples*, (which is one of the richeſt parts of it) that all the Gentry dwell in the principall Townes, and ſo the whole countrey is emptie: Euen ſo now in *England*, all the countrey is gotten into *London*; ſo as with time, *England* will onely be *London*, and the whole countrey be left waſte: For as wee now doe imitate the French faſhion, in faſhion of Clothes, and Lackeys to follow euery man; So haue wee got vp the Italian faſhion, in liuing miſerably in our houſes, and dwelling all in the Citie: but let vs in Gods Name leaue theſe idle forreine toyes, and keepe the old faſhion of *England*: For it was wont to be the honour and reputation of the Engliſh Nobilitie and Gentry, to liue in the countrey, and keepe hoſpitalitie; for which we were famous aboue all the countreys in the world; which wee may the better doe, hauing a ſoile abundantly fertile to liue in.

And now out of my owne mouth I declare vnto you, (which being in this place, is equall to a Proclamation, which I intend likewiſe ſhortly hereafter to haue publikely proclaimed,) that the Courtiers, Citizens, and Lawyers, and thoſe that belong vnto them, and others as haue Pleas in Terme time, are onely neceſſary perſons to remaine about this Citie; others muſt get them into the Countrey; For beſide the hauing of the countrey deſolate, when the Gentrie dwell thus in *London*, diuers other miſchiefes ariſe vpon it: Firſt, if inſurrections ſhould fall out (as was lately ſeene by the Leuellers gathering together) what order can bee taken with it, when the countrey is vnfurniſhed of Gentlemen to take order with it? Next, the poore want reliefe for fault of the Gentlemens hoſpitalitie at home: Thirdly, my ſeruice is neglected, and the good gouernment of the countrey for lacke of the principall Gentlemens preſence, that ſhould performe it: And laſtly, the Gentlemen loſe their owne thrift, for lacke of their owne preſence, in ſeeing to their owne buſineſſe at home. Therefore as euery fiſh liues in his owne place, ſome in the freſh, ſome in the ſalt, ſome in the mud: ſo let euery one liue in his owne place, ſome at Court, ſome in the Citie, ſome in the Countrey; ſpecially at Feſtiuall times, as Chriſtmas and Eaſter, and the reſt.

And for the decreaſe of new Buildings heere, I would haue the builders reſtrained, and committed to priſon; and if the builders cannot be found, then the workemen to be impriſoned; and not this onely, but likewiſe the buildings to bee caſt downe; I meane ſuch buildings as may be ouerthrowen without inconuenience, and therefore that to be done by order and direction.

There may be many other abuſes that I know not of; take you care my Lords

Lords the Iudges of these, and of all other; for it is your part to looke vnto them. I heare say, robbery begins to abound more then heretofore, and that some of you are too mercifull; I pray you remember, that mercy is the Kings, not yours, and you are to doe Iustice where trew cause is: And take this for a rule of Policie, That what vice most abounds in a Common-wealth, that must be most seuerely punished, for that is trew gouernment.

And now I will conclude my Speach with GOD, as I began. First, that in all your behauiours, aswell in your Circuits as in your Benches, you giue due reuerence to GOD; I meane, let not the Church nor Churchmen bee disgraced in your Charges, nor Papists nor Puritanes countenanced: Countenance and encourage the good Church-men, and teach the people by your example to reuerence them: for, if they be good, they are worthy of double honour for their Office sake; if they be faultie, it is not your place to admonish them; they haue another *Forum* to answere to for their misbehauiour.

Next, procure reuerence to the King and the Law, enforme my people trewly of mee, how zealous I am for Religion, how I desire Law may bee maintained and flourish; that euery Court should haue his owne Iurisdiction; that euery Subiect should submit himselfe to Law; So may you liue a happie people vnder a iust KING, freely enioying the fruite of PEACE and IVSTICE, as such a people should doe.

Now I confesse, it is but a *Tandem aliquando*, as they say in the Schooles, that I am come hither: Yet though this bee the first, it shall not, with the grace of GOD, bee the last time of my comming, now my choice is taken away; for hauing once bene here, a meaner occasion may bring mee againe: And I hope I haue euer caried my selfe so, and by GODS grace euer will, as none will euer suspect, that my comming here will be to any partiall end; for I will euer bee carefull in point of Iustice, to keepe my selfe vnspotted all the dayes of my life. And vpon this my generall protestation, I hope the world will know, that I came hither this day to maintaine the Law, and doe Iustice according to my Oath.

(***)

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ANNO DOM. 1616.

Cum Priuilegio.

A MEDITATION VPON THE LORDS PRAYER: WRITTEN BY THE KINGS MAIESTIE,

For the benefit of all his ſubiects, eſpecially of *ſuch as follow the Court.*

THE PREFACE.

I Might iuſtly prefixe for a Preamble to this my Meditation, Ille ego qui quondam: *as well as* Virgil *did in his Poëtike Preamble to his* Æneides, *but to a cleane contrary ende. For his* Ille ego, *was to ſhew how high hee was mounted in his new ſubiect, from writing of the plough, to write now of Princes and their Warres: whereas I now, cleane contrary, am come from wading in theſe high and profound Myſteries in the Reuelation, wherein an Elephant may ſwimme; to meditate vpon the plaine, ſmoothe and eaſie* Lords Prayer, *that euery olde wife can either ſay or mumble, and euery well bred childe can interprete by his Catechiſme: Hauing left ſo the ſolid meate that men feede vpon, for the milke*

fit for babes. But the reason is, I grow in yeeres, and olde men are twice babes, as the Prouerbe is; hauing imitated Cardinall Bellarmine heerein, who of late yeeres hath giuen ouer his bickerings in Polemikes and Controuersies, wherein hee was bred all his life, and betaken himselfe now to set out a short Meditation euery yeere, onely embellishing almost euery one of them with some two or three * fabulous miracles, wherein hee shall goe alone for my part. But now when I bethinke my selfe, to whom I can most aptly dedicate this little labour of mine, most of it being stollen from the houres ordained for my sleepe: and calling to minde, how carefull I haue euer beene to obserue a decorum in the dedication of my bookes. As my ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ was dedicated to my Sonne HENRY, now with God, because it treated of the Office of a King, it now belonging to my only Sonne CHARLES, who succeeds to it by right, as well as to all the rest of his brothers goods: and as I dedicated my Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance to all free Christian Princes and States, because they had all of them an interest in that argument. other of my bookes which treated of matters belonging to euery qualitie of persons, being therefore indefinitely dedicated to the Reader in generall, I cannot surely finde out a person, to whom I can more fitly dedicate this short Meditation of mine, then to you, BVCKINGHAM. For it is made vpon a very short and plaine Prayer, and therefore the fitter for a Courtier: For Courtiers, for the most part, are thought neither to haue list nor leisure to say long prayers, liking best courte Messe & long disner. But to confesse the trueth now in earnest, it is the fitter for you that it is both short and plaine. That it is short, because when I consider of your continuall attendance vpon my seruice, your dayly imployments in the same, and the vncessant swarme of suitors importunately hanging vpon you, without discretion or distinction of times, I can find but very little time for you to spare vpon meditation: And that it is plaine, it is the fitter for you, since you were not bred a scholler. You may likewise claime a iust interest in it for diuers other respects. First, from the ground of my writing

* The Triall of Wits wisheth euery man to abstaine from writing any bookes, as soone as he is past fiftie, *cap.* 1.

* Reijce aniles fabulas. 1. Tim.

Like S. Christopher that neither could nor would fast nor pray for attayning to the seruice of Christ, and therefore was set to a Porters worke by the Ermite.

writing it; for diuers times before I medled with it, I told you, and only you, of some of my conceptions vpon the Lords Prayer, and you often solicited me to put penne to paper: next, as the person to whom we pray it, is our heauenly Father, so am I that offer it vnto you, not onely your politike, but also your œconomike Father, and that in a neerer degree then vnto others. Thirdly, that you may make good vse of it; for since I dayly take care to better your vnderstanding, to enable you the more for my seruice in wordly affaires, reason would that Gods part should not be left out, for timor Domini, *is,* initium sapientiæ. *And lastly, I must with ioy acknowledge, that you deserue this gift of mee, in not onely giuing so good example to the rest of the Court, in frequent hearing the word of God: but in speciall, in so often receiuing the Sacrament, which is a notable demonstration of your charitie in pardoning them that offend you, that being the thing I most labour to recommend to the world, in this Meditation of mine: and how godly and vertuous all my aduises haue euer been vnto you, I hope you will faithfully witnesse to the world. Receiue then this New-yeeres gift from me, as a token of my loue, being begun vpon the Eue of our Sauiours Natiuitie, and ended farre within the first moneth of the yeere: praying God, that as you are regenerated and borne anew, so you may rise to him, and bee sanctified in him for euer.*

Amen.

This paper-friend will not importune you at vnseasonable houres, come vncalled, nor speake vnrequired, & yet wil he neither flatter, lie, nor dissemble.

A MEDITATION VPON THE LORDS PRAYER.

OF all things, the Seruice of God is the most due, necessary, and profitable action of a Christian man. Of all Seruices of God, Prayer is the most excellent for many respects, & of all Prayers, the LORDS PRAYER is the most perfect, vseful and comfortable. That the Seruice of God is to be preferred to all other actions of a Christian man, no Christian will doubt, the glory of God beeing the proper end of mans creation, whom hee is ordained to glorifie: First, temporally, during the time of his pilgrimage vpon this earth; and next for euer in his eternall habitation. That Prayer is to be preferred to all other actions of a Christian man, the Commandement giuen vs, the excellencie of the Action, and the infinite fruit wee receiue by the vse thereof, doeth sufficiently prooue it. The Commandement, *Pray continually*, wee are commaunded to doe no other thing continually, but to pray: all other things haue fit times set for them. Euery thing * hath a time, as *Salomon* sayes, but prayer is barred at no time, if a mans zeale kindle his heart, and dispose his thoughts vnto it, And the excellencie of the action is manifest in that, that, whereas at all other times when wee speake, it is but with men like our selues; wee then by prayer speake with God, and in a manner conferre with him, as halfe Angels for that time, our faith and hope beeing, by the force of Prayer, stirred vp and enabled to draw God downe to vs, and make him become ours; yea, euen to dwell with vs, that we may be his for euer. And as to the infinite fruit wee receiue by the vse thereof, wee are commanded by our Sauiour, to aske and it shall be granted vnto vs, to seeke and wee shall find, to knocke and it shall bee

*Eccles. 3.

bee opened vnto vs. If * wee aske bread, wee shall not haue stones, if wee aske fishes, wee shall not haue serpents, and if wee aske egges, wee shall not haue scorpions. Hee also tels vs, what things soeuer wee desire when wee pray, so that wee beleeue wee receiue them, wee shall haue them; Yea, euen wee are commanded to imitate the importunity of the * widowe in prayer, with assurance of the like successe. And if euer this doctrine was needfull in any age, it is most in ours: for now our zeale to prayer is quite dried vp and cooled, and turned to * pratling, especially in this Isle, where the *Puritanes* will haue vs hunt for hearing of Sermons without ceasing, but as little prayer as yee will, turning the commandement of the Apostle from *Pray continuallie*, to *Preach continually*, onely obeying another commandement of the same Apostle, in preaching and exhorting both in season and out of season. Now that the LORDS PRAYER is the most excellent and perfect of all prayers, is agreed vpon by all Christians, euen by the very rebellious *Brownists* themselues (though they will neuer say it in their owne prayers) the reason is, because it is the only prayer that our Sauiour dictated out of his own mouth, with a precept to vs of imitation. But that foolish ground whereupon the *Brownists* disobey Christs precept of imitation, is onely founded vpon their imitation of their fathers, the English *Puritans*, whom they striue to outgoe in zeale, vpon their owne grounds. For our *Puritanes* will say no set prayer, forsooth, * that is prescribed by their mother the Church, but euery brother must conceiue one vpon the sudden, and therefore the *Brownists* refuse to say the LORDS PRAYER, because it is a set Prayer, though prescribed by God himselfe, shifting their disobedience vpon this æquiuocation, that they are commanded to pray after this manner, but not in the same words, that is, they may pray, or rather sing the descant of it, as their owne vaine braines shall please to conceiue it, but not the plaine song; they may pray by a Commentary, but not by a Text. And thus, * *nec agnoscunt Deum pro Patre, nec Ecclesiam pro Matre*, in setting downe rules vnto them; for in the Text itselfe, Saint *Luke* 11. Christ himselfe prescribeth, *Quando oratis, dicite*, PATER NOSTER, *&c.* and indeed our *Puritans* goe very neere to ioyne with them in blotting out the LORDS PRAYER. For they * quarell our Church for hauing it twise said in our dayly Common prayer, so as they could be content with as little of it as may bee. But this monstrous conceit of * conceiued prayers, without any premeditation, spoyleth both *Puritanes* and *Brownists*. I iustly call it monstrous, since they will haue a thing both conceiued and borne at once, contrary to nature, which will haue euery thing to lie in the belly of the mother a certaine time after the conception, there to grow and ripen before it bee produced, and this is the vniuersall course of nature, aswell in animall as vegetable things, yea, euen in mineralls within the bowels of the earth, though the *Alchymists*, in that point agree with the

* Luke 6.

* Luke 18.

* In this age wee content our selues to talke of the seruice of God in common discourses, but our actions intend nothing lesse, euery ignorant woman, and ordinary craftsman, taking vpon them to interpret the Scriptures, as *Ierome* complaines *ad Paulinum.*

* Set formes of Common Prayers haue euer been appointed, and vsed in all Churches, in all ages. *Conc. Milevit. can.* 12. *Nec aliæ omnino preces dicantur in Ecclesia, nisi quæ à prudentioribus fuerint tractatæ, vel comprobatæ in Synodo fuerint, &c.*

* *Aug. Symb. ad catech. lib.* 4.

* The first yeere of my reigne in England at the conference kept at Hampton Court by my appointment, one of the things quarrelled by the *Puritans*, in our English Liturgie, was the repetition of the Lords Prayer.

* Abusing that place, Mat. 10. 19. *dabitur vobis in illa hora, &c.*

Puritanes and *Brownists*: and indeed, our *Puritanes* may iustly be called *Chymicall* Doctors in Diuinity, with their quintessence of refined and pure doctrine. And in this, Grace imitates Nature, not producing any perfect worke at the first, but by degrees. But in case men might thinke that I wrong our *Puritans*, in calling them the *Brownists* fathers; I must craue leaue of the Reader to digresse here a little, for his better satisfaction in this point. I told you already, how that vpon our *Puritans* ground of reiecting all set prayers, they refuse to say the LORDS PRAYER. And now I am to prooue, how that vpon our *Puritanes* grounds they found their totall separation from vs. Our *Puritans* are aduerse to the gouernment of Bishops, calling it an Antichristian gouernement, and therefore the *Brownists*, lest the ruines of *Babylon* should fall vpon them, will not acknowledge the Bishops, neither in their name or Title, neither in their Temporall or Spirituall iurisdiction. And our *Puritanes* quarrell with all the Ceremonies of our Church, that agree not with their taste, because the Church of *Rome* doth vse them, who (say they) haue polluted them, though they were cleane before, abusing these words in the Canticle of *Salomon*; **nigra sum, sed formosa*; whereupon the *Brownists* conclude, that they can no longer remaine in the bosome of that Church, nor sucke her breasts any longer, that is so polluted with Antichristian superstitions. And this is the true ground of their separation, for these causes, which make our *Puritane* ministers, *desertores officij sui, & gregis eis commissi*, seeme to the *Brownists* a iust ground for going out of our Church: and because that all our goodly materiall Churches were built in time of Popery, and so polluted by the hands of Papists, and with their consecrations and holy water, therefore to the woods and caues must they goe, like outlawes and rebels, to their Sermons and diuine exercises, iust building vpon **Cartwrights* ground; That he that was once a Popish Priest, can neuer bee admitted to the Ministery in a rightly reformed Church. And thus haue I sufficiently prooued, I hope, that our *Puritans* are the founders and fathers of the *Brownists*; the latter onely boldly putting in practise what the former doe teach, but dare not performe. And not only are our *Puritans* founders and fathers to the *Brownists*, but vpon their foundation and ground are also built vp all these innumerable Sects of newe Heresies, that now swarme in *Amsterdam*.

*These words of the Canticle were alleadged in this sence in the Lincolnshire *Puritans* Petition, presented by themselues vnto me.

**Cartwright* contra *Whitgift*.

For the true visible Church, when shee is in prosperity, as (GOD bee thanked) shee is now is this Kingdome, is *ciuitas super montem posita*, she is seated vpon the top of a steepe hill, where her children must stay and dwell with her; for one step downe may make them slide ouer the precipice, where there is no bush nor stay to hold them by, till they fall to the bottome of the hill with all their weight, where lies that vnquenchable fiery lake of fire and brimstone. For although a man that had neuer knowen Christ, being willing to become a Christian, must bee well aduised what Church he will become a member of, if hee be not already bred

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in the bosome of the true Church; and therein he must trust to his owne conscience to beare him witnesse, what Church doeth truely preach the word of saluation, according to the reuealed will of God, and doth not mixe, and contradict the points of saluation conteined in the Scripture, with their owne Traditions: For all the points of our saluation are (God be thanked) cleere and plaine in the Scriptures; a lambe may easily wade through that foord, as Saint * *Gregory* saith: Yet then as soone as he hath thus made his choice what Church to liue and die in, *audi eam*, as Christ commands: for his conscience in this must onely serue him for a guide to the right Church, but not to iudge her, but to bee iudged by her. For hee that will haue God to bee his Father, must also haue the true Church to be his Mother, as Saint * *Augustine* saith. Hold fast therefore your profession, as the * Apostle exhorts vs, and be not caried away with the winde of euery doctrine; nor trust not to that priuate spirit or holy ghost which our *Puritans* glory in; for then a little fiery zeale will make thee turne *Separatist*, and then * proceede still on from *Brownist* to some one Sect or other of *Anabaptist*, and from one of these to another, then to become a Iudaized *Traskite*, and in the end a profane *Familist*. Thus yee see, how that letting slippe the hold of the true Church, and, once trusting to the priuate spirit of Reformation, according to our *Puritans* doctrine, it is easie to fall and slide by degrees into the *Chaos*, filthy sinke and *farrago* of all horrible heresies, whereof hell is the iust reward.

* *Greg. in praef. in Iob.*

* *Aug. Symb. ad catechum.*

* Eph. 4. 14.

* This word *proceed*, is the phrase that these startup Heretikes vse and apply to themselues when they change from one heresie to another, and euer the last prooues the worst.

And now I returne to my purpose, crauing pardon for this digression, for the zeale I haue to preserue the Church from these foxes, and little foxes, *Heretiques* and *Sectaries*, hath enforced mee, that with the Doue tooke this Oliue branch in my mouth in this Meditation of mine vpon the LORDS PRAYER; to seeme to play the Rauen that was sent out of the Arke, in flying ouer the sweet Oliue boughes, and lighting on a stinking carrion.

The LORDS PRAYER then beeing my present Meditation, I haue thought good, first to set downe the Prayer it selfe, as it is written by S. *Matthew*, next, I will, with Gods grace, shortly interpret the meaning thereof; and last, I will in very few words draw it into a short summe: which will be the more easily vnderstood when the meaning of the words shall be first explaned. The words then are these; OVR FATHER WHICH ART IN HEAVEN, HALLOVVED BE THY NAME: THY KINGDOM COME: THY WILL BEE DONE IN EARTH, AS IT IS IN HEAVEN: GIVE VS THIS DAY OVR DAYLY BREAD: AND FORGIVE VS OVR DEBTS, AS WE FORGIVE OVR DEBTORS: AND LEAD VS NOT INTO TEMPTATION, BVT DELIVER VS FROM EVILL: FOR THINE IS THE KINGDOME, AND THE POVVER, AND THE GLORY, FOR EVER, AMEN.

OVR FATHER: FATHER, is a title of dignity and honour, but OVR FATHER is a title of infinite loue, ioyned with greatnesse. These two first words,

words, are to put vs in minde, that are but dust and ashes, what person we are to speake vnto; for preparing our reuerence in the highest degree; not like the *Puritans*, to talke homely with God, as our fellow: who therefore loue to sit *Iack-fellowlike* with Christ at the Lords Table, as his brethren and camerades: and yet our reuerence to bee mixed with a sweete confidence in his loue; for he is our Father, and we are his adopted children and coheires with Christ of his Kingdome. Euery one of vs is commanded to call him OVR FATHER, in the plurall number, to shew that holy communion which is among the Saints, and that euery one of vs is a member of a body of a Church, that is compacted of many members: contrary to those little start vp sects in *Amsterdam*, where two or three make a Church; and contrary to all those contemners of Antiquitie, that will haue nothing, but all Babylonish till their time.

WHICH ART IN HEAVEN: This is the place where the Throne of his Maiestie is set; for though hee bee present euery where as well in his infinite essence as power, in spight both of *Vorstius* and some of the *Arminians*; yet is hee onely resident in heauen, as the Seat of his Maiestie, according to that of *Esay* 66. 1. *Heauen is my Throne, and earth is my foot-stoole.* And by the nomination heere of heauen, it puts vs in mind what Father we pray vnto, that it is no earthly man, but onely our heauenly Father, *sursum corda*.

Now wee come to the Petitions, the number whereof by most of the ancient Church was reckoned to bee seuen; diuiding in two Petitions, *Leade vs not into temptation, and deliuer vs from euill*: whereas of late dayes wee haue confounded them in one. But surely in mine opinion, the Fathers had good reason to diuide them, as I shall shew in the owne time.

HALLOVVED BE THY NAME: This is the first Petition, and this is the affirmatiue of that whereof the contrary is prohibited in the third Commandement. *Thou shalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vaine*. Wee first make this Petition, that all men may doe their homage which they owe vnto God, as wee now doe, before wee make our suites, either for the publike welfare of the Church, or our owne priuate benefit. For it were an impudent thing for any Subiect to make a sute to his Soueraigne Prince, before hee did his homage vnto him. The principall ende for which God created man after his Image, was that hee might sanctifie his Name; and this is not onely the Office of the Militant Church heere, and of euery one of them; but it is also the eternall Office of the Church triumphant in Heauen, composed of Angels and men, who without ceasing praise and sanctifie the Name of God for euer. Wee sanctifie his Name in this earth, either when wee praise God, pray to him with reuerence, or speake of his wonderfull workes, repent vs of our sinnes with confession of them, edifie our brethren to saluation, or beare witnesse to the trueth

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being duely required. Wee are also to obserue that these wordes are not heere set downe in the present time, *Wee hallow thy Name*, but in the sense of the Optatiue moode, *Hallowed be thy Name*; because euery Christian man as a feeling member of the body of the Church, ought to pray that Gods Name may bee prayſed, and ſanctified by men and Angels: not onely for the preſent, but in all times comming, and after that there ſhall be no more time, for euer and euer eternally. And although wee knowe it muſt and euer will bee ſo, yet wee pray and wiſh it; to ſhewe and expreſſe our harmonie and holy zeale to prayſe God, ioyntly with the reſt of the members, both of the Militant and Triumphant Church. But that wee are to pray for in this Petition is, that all the behauiour of the Militant Church may euer hee directed chiefly to that end, that his Name may bee ſanctified in all their words and actions. Now that wee doe not wiſh God to be hallowed, but his Name; the reaſon is eaſie, for God is not onely perfectly holy, but hee is euen *ipſa ſanctitas, & quicquid eſt in Deo eſt Deus*: therefore wee pray that his Name may bee hallowed amongſt vs here vpon earth, as himſelfe is perfectly holy both in his Name and eſſence; not that hereby wee can imagine to make him and his Name holy, but that God would giue vs grace to vſe it holily. It is alſo to bee noted, that not onely in this Prayer, but euen in all other Prayers, wee ſpeake to God in the ſingular number, *Thou*, whereas, *Wee*, is a ſtile of greatneſſe amongſt men; the reaſon is, that God is one, yea, vnitie it ſelfe: not that wee acknowledge with the *Iewes*, *Arrians*, and other *Heretikes*, but one perſon in the God-head, blotting out both the Sonne and the Holy Ghoſt; but becauſe though there bee three perſons, yet is there but one indiuiduall eſſence, one in three, and three in one, diſtinguiſhed, but not diuided, according to the *Athanaſian* Creede. And therefore becauſe wee haue onely one to pray vnto, to whom onely all glory appertaines, wee call him *Thou, per excellentiam*; keeping out of our Kalender, as well the Heathen gods, as the Popiſh Saints; for God Almighty will haue no fellowes ioyned in worſhip with him, as himſelfe declares in the firſt of the ten Commandements, and alſo in *Eſay* 42.8. God tells vs, hee will not giue his glory to another.

THY KINGDOME COME, This is the ſecond Petition, and it will admit two interpretations, that may both ſtand with the Analogie of faith. The firſt, that in theſe words we pray for the ſecond comming of CHRIST, which is promiſed to bee haſtened for the elects ſake: the reaſon is that an end may be put to the miſeries of the Church, eſpecially in regard of that fearefull defection that is threatned to come in the latter dayes, and whereof wee in our dayes haue the doleſfull experience, that *Faith ſhall not bee found on the earth, and the *loue of many ſhall waxe colde. And whoſoeuer will make choyce of this interpretation, muſt vnderſtand the next Petition in this forme, In the meane

*Luke 18.8.
*Matt.24.12.

meane time, *Thy will bee done in earth as it is in Heauen.* The other interpretation is, to which I rather incline, that the wordes of *Thy Kingdome come* are seconded by the next following Petition, *Thy will bee done in earth, as it is in Heauen.* The reasons perswading mee to like best of this opinion are two; First, because it is CHRISTS vsuall phrase in the Gospell by the Kingdome of Heauen to meane the Church Militant; and all the faithfull are bound to pray for the flourishing prosperitie of the Church, and that there may bee peace in Israel. The other reason is, because of the next following Petition, *Thy will bee done, &c.* that is, that by the meanes of the flourishing of the Church, the will of GOD may bee done in earth as it is in heauen. And vpon the other part, although wee bee commaunded when wee shall see the signes going beefore the latter day, to * lift vp our heads, knowing that the latter day, the day of our deliuerance is at hand: and although Saint *Paul* tells vs, that *the * whole creation groaneth and trauaileth in paine*, to bee renewed; and that Saint *Iohn* after hee had been rauished in spirit, where besides many other heauenly mysteries, hee saw the glory of the very Throne of GOD. Albeit (I say) that vpon that glorious sight he burst foorth in these words, * *etiam veni Domine Iesu*: yet I can finde no cleare place of Scripture that commands euery faithfull man to pray continually for the hastening of the Lords comming: and to alleadge these words in the LORDS PRAYER for it, is *petitio principij*, and to take *controuersum pro confesso.* For though death bee the deliuerer of euery faithfull man from this prison and body of sinne, to eternall felicity, our Sauiour by his death and passion hauing killed the sting of death in vs: and although Saint *Paul*, rauished in a high contemplation wished to bee * dissolued, and bee with Christ, yet haue wee no warrant euery man to pray for the hastening of his owne death; and death is to euery particular faithfull man the same thing, that the generall transmutation will be at the latter day to the whole body of the Elect; except that we will after the generall dissolution, attaine to a greater degree of glory. Now that wee desire the Kingdome of God to come, is thereby meant, that we desire, that the Church of God may more and more bee spread vpon the face of the earth; and that the number of the Elect may bee multiplied. In a word, that hee would send a plentifull harueſt, with sufficient store of labourers.

*Luk. 21. 28.
*Rom. 8. 22.
*Reuel. 22. 20
*Phil. 1. 23.

THY WIL BE DONE IN EARTH AS IT IS IN HEAVEN. This third Petition I take to bee a Prayer, to grant vs the meanes of attaining to his Kingdome, as if yee would say, *Thy Kingdome come, and to this effect let thy will be done, &c.* Saint *Luke* hath it, *as in heauen, so in earth*, to shew how precisely wee ought to wish that Gods will were done in earth iust as it is in heauen. God hath two * wills, a reuealed will towards vs, and that will is here vnderstood; hee hath also a secret will in his eternal counsel, wherby all things are gouerned, and in the end made euer

* *Voluntas signi & bene placiti.*

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to turne to his glory, oftentimes drawing good effects out of bad causes, and light out of darkenesse, to the fulfilling either of his mercie or iustice; which made S. *Augustine* say, *bonum est vt sit malum.*

Wee are then to pray, that his reuealed will may bee obeyed in earth by his Militant Church, as it is by his Triumphing Church in heauen: then would this Militant Church vpon earth obserue better the two Tables of the Law, then now they doe, and then would the Church bee free of Schismes, Heresies, and all new opinions; but this is neuer to bee looked for in this world. Wee are onely to wish, that God would multiplie and increase his blessings vpon her, in that measure that hee shall thinke most expedient for his glory, and her comfort. For let the vaine *Chiliasts* gape for that thousand yeeres of CHRISTS kingdome to bee setled vpon earth, and let *Brightmam* bring downe that heauenly Ierusalem, and settle it in this world, the word of God assures vs, that the later dayes shall prooue the worst, and most dangerous dayes. Now as for the performance of the decrees and secret will of God, wee are not commanded to pray for that, for it is ineuitable; but wee must without murmuring submit our selues vnto it, saying with our Sauiour, *Matth. 26.39. not my will, but thy will bee done.* For the first Article of the Apostles Creede teacheth vs, that God is Almighty, how euer *Vorstius* and the *Arminians* thinke to robbe him of his eternall decree, and secret will, making many things to bee done in this world whether he will or not.

GIVE VS THIS DAY OVR DAYLY BREAD. This is the fourth Petition in order, but the first that euery particular man is to begge for himselfe, hauing first preferred his generall Petitions for the aduancement of the glory of God, and the felicitie, by consequence, of the whole Church Militant in generall. But though euery man in particular is to begge this for himselfe, yet doe wee begge it for vs, in the plurall number, and this wee doe to shew our charitie, as feeling members of that Bodie, whereof Christ is the Head: and so in all the rest of our petitions following, according to that rule in the New Testament, * *Orate alij pro alijs.* And by this word, OVR, are wee also taught neuer to pray for our selues, without praying also for our neighbour. But vpon this rule of praying one for another, to ground the prayer to the Saints to pray for vs, is very farre fetched; for then should follow, That since we are commanded to pray one for another, wee should pray for the Saints, as well as they for vs. Surely wee that are vpon this earth, are commanded to pray one for another; but no mention is made of Saints nor Angels in that precept, nor any where else in the word of God: and it is a good sure rule in Theologie, in matter of worship of God, *Quod dubitas ne feceris*; according to that of Saint *Paul*, Rom. 14. 5. *Let euery man bee fully perswaded in his minde.* Besides, we doe not make a formall prayer and worship one to another, that hee may pray for vs, as the Papistes doe to their Saints. I meddle not with that question, whether the Saints or

*Iames 5.16.

or Angels pray for vs or not; but I am ſure wee haue no warrant in the word of God to pray to them for that end. Now the thing we pray for in this petition, is *our daily bread*, which this day we begge at Gods hand. We begge our daily bread, this day, at Gods hand, to ſhew that from the pooreſt begger to the greateſt King, no mortall creature is exeemed from that neceſſity of daily begging all temporall benefits that we haue neede of, at Gods hand: for euery houre, yea, euery minute we haue neede of Gods aſſiſtance, both in our Spirituall and Temporall neceſſities; and therefore Saint *Luke* hath it, *day by day*, to expreſſe our daily neceſſity ſo to pray. And we are to obſerue, that not onely in this Petition, which is the firſt in order of theſe foure which euery man prayes for himſelfe; but alſo in the other three following, this word *daily*, is to be vnderſtood, although it be not expreſſed: for we haue daily, yea, hourely neede to craue pardon for our ſinnes, to pray that we be not led into temptation, and to be preſerued from all euill. By this word, *Hodie, this day*, is likewiſe vnderſtood the ſupplying of our temporall neceſſities through the whole courſe of our life; for in that ſence the word, *Hodie*, for the * whole life, is taken in diuers places of the Scripture.

* Heb.3.7.

This word, *daily*, doth likewiſe put vs in mind, that we are but Pilgrims in this world, and therefore are not to make a ſetled prouiſion for our ſelues here; according to the rule that our Sauiour gaue to his Apoſtles, not to take care for to morrow. Not that hereby all lawfull prouidence is forbidden to any man, according to his degree, for that were a tempting of God; but onely that we ſhould not haue a diſtruſtfull or anxious care, nor preferre the care of prouiding for worldly things, to our care of laying vp a ſtore of heauenly treaſure: laying our ſpeciall truſt vpon Gods bleſſing of our lawfull and moderate induſtry, for prouiſion of temporall things; remembring euer, that in vaine we plant or ſow, except God giue the increaſe and bleſsing vnto it. For our principall care muſt euer be for our heauenly habitation, and then God will the better bleſſe and proſper our ſecond and moderate care, for prouiding for our temporall neceſſities. Let vs care for the principall, and not omit the other, as Chriſt ſaid to the Phariſes, Matth.23.23. By this word, *bread*, that we pray for, is ſignified and vnderſtood all kind of food, or other temporall neceſsities. Bread thorow all the Scriptures ſignifies all ſort of foode; for it is the moſt common and neceſſary ſort of food for man. And wee ſee euen in theſe Northren parts of the world where we liue, and where fleſh is moſt eaten, corne, whereof bread is made, is onely called victuall, and the word victuall comes *à victu*, becauſe we liue vpon it: and notwithſtanding the abundance of fleſh that we conſume, yet good cheape yeeres or deare yeeres, are onely counted ſo, becauſe of the abundance or ſcarcetie of corne in theſe yeeres. And therefore Chriſt ordained the Sacrament in bread, to repreſent thereby our foode in generall vnto vs; for his fleſh is very meate indeede. All our temporall neceſsities

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are alſo comprehended heere vnder the name of bread, to teach vs, that as bread is the commoneſt foode both to rich and poore, ſo wee ought to pray onely for ſuch temporall things as are neceſſary for our *eſſe*, or at fartheſt for our *bene eſſe*; but not for thoſe things that are *ad luxum & ad ſuperfluitatem.* For commonly wee abuſe them to our owne hurt, and they ſerue vs but for baites to entice vs to ſinne: but if it ſhall pleaſe God, liberally to beſtow likewiſe theſe things vpon vs, wee are bound to bee thankefull for them, vſing them with ſobrietie and without exceſſe, according to our rankes and calling, euer remembring whoſe gift they are. And when we pray for *Bread*, that is, to be ſupplied of all our temporall neceſsities, wee muſt alſo comprehend therein the ſtaffe of bread, that is, to pray that the bleſsing may bee ioyned with the benefit, that it may ſerue vs for the right vſe for which it is ordained: otherwiſe wee ſhall ſtarue of hunger and the bread in our mouthes, wee ſhall die like the *Iſraelites*, with the fleſh of Quailes amongſt our teeth, and we ſhall haue all things for the ſupplying of our worldly neceſsities, and yet want the vſe and comfort of them: like the rich Miſer, who abounding in wealth ſtarues for want, or like the carriage-Moyle that carries a load of Prouender, and yet cannot ſatisfie her hungrie bellie with any part of it. Now that wee pray God to giue it vs, it is eaſie to bee vnderſtood; for the Lord is the onely proprietarie both of Heauen and Earth, and all that therein is, and wee are onely Vſu-fructuaries and his Tenants at will, euery one of vs of ſuch little parcels of earth, as it pleaſeth him to beſtowe vpon vs; *nam * Domini eſt terra & plenitudo eius.* * Pſal.24.1.

AND FORGIVE VS OVR DEBTS AS VVE FORGIVE OVR DEBTERS. This is the fift Petition, and the moſt important of them all, for euery man in particular; and therefore we are not to craue that ineſtmable benefite of the pardon of our debts, except vpon that condition, that wee forgiue our debters. Saint *Luke* expreſſeth this condition more clearely: for hee hath it thus, *And forgiue vs our ſinnes; for wee alſo forgiue euery one that is indebted vnto vs.* So as God cannot bee mooued for any other condition to pardon our ſinnes, but becauſe hee ſees wee haue already pardoned euery one that hath offended vs; and where euery one is expreſſed, none is excepted: *durus eſt hic ſermo* amongſt them that are thought the braue men of this world. Our ſinnes are called debts in Saint *Matthew*, as an argument *à maiore ad minus*, that if wee would haue God to pardon vs our debts, how can wee refuſe to pardon our debters; except wee looke for the like * reward that the euill ſeruant got of his maſter? and in Saint *Luke* they are called ſinnes, to teach vs that if wee would haue our heauenly Father to remitte vnto vs all our innumerable mortall ſinnes; how much more haue wee reaſon to pardon the offences of our brethren againſt vs, which are but ſlight debts, in compariſon of our grieuous ſinnes againſt GOD. And in that *Matth.18.34

wee pray God to forgiue vs our ſinnes, wee thereby make a generall implicite confeſſion of our ſinnes: for if wee had committed no ſinnes, wee would haue no neede to craue pardon for them. Whereupon it doth neceſſarily follow, that if the doctrine of the Church of *Rome* bee true, that diuers men can keepe the tenne Commandements, without euer in their life committing any mortall ſinne; then muſt all ſuch perſons bee exeemed from praying the LORDS PRAYER, as not hauing neede of it, and their diſtinction betweene Mortall and Veniall ſinnes cannot elide this conſequence. For what needes a man craue pardon at GOD for his Veniall ſinnes, when hee may haue as many Pardons from the Pope *, as hee ſhall pleaſe to beſtow his money vpon, both for Mortall and Veniall ſinnes; and not onely for ſinnes already committed, but euen for ſinnes to come, which is a farre greater grace then euer God promiſed vs. And I proteſt that I haue ſeene two of theſe Authenticall Bulles with mine eyes; one, when I was very young in *Scotland*, and it was taken from a *Scottiſh* Prieſt; and the other I ſawe here in *England*, taken from an Iriſh-man, and both of them pardoning ſuch and ſuch ſinnes, as well by-paſt as to come. But I returne to their diſtinction betwixt Mortall and Veniall ſinnes. For Veniall ſinnes carrie the ſoules but to Purgatorie, according to their doctrine, whereof the Pope hath the key to open and locke at his pleaſure; and yet I hope no man doubts, but all the Apoſtles prayed the LORDS PRAYER; for their Maſter taught it them in ſpeciall, as appeares in Saint *Luke*: and it is likely that they were as holy, and committed as few Mortall ſinnes, as any of the Popes late legended Saints haue done. But we are all commaunded in Saint *Matthew* to pray thus, and where all are commaunded none are excepted, no not the bleſſed Virgine her ſelfe, (whome all ages ſhall call bleſſed) though the gray Friers, and *Bellarmine* with them, labour hard to exeeme her, both from originall and actuall ſinnes. And wee ought dayly to make this generall confeſſion of our ſinnes, and craue pardon for them, becauſe wee dayly commit ſinnes, * *Septies in die cadit iuſtus.* Heere now are wee taught to confeſſe our ſinnes to GOD, but I cannot finde, that in any place of the Scriptures a neceſſitie is impoſed vpon vs, vnder the payne of damnation, of confeſſing the leaſt one of our ſecret ſinnes to a Prieſt: nay if the leaſt ſinfull thought bee omitted, all the charme is ſpilt. For as to that place, * *Confitemini alij alijs*, if yee meane it of the offences made by one againſt another in this world, a Prieſt will not bee neceſſarie to take the confeſſion; or if yee meane it by confeſſion of ſinnes, wee are not by that commandement reſtrained to make it to no other degree of perſons, but to a Prieſt: though I confeſſe indeede, a godly diſcreete Church-man is the fitteſt friend, that a man can chooſe to confeſſe his ſinnes vnto; and by his helpe to obtaine comfort, and abſolution of his ſinnes, by the power of the keyes. Neither will theſe places ſerue their turne, *Dic* * *Eccleſiæ*, or,

* This was *fœlix error* in the Church of *Rome*. For the monſtrous & vnſupportable abuſe of theſe Pardons in *Germany* in the time of *Leo decimus*, awaked *Luther* by whom ſuch a breach was made in the Popes iuriſdiction, as could neuer after be made vp againe.

*Prou.24.16

*Iames 5.16.

Matth.18.17.

or, *Present *thy selfe to the high Priest*, or, **Quorum remiseritis peccata.* For the ffrst of these places, *Dic Ecclesiæ*, is onely meant by the offences that one of vs commits against another; besides that the Confession in that case must bee publike, the offence being first made publike, for purging the publike scandall, contrary to their priuate whispering in a Priests eare, who is bound by his profession neuer to reueale it to any creature, no though the concealing of it should endanger a Kings life, and the destruction of a whole Kingdome: * nay euen though it should endanger the life of our Sauiour, if hee were come in mortall flesh into this worlde againe. And the second concerning the comming before the high Priest, is likewise to bee vnderstood of a publike action; besides that their presenting themselues before the high Priest, was rather done for a publike Thankesgiuing, and declaration of their obteining of health, or any such benefit, as is manifest in that particular case of cleansing of the Leper, to whom CHRIST, gaue * that commandement. And as to the third place, *Quorum remiseritis peccata*; that doeth indeede conteine the power of the Keyes giuen to the Church, not by astricting euery particular man, to make a particular enumeration of euery sin, to a priuate Priest by Auricular confession: but onely to shew the Churches ministeriall power in pardoning, *that is*, in declaring such sinnes to bee pardoned in heauen, as the partie shall then shew a due contrition for. And yet *Bellarmine* is not ashamed to say, that this constrained Auricular confession of theirs, is *Iuris diuini*, and grounded vpon the word of God. For my part, with * *Caluine* I commend Confession, euen priuately to a Churchman, as I said before. And with all my heart I wish it were more in custome amongst vs then it is, as a thing of excellent vse, especially for preparing men to receiue the Sacrament worthily. But that necessity imposed vpon it by the Romish Church, that euery secret thought that can be stretched towards any sinne, must bee reuealed to a Confessor; that necessitie, I say, I iustly condemne, as hauing no warrant at all in the worde of God, though very beneficiall to the Church of *Rome*. Now as to the clause irritant in the contract betwixt God and vs, That hee will not pardon our sinnes, except wee first forgiue euerie one that is indebted to vs, I told you alreadie, it is *durus sermo*, and specially to them that are thought to haue high spirits: but I am sure wee shall neuer attaine to that height of our heauenly habitation, except wee doe it. Since then this clause is *causa sine qua non*, in the point of our eternall felicitie, wee haue all great reason seriously to consider; First, what we are to win or lose, in the performing or not performing of this condition set vnto vs: and next, whether the performance thereof, may easily be done or not, in case wee haue a minde to it. For the first, the case is plaine, for by performing of this condition vpon our part, we gaine the kingdom of Heauen, by obtaining pardon for our sinnes: and by not performing it, we shut with our owne hands the gates of heauen against vs; for without remis-

*Matth. 8. 4.
*Iohn 20. 23.

* According to that assertion of a Iesuite, mentioned *in resp. ad Epist. Card. Peronij, pag. 28.*

*Matth. 8. 4.

Inst. lib. 3. cap. 4 sect. 12.

remission of sins can be no saluation. As to the next question, our braue men, at least these that would be thought so, tell vs that this is a hard and almost impossible condition, and that wee must put our selues in Christs mercy for not performing this, no more then diuers other of his precepts, as, *If* * *one giue thee a boxe vpon the one eare, hold vp the other*; and * *if thine eye offend thee, plucke it out, for better it is, &c.* But these two are not to be vnderstood as absolute precepts, as some of the *Anabaptists* haue done the first of them, and some other * Heretikes haue done the last. But they are only meant comparatiuely, as thus: Rather then that thou shouldest thy selfe be the auenger of thine owne wrong, *resistendo malo, ratione vllâ malâ*; and so to take the sword out of GODS and his Deputy the Magistrates hand, it were better or lesse harme for thee to endure a double iniury. Otherwise Fortitude were a vice, which indeed is a high vertue, beeing rightly defined and vnderstood. For *vim vi repellere*, is *iuris naturalis*, and our Sauiour came not to peruert or destroy Nature, but onely to rectifie and sanctifie it: and I dare say, there is no vaine fabulous Romanzo, that more highly commends Fortitude, and valiant men * for their valour, then the Scripture doth: but all is in the right vse of it. And so is likewise to be vnderstood that, of plucking out thine eye; for if thou cannot keepe thy selfe from giuing offence, by the meanes of one of thine eyes, better it were or lesse harme, to plucke it out and be saued with the losse of one eye, then bee damned with both. But the meaning of this precept is not to bee vnderstood literally, of the amputation, or destruction of any of our members, for that were a sort of parricide: but onely, that if wee finde that any of our sences prouoke vs to be tempted, as if the sight of faire and beautifull women prouoke vs to lust, or if any other of our sences tempt vs to any sin, let vs depriue our selues of such occasions, which may otherwise be lawfull, rather then hazard to bee led into temptation by them; and so by depriuing our selues of that sight, which so much pleaseth vs, wee doe, as it were, plucke out one of our eyes: and by depriuing our selues from the hearing of that which so much delights vs, wee cut off in a manner one of our eares; and the like in the other sences. For when wee depriue our selues of that vse of any of our sences, which wee most delight in, we doe in a manner robbe our selues of that sence. And whereas they account this condition in the LORDS PRAYER to bee impossible to bee performed: I answere, It is blasphemie to say, that any of CHRISTS precepts are impossible to bee performed; for it is to giue himselfe the lie, who out of his owne mouth told vs, that * his yoke is easie, and bids vs that are burthened, come to him, and he will ease vs. For our Sauiour came into this world, that by his merits and passion, hee might redeem vs from the thraldome of the Law, to the liberty of the sonnes of GOD. Since therefore this condition is of no lower price then the Kingdome of heauen, and that it is not onely possible, but easie to bee performed by vs, if wee will earnestly set

* Matt. 5.39.
* Matt. 18.9.

* *Origen* was iustly punished in a point like this, for turning all the plaine places of the Scripture into allegories, beeing so blinded in the literal misunderstanding of the allegory of castration, as he foolishly gelded himselfe.

* It is a Tenent fit for an Atheistical Machiauell to hold, that Religion daunts a mans courage; and abundantly confuted by the constancy of many thousand Martyrs.

* Matth. 11. 28.30.

set our mindes to it; what should wee not doe, *omnem mouendo lapidem*, for enabling vs to attaine to so great a felicity, and to eschew so great a misery? for there is no mid-way in this case. Now the onely way for enabling vs to performe it, is by our earnest prayer to God, that hee will enable vs to doe it, according to that of Saint *Augustine*, *Da Domine quod iubes, & iube quod vis*: For it is true, that that grace is a flower, that growes not in our owne garden, but we must set our mind to it, as I said already, and not lazily leaue it off, and betake vs to his mercy, because it agrees not with our humour and passions: for wilfully to disobey his precept, is a plaine refusing, and scorne of his mercy, which is but offered vnto vs in case of obedience; and to refuse obedience because it is against our minde, is like the excuse of the Tobacco-drunkards, who cannot abstaine from that filthy stinking smoake, because, forsooth, they are bewitched with it. And this is an excuse for any sinne, they will not leaue it, because they cannot leaue it; but the truth is, because they will not leaue it: like a sluggard, who when hee hath lien in bed, and slept more then can doe him good; yet hee cannot rise, because hee will not rise for lazinesse. But since wee cannot pardon them that haue offended vs, except we haue charity, I will shortly set downe and describe the contrary to it, which is rancour and reuenge, that so I may make that diuine vertue of charity, the better to shine and appeare in the owne colors, when her contrary is set downe, *ex diametro* opposed vnto her, according to that old and true saying, *Contraria iuxta se posita magis elucescunt.*

The sin of rancor and reuenge proceeds from basenes and want of courage in men, and euen amongst beasts and creeping things, it proceeds of a defect and want of courage in them. Among men these are iustly to be accounted the basest, that are reprobates and outlawes to their heauenly King; for these that are disgraced and banished euen out of an earthly Kings Court, are in a lower estate, then these that are highly preferred in it. The first that euer practised it, was *Cain* vpon his brother *Abel*, for not beeing able to auenge himselfe vpon God, who was the agent, for accepting his brothers oblation, & reiecting of his, he exercised his rancour vpon his brother in murthering of him, who was but the patient. But what came of this? He was made an out-law & a runnagate for it, both from the presence of God, & his owne father. O braue *Cain*, thou wast brauely exalted & preferred for this braue and manly act, in giuing the first example of murther & shedding of innocent blood! We read of another after, who not content to practise it, made his vaunt of it, as of a braue and honourable resolution; and this was *Lamech*, who made his vaunt of reuenge before his two wiues, to make them afraid of him, as it is thought. But if it be true that some of the *Iewish Rabbines* guesse at, hee killed *Cain*, and so got the curse for his reward, that GOD set vpon any that should kill *Cain*, when hee had marked him. How euer it bee, sure I am that both *Cain* and hee were damned, and all their posterity destroyed by the Flood.

But of this point I neede to cite no more examples, whereof there bee ſo many thouſands in all ages. And I will come a degree lower, from wicked men to cowards; for though wicked men and Outlawes be inferiour to honeſt and good men; yet cowards are farre inferiour to them, for they are not accounted in the ranke of men. And it is a knowen and vndeniable truth, that cowards are much more cruell and vindicatiue, then men of courage are: for a coward can neuer enough ſecure himſelfe of his enemy; In ſo much as when he is lying dead at his feet, he is yet afraid, *qu'il ne luy ſaute aux yeux*, as the French prouerbe is. But let vs looke a degree lower yet, vpon women, who are weaker veſſels then men: the world knowes that the moſt part of them are cowards, and it is alſo well knowen, that they are a great deale more vindicatiue and cruell then men. But if wee will yet goe lower, euen to beaſtes, wee ſhall finde that the fearefulleſt beaſts are euer the moſt cruell and vindicatiue. What the Lion is, my *diction* tels you, *Eſt nobilis ira leonis, &c.* Beſides that, the moſt part of the beaſts of reafe, and the nobleſt ſorts of them, prey for hunger and for neceſſity of food, and not for reuenge. But the Deere that are ſo naturally cowards, as one chop of a Beagle, will make a herd of great Stagges runne away, I know not how many miles, theſe cowardly beaſts, I ſay, who neuer dare fight, but when they are enraged, either with luſt, deſperate feare, or reuenge: yet are they ſo cruell after that they haue once gotten the victory, that when life leaues the party whom one of them hath ouercome; yet will hee not leaue him for a long time after, ſtill wounding the dead carkaſe, and inſulting and trampling vpon it. And the better to expreſſe the reuenging nature of theſe fearefull creatures, I haue thought it not amiſſe to ſet downe heere, what I haue heard by credible report to haue been done by two diuers Stagges in two diuers places. The one of the Stagges was in a little Red Deere Parke of the late Viſcount *Bindon*, which keeping rut in a corner of the Parke with a brace of Hinds, the Keeper chanced in making his walke, to come thorow the buſh where theſe Hinds were, whereupon they ranne away, and the Stagge followed them: but not beeing able to make them ſtay with him any longer, by reaſon of their ſuddaine fright, hee looked backe once or twice very ſullenly vpon the Keeper, without preſſing to doe any more for that time. But within two dayes after, or thereabout, hee watched the Keeper walking in the Parke, and after hee had worne him by little and little to a ſtrait, at a corner of the Pale he ranne fiercely at the Keeper, broke his bill, and gaue him many wounds, whereof hee dyed within a day or two after, though the Stagge was put from him at that time, by I know not what accident. The other Stagge was one of them that was firſt put in, in my Lord of Suffolkes Redde-Deere Parke, who, being the firſt rut time there, maſtered onely by one Deere, that was greater and older then hee, and ſo kept from the Hindes; watched his time the next ſpring when the other mewed his

his head, he being ſtill vnmewed, as the younger Deere, and immediatly thereupon ſet on him in a morning in the ſight of one of the Keepers firſt, and then of all the reſt: and notwithſtanding that they followed him, for ſauing the other, both on horſe and foot as faſt as they could, yet neuer left he courſing of his fellow through the Parke, like a Grey-hound after a Hare, till he killed him with a number of wounds. And this vindicatiue Stagge did I kill with my Hounds, I and all my Huntſmen giuing him no other ſtile, but, *The murtherer*. And of all beaſts none are more vnprofitable for the neceſſary vſe of man, then Apes and Monkies, ſeeming onely to be created *in ludibrium naturæ*; ſo as *Galen* carried euer ſome of them about with him wherefoeuer hee went, onely to make Anotamies of them, for their likeneſſe in proportion to man. For in *Galens* time it was thought an inhumane thing to make Anatomies of men or women, wherein the Chriſtian world now hath leſſe horrour then the *Ethnickes* then had. And that ſort of beaſts are knowen to be ſo naturall cowards, that they dare neuer purſue any body to bite them, but women or children, and ſuch as they ſee afraid of them or flying from them; and yet will they remember an iniury two or three yeeres, and watch an opportunity for reuenging it. And if we will goe yet lower, euen to them that licke the duſt of the earth, as to Serpents and all ſorts of venimous Wormes, the Hiſtories are full of their malitious and reuengefull nature: but it is no new thing with them, the ſeede of the woman muſt bruiſe their heads, and they muſt bite his heele. Nay, will we for concluſion of this point, conſider of the very loweſt of all places, euen hell it ſelfe; wee ſhall finde that the Inhabitants thereof, the Deuils, breathe nothing but malice and reuenge. Sathan was a lyer and a murtherer from the beginning, and his firſt worke, after his fall, was to auenge himſelfe vpon the Image of GOD in Man, by deceiuing him; ſince his malice could not reach to GOD himſelfe, making choyce of that malicious beaſt the Serpent for his organe. And now, I hope, I haue ſufficiently prooued by the low deſcent of this ſinne by degrees, euen to hell it ſelfe, that as it is a greeuous, ſo is it a baſe ſinne, contrary to true courage. But ſince we haue now put it in hell, from whence it firſt came, there let vs leaue it, and ſolace our ſight a little with the contemplation of that diuine Vertue, Charitie, the right oppoſite to that hellifh ſinne and vice.

Charitie is not onely a diuine Vertue, but GOD himſelfe is Charitie, as I ſaide already. Saint *Paul* reckoning the three great * Theologicall Vertues, without which no man can bee ſaued, not onely puts in Charitie for one, but euen for the moſt excellent of all, without the which the reſt are nothing. And it is alſo the onely permanent Vertue of them all, for Faith and Hope remaine onely with the elect, while they are in this world, but Charitie is euer with them, heere and hence for euer. Yea euen, will ye looke to God himſelfe, *miſericordia eius* *ſuper*

*1. Cor. 13.

super omnia opera eius, and mercie is a worke of Charitie. *Charitie* dwels with GOD; and all the Elect, Angels, Saints and men are clad with it, eternally. I know not by what fortune, the *diction* of PACIFICVS was added to my title, at my comming in *England*; that of the Lyon, expressing true fortitude, hauing beene my *diction* before: but I am not ashamed of this addition; for King *Salomon* was a figure of CHRIST in that, that he was a King of peace. The greatest gift that our Sauiour gaue his Apostles, immediatly before his Ascension, was, that hee left his Peace, with them; hee himselfe hauing prayed for his persecutours, and *forgiuen his owne death*, as the Prouerbe is. The footsteppes of his charitie beeing so viuely imprinted in the Disciple whom his Master loued, and who leaned on our Sauiours bosome; as hee said nothing, wrote nothing, did nothing: yea, in a manner breathed nothing all the dayes of his life, but Loue and Charitie. To the blessed Virgine and him CHRIST vpon the Crosse recommended their charitable cohabitation together, as Mother and Sonne: his stile in all his writings, is full of Loue and Charitie, his Gospell and Epistles sound nothing but Charitie. Yea * Saint *Hierome* maketh mention, that when hee was so old, as he could not preach and scarce walke, he would many times make himselfe bee led to the Preaching place, and there repeating oft these words, *Little Children loue one another*, hee would come backe againe; and being asked why he so often repeated that sentence, his answere was, *This is the new and last Commaundement that our Master left vs, Et si solum fiat, sufficit.* But aboue all the third Chapter of his Gospell deserues to be grauen in letters of Marble, in the hearts of all Christians, especially the sixteenth verse thereof, *GOD so loued the world, &c.* And here I must record to the eternall memorie and good fame, of my Father in Law the late King of Denmarke, that he not being a Scholler; yet tooke hee the paines to write vp a little * Manuell, with his owne hand, of some of the most comfortable selected Psalmes, which was his continuall *Vade mecum*, as *Homers Iliads* was to *Alexander*: And at his death he made that part of the third Chapter of Saint *Iohns* Gospell to be read ouer and ouer vnto him. And as hee thus dyed happily, so left he a goodly and prosperous posteritie behinde him. And in the issue of one of his, I hope God shall in his mercy deale with me in one point, as hee did with *Iob*: if in not restoring vnto me so many children as hee hath taken from me; yet in restoring them vnto me in my childrens children; praying God to blesse that worke of mercy, that he hath already begun towards mee in this point. But to returne to Saint *Iohn*, wee may see at last, euen by his death, how God loued him for his charitie, besides the manifold other proofes, that hee gaue him thereof during his life; for hee died peaceably in his bed, full of daies, and was the notablest Confessour that euer was, albeit no Martyr, as all the rest of the Apostles were. To conclude then my description of this diuine vertue, Charity,

* *Hieron. in Epist. Pauli ad Gal.*

* This manuel of my Father in law, Sir PETER YOVNG, my old master brought out of *Denmarke*, and shewed me, and told me also of this forme of his death.

rity, I remit you to that paterne, which that admirable, learned, and eloquent Pen-man of the holy Ghost, hath set forth of her in his thirteenth of his first to the *Corinthians*.

And thus hauing with the Pensill of my penne represented vnto you, as viuely as I can, in so little compasse, the bright beautie of this diuine vertue, Charitie: it rests that I set downe her true limits, and how wee may make our right vse of her, by knowing towards whom our charitie is to be extended, in what cases, and in what measure; that so we may be able to performe vpon our part, that condition which God so exactly requires at our hands. As to the first question, towards whom; no doubt we ought to extend our Charitie towards all persons, yea, euen in some sort to beasts: we are in diuers places of the Scripture commaunded to bee * mercifull to our beasts, * *boui triturantiʒ os non obligabis*. But wee ought especially to be * charitable to the household of faith, and then wee are more particularly to measure our Charitie according to those degrees that doe more or lesse concerne vs; as our Countrey, our Magistrates Spirituall or Temporall, the strangers within our gates, Widdowes and Orphans; and those of our consanguinitie or affinitie, our Wiues, Parents, Brethren or Sisters, or Children, our professed friends, especially those that wee are obliged vnto in thankfulnesse. And as wee ought to bee charitable to all persons, so are we bound to extend our Charitie to them in all cases, by giuing them either Spirituall or Temporall comfort, as they haue neede of it; assisting them as well with our aduice and counsell, as with our fortunes: but in our assisting them, especially with our fortunes, wee are to measure it, according to the before mentioned degrees, and our owne abilities; otherwise, whereas wee were able before to ease the burthens of others, wee shall then make our selues to become burthensome to others. And aboue all, wee must pardon all them that haue offended vs, which is the direct point now in hand. But in all these cases of Charitie, wee are to obserue such a measure, as may preserue vs from both extreamities; for though wee be to pray for all men, yet are we not to keepe company with all men, much lesse to be in professed friendship with euery man. No man ought to be so secure of himselfe, as not to bee afraide to bee corrupted with euill company: yee know the saying, *Corrumpunt bonos mores colloquia mala*; and therefore, *Qui stat, videat ne cadat*, besides the euill name a man gets by haunting infamous companie. It is reported of that holy Apostle of loue, of whom I lately made large mention, that one day in his age he * went in *Ephesus*, to bathe himselfe in a hot Bath, and seeing *Cerinthus* the Heretique, he hasted out of the Bath before hee was bathed, fearing that the Bath should fall, because *Cerinthus* the enemy of the truth was in it. And indeede this practise of his agrees well with his doctrine in his Epistle; If thou meete one that brings not this doctrine, *ne dicas ei, aue*, lest thou be partaker

* Prou. 12. 10.
* 1 Cor. 9. 9.
* Gal. 6. 10.

1 Cor. 15. 33.
1. Cor. 10. 12.

* *Irenæus aduersus hæres. lib. 3. & Euseb. lib. 3. eccl. hist. cap. 25.*

Io. ep. 2. 10.

partaker of his ſinne. Since then this holy Apoſtle whom his Maſter loued was ſo afraide of euill company, how much more reaſon haue wee to bee ſo, conſidering how much weaker the beſt of vs are in ſpirituall graces, then hee was? And likewiſe this condition which is required at our hands, in pardoning them that offend vs, hath alſo the owne limits, which makes the performance thereof the more eaſie vnto vs. For our Sauiour commands vs, to forgiue them that offend vs, as oft as they repent them of their offending vs: ſo as they are as well tyed to repent, as we to forgiue, albeit our forgiueneſſe muſt not bee preciſely tyed to their repentance, *Marke* the 11.25. *When yee ſtand and pray, &c.* So as what part ſoeuer of the world your debtour bee in, you cannot pray with fruit except you forgiue him. Wee muſt alſo vnderſtand, that our forgiuing them that offend vs, ties not the hands of ſuch of vs as are Magiſtrates, to puniſh them that are offenders, according to the nature of their offences; ſo that wee doe it for our zeale to Iuſtice onely, and not for ſeruing of our owne particular endes, or ſatisfaction of our paſſions. And priuate men are not by this precept reſtrained, from complaining to the lawfull Magiſtrate, and ſeeking redreſſe of the iniuries done vnto them, agreeable to the qualities of the offences, according to that rule of our Sauiour, *Dic Eccleſiæ*: but wee ought ſo to loue, and eſteeme euery man more or leſſe, according as their vertues, good name, or particular behauiour towards vs ſhall deſerue. Wee are no way likewiſe barred of our iuſt defence, in caſe wee bee vnlawfully inuaded and aſſailed; for defence is *iuris naturalis*, and tolerated by the Lawes of all Nations; onely we are to keepe rancor and malice out of our hearts, and our hands from reuenge: for reuenge belongs onely to God, and by deputation from him, to his Lieutenants vpon earth, *Mihi vindictam, ego retribuam.* And I pray you, what life would wee haue in this world, if euery man were his owne Iudge, and auenged his owne iniuries? Sure I am, there would bee no neede of Kings nor Magiſtrates, and I thinke, there would bee no people left to bee gouerned. For then euery man would bee *homo homini lupus*, whereas, by the contrary, men are created to bee * *animalia gregalia*, and to liue together like ſociable creatures. It was a curſe pronounced vpon *Iſmael*, when it was prophecied, that *his hand ſhould bee againſt euery man, and euery mans hand againſt him.* But our braue ſpirited men, cannot digeſt wrongs ſo eaſily, and they are aſhamed to complaine to the Magiſtrates. I anſwere, they muſt then be aſhamed to obey God, and the King, and conſequently to liue vnder their protection, but like Giants and mighty hunters, they muſt wander vp and downe the world, and liue vpon ſpoyle. But what vſe is there for ſwords then and ſword-men? I anſwere, excellent good vſe, for the ſeruice of God, their King and their countrey, for their owne iuſt defence, and preſeruing the weaker ſort from iniurie or oppreſſion, in caſe of accidentall neceſſitie. How honourably are the worthies of *Dauid* recorded in the word

Rom.12.19.

* πολιτικὰ ζῶα.

Gen.16.12.

1.Chron.11.

word of God, and what made the Gentiles to deifie *Hercules*? Reade the ancient oathes of the Orders of Knighthood, in speciall, ours of the Order of the *Garter*, and euen the Oath that is still giuen to euery ordinary Knight at this day in *Scotland*; and let vs vpon this occasion consider with pitie the miserable case that too many are in, in this Island; who will not receiue the Sacrament, because they haue malice in their hearts; forgetting Saint *Pauls* two precepts, first to trie our selues, and then to come. But they thinke it enough to prooue themselues, so they neuer come, and thinke it neuer time for them to come there, till they be perfect; not remembring that CHRIST came in this world for the sicke and not for the whole, and that wee come to that Table weake and full of infirmities, to bee strengthened with that Spirituall and Heauenly foode; onely carying with vs there, a will and an earnest desire of amendment. And if they will not purge their hearts of malice, what can their abstaining from the Lords Supper auaile them? For how shall they pray the LORDS PRAYER, except they forgiue their debtours? and consequently how shall they obtaine remission of sinnes, without which there can bee no saluation? They must resolue then, as long as they liue in this state, to liue as Outlawes and Aliants from the couenant of God; and if they die without repentance, to bee certaine of damnation. Truely the best man liuing hath great neede to pray earnestly to bee preserued from a sodaine death, as it is in our English Letanie, that before his ende hee may haue space and grace to purge his heart, and cleare his conscience from all vncleannesse. For wee are all of vs intised and allured to our owne perdition, by three terrible perswasiue solicitours, the World, the Flesh, and the Deuill. But if the best liue still in that dangerours warrefare, what case then are these men in, if they shall die in that open rebellion, in disobeying the commandement of God, and not being able to pray for the remission of their sinnes? and yet is none of them secure of a minutes repriuall from death. Surely, me thinkes, the apprehension of a sodaine death should bee a perpetuall torture to their consciences; and yet the number of them is growne so great amongst vs heere, as a man cannot discerne betwixt a Papist and an Atheist, in this point: for many Papists take the pretext of malice for keeping them out of the penaltie of the law, for not receiuing the Sacrament. And now that I haue beene a great deale longer vpon this Petition then vpon any of the rest, I hope the Reader will easily excuse mee, since the remission of our sinnes is *causa sine qua non* to euery Christian man (as I saide before) as also since this condition annexed vnto it, is so lightly regarded, and so little obeyed in our age, yea euen in the Court, & amongst the better sort of men, I meane for qualitie. Following in this the example of CHRIST himselfe, the Author of this prayer, who in the same place, where he teacheth it, *Mat.* 6. doth immediatly there after inlarge himselfe vpon the interpretation of the condition of this Petition, without pressing to interpret any of the rest.

1.Cor.11.28.

AND

And Leade Vs Not Into Temptation. The *Arminians* cannot but mislike the frame of this Petition; for I am sure, they would haue it, *And suffer vs not to bee ledde into temptation*; and *Vorstius* would adde, *as farre, Lord, as is in thy power, for thy power is not infinite*. And vpon the other part, wee are also to eschew the other extremitie of some *Puritans*, who by consequent make God Authour of sinne; with which errour the Papists doe wrongfully charge our religion; but *medio tutiùs itur*. Saint * *Augustine* is the best decider of this question, to whom I remit mee. In so high a point it is fit for euery man, *sapere ad sobrietatem*; which is Saint *Pauls* counsell, Romans 12. Notwithstanding that himselfe was rauished to the third heauen, and best acquainted with these high mysteries; not to bee searched vnto, but to bee adored. And it sufficeth vs to know that *Adam* by his fall, lost his free-will, both to himselfe and all his posteritie; so as the best of vs all hath not one good thought in him, except it come from God; who drawes by his effectuall grace, out of that attainted and corrupt masse, whom hee pleaseth, for the * worke of his Mercie, leauing the rest to their owne wayes, which all leade to perdition: so as though God * draw all the Elect vnto him, who otherwise can neuer winne heauen, yet doeth hee force none to fall from him; *perditio tua ex te Israel*. And therefore God is sayde *to leade vs into temptation*, when by a strong hand hee preserues vs not from it; and so was hee sayde to harden *Pharaos* heart because hee did not soften it: Euen as a nurse, hauing a childe that is but beginning yet to learne to goe, may bee iustly sayde to make the childe fall, if shee leaue it alone, knowing that it cannot scape a fall without helpe. Now temptations are either bred within vs, or come from externall causes; If they breed within vs, earnest prayer and holy Meditations are often to bee vsed; cures also would bee applyed of contrary qualitie to these sinnes that wee finde budding within vs, for *contraria contrarijs curantur*: good bookes likewise will bee a great helpe, and specially the good aduice of a sound Diuine, prouided that hee haue the reputation of a good life. And if our temptations come from externall causes; if any of our sences bee caught with vnlawfull delights, let vs then (as I said alreadie) depriue our sences of these dangerous obiects. If prosperitie or aduersitie bring vs in temptation, let vs apply the remedies accordingly: against aduersitie tempting vs to despaire, let vs arme our selues with patience the best wee can, flee solitude, and oft seeke consolation from wise, godly, honest, and intire friends. If wee bee tempted with prosperitie (which commonly is the more dangerous, though the other bee sharper) let vs consider by euery little disease, and other crosses, our naturall frailtie, often meditate vpon the necessitie of death, and bee carefull to reade and heare oft good funerall Sermons, *Puluis es, & in puluerem reuerteris*. And in a word, let vs consider, that hauing so many tempters

*Aug. de prædestinatione Sanctorum, de dono perseuerantiæ, contra Pelagianos; & passim alibi in suis operibus.

*Rom. 9. 18.

*Ioh. 6. 44.

Ose. 13. 9.

Gen. 3. 19.

tempters, and occasions of temptation within and about vs, all the houres of the day; so as the whole life of a true Christian, is nothing else but a continuall triall of his constancie, in his vncessant spirituall warrefare. We haue therefore the greater reason to watch our selues continually, and carefully take heede to all our thoughts and actions: for otherwise it will bee in vaine for vs to pray to God, not to leade vs in temptation, and in the meane time wee shall bee leading our selues into it vpon euery occasion; like one that will wilfully lie in the mire, and call to another to helpe him out of it.

BVT DELIVER VS FROM EVILL. This is the last petition, and the seuenth in the account of the ancient Church, as I tolde you before, and the sixt as wee now doe ordinarily reckon it. The Fathers made it the seuenth, diuiding it from; *Leade vs not into temptation*, because wee pray heere to bee deliuered from euill. Now deliuerie presupposeth a preceding thraldome, or at least an iminent danger; so as in the former petition wee pray to bee kept out of temptation in times to come; and in this wee pray to bee deliuered from all euill that already is fallen, or presently hangeth vpon vs; not onely euill of * temptation, but euill of punishment, or whatsoeuer aduersitie that is laide vpon vs. But our Church makes this a branch of the former Petition, and so a part of the sixt; in regard it begins with ἀλλὰ, *but*, as ye would say, *Lord leade vs not into temptation, but keepe vs euer safe from all such euill.* But whether yee account it the seuenth Petition, or a branch of the sixt, either of the wayes is orthodoxe, and good enough, (though the older way bee the fuller, as I haue now showen) for the substance is, that we pray to God, not to leade vs in temptation, but to deliuer vs from any euill either present or to come. The Greeke hath it, ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ, *from the euill one*; and these words put vs in minde, what neede we haue of continuall prayer to God, to be preserued from that olde traiterous and restlesse enemie, * *qui circundat terram*, like a roaring Lion seeking whom he may deuoure. And by this Petition thus vnderstood, wee are taught, not to trust to our owne strength, against so strong and fiercely cruell an enemie, but to bee armed with faith, that we may safely sleepe, *sub vmbra alarum tuarum Domine.* The Latine translation *à malo*, will beare either any euill thing, or the euill one; and our vulgar translation, *euill*, is generall for eschewing of any euill that may befall vs, whether by the meanes of Satan, or otherwise. And so wee are to pray that God by his mercifull hand would deliuer vs from all euill, either in corporall or spirituall things; either against our temporall necessities and comforts in this life, or our spirituall graces for our eternall saluation: that we may lie down safe, and rise againe, and not be afraid, though thousands of enemies, both spirituall and temporall, should incompasse vs. Heere now the LORDS PRAYER ends in S. *Luke*, but in S. *Matthew* is subioyned that Epilogue, *For thine is the Kingdome, the power and the glorie for euer. Amen.*

* *Malum pœnæ & malum culpæ.*

* 1. Pet. 5. 8.

Psal. 91. 4.

Who will seriously consider the occasion, whereupon our Sauiour taught the LORDS PRAYER in both the Gospels, hee shall finde, that CHRIST taught it twice; first, priuately to his disciples, at the suite of one of them to teach them to pray; and then he taught the Petitions onely, prefixing that short preamble, *Our Father which art in heauen*: and at that time hee expressed two or three of the Petitions in this Prayer, more plainely then he did after in his publique Sermon before the people. For his manner was euer, to expresse himselfe more plainly to his disciples, then hee did to the whole people: and this is the forme set downe in the 11. of Saint *Luke*. And after at another time, he taught it vpon the mountaine, to a multitude of people in the middest of a long Sermon that hee made vnto them, and then hee added this foresaide Epilogue; and this forme is contayned in the sixth of *Matthew*, at which time it seemes he added the Epilogue, to teach the people to pray, both with the greater confidence and reuerence, since to him whom they prayed vnto, belonged *the Kingdome, &c.* It is true that this Epilogue is wanting in the vulgar Latine Translation, euen in Saint *Matthew*: and *Robert Steuen* that learned Printer saith, it is also wanting in some old greeke exemplar; but that is no matter, it is sufficiently acknowledged to bee Canonicall. Now as to the words of this Epilogue, they containe the reason of our praying to our heauenly Father; for his is the Kingdome, hee is not onely a King, but the Kingdome *per excellentiam* is his ἡ βασιλεία. Euen as, although there shall bee *multi Antichristi*, yet is the great Antichrist, head of the generall defection, called ὁ ἀντίχριστος: So as GOD is the onely KING of all *in solidum*, all earthly depute Kings kingdomes being but small brockes and riuers deriued from that Sea. And he is not onely King of all, but power is his onely, so as he is not only an infinitely great KING (for great Kings may not doe all that they would) but hee is also an infinitely powerfull, and Almightie KING. And not onely is the *Kingdome* his, and the *Power* his, but also the *Glorie* is his, which maketh the other two excellent: so as all wordly kingdomes, powers, and honours, (for without honour all world Kingdomes and powers are nothing) are onely droppes borrowed out of that great and vast Ocean. But if all this were but temporall, then might wee doubt of the decay thereof; and therefore to resolue vs of this doubt also, *For euer*, is subioyned to the end of these supremely high titles; to shew that his Kingdome, his Power, and his Glorie, is neuer to receiue end, change or diminution. Remembring then, that in the first words of this Prayer, we call him *Our Father*, which settles our confidence in his loue; and in the last words thereof wee acknowledge his infinite power: with great comfort wee may bee confident, that hee both may and will heare, and grant these our petitions. And to this Prayer is *Amen* put, as the conclusion of all; for heereby are wee stirred vp, to recollect shortly to our memory all that which wee haue said:

ſaid: adding a faithfull wiſh, that our petitions may be graunted vnto vs. Which is a ſigne that we ſhould know what we ſay, when we make this Prayer, contrary to the Papiſts, who teach ignorant wiues and children, to mumble, or rather mangle this Prayer in Latine *ad intentionem Eccleſiæ*. But if Saint *Pauls* rule be true in his 14. of his 1. to the *Corinthians*, thoſe ignorants can neuer ſay *Amen*, to their owne prayer which they vnderſtand not: but the Church of *Rome* hath not only euil luck to be contrarie to S. *Paul* in this point, but alſo to Chriſts owne prohibition, in his Preface to this ſame Prayer in the ſixt of Saint *Matthew*. For there he forbids vaine repetitions, as the Heathen doe, but bids them pray thus. Now they haue preferred the imitation of the Heathen to CHRISTS example, witneſſe *our Ladies Roſarie*, and witneſſe all their prayers vpon Beads, making vp ſuch a rable of *Paters* and *Aues*, contrary to CHRIST that forbids vaine repetitions. and I am ſure there cannot be a vainer repetition, then to repeate a * prayer they vnderſtand not; and contrary to Saint *Paul* alſo, as I ſaid already, and I dare ſay without any precept or example of antiquity, for the ſpace of many hundred yeeres after Chriſt: and yet theſe vaine and ignorant repetitions are matters of great merit with them. And it is alſo to bee obſerued, that although our Sauiour commaunded vs to make our petitions to GOD in his Name, yet hath he not made mention of his owne Name in this Prayer; not that I doubt but that vnder the Name of the FATHER in this Prayer, all the Trinity is to be vnderſtood; but it may be that he hath omitted the inſerting of his Name in this Prayer, foreſeeing that in the latter dayes, ſuperſtition would inſert too many interceſſours in our prayers, both of he and ſhe Saints. And ſurely the darkneſſe of this ſuperſtition was ſo groſſe in our Fathers times, as a great Theologue was not aſhamed, within little more then theſe threeſcore yeres to preach publikely in S. *Andrewes*; That the LORDS PRAYER might bee ſaid to our Lady: whereupon grew ſuch a controuerſie in the Vniuerſitie there, that a Synode in that ſame place, was forced to take knowledge of it and decide it. And what leſſe ſuperſtition was it in ſo learned a man as *Bonauenture*, to turne the meaning of the Pſalmes vpon our Lady? I meane whatſoeuer was ſpoken of GOD in them to be meant of our Ladie: and yet was this famous booke of his reprinted at *Paris* within theſe few yeeres. But ſince GOD in his great mercy hath freed vs in this Iſland, from that more then *Egyptian* darkneſſe, I cannot wonder inough at the inconſtancie of too many amongſt vs in our dayes; that *like fooles faine of flitting*, as the Scottiſh Prouerbe is, are ſo greedy of nouelties; that forſaking the pure veritie for painted fables, they will wilfully hoodwinke themſelues, and thruſt their heads in the darke again, refuſing the light, which they may liue and ioy in, if they liſt.

And thus hauing ended this my Meditation vpon the LORDS PRAYER, it reſts onely that I draw it into a ſhort ſumme (as I promiſed)

* I read with mine eies within theſe ten or twelue yeres, a little Pamphlet, ſet out by an Engliſh prieſt, printed in ſome part of the Archdukes dominion, which laboured to maintaine by many arguments, that the LORDS PRAYER, and other ſhort prayers, were more profitable for the vulgar and ignorant ſort, to be ſaid by thē in Latine, although they vnderſtood it not, then in their owne naturall language.

that we may the better vnderſtand, and remember what wee pray; and that our prayer may the more viuely and deepely bee imprinted and engrauen in our hearts. And it is ſhortly this: We firſt for a preamble inuocate GOD, by the ſweete name of *Our Father*; thereby to ſettle our confidence in his loue, that he will heare and graunt our petitions; next, to breede the greater reuerence in vs, and to aſſure our ſelues of his all-ſeeing eye, we make mention of the place of the reſidence of his glory, which is Heauen. Then wee make firſt three generall petitions for his glory, before we come to our owne particular ſuites. In the firſt whereof we doe our homage vnto him, in wiſhing his Name to be hallowed, both in Heauen and earth, like as we then doe; then our next generall petition is, that his Kingdome may come, as well, generally and vniuerſally at his ſecond comming, as that the Militant Church may flouriſh in the meane time, and that wee may in Gods appointed time, euery one of vs come to that Kingdome of his. That in the meane time his will may be done in earth as it is in heauen; the effect which the Kingdome of heauen in this earth will produce, which is our third and laſt generall petition for the propagation of his glory, and the felicitie of his Church. And if we pleaſe a little deeplier to meditate vpon theſe three petitions, they may likewiſe put vs in minde of the Trinitie; of GOD the Father, by wiſhing his Name to be ſanctified, whoſe Name no tongue can expreſſe: of GOD the Sonne, by wiſhing his Kingdome to come, for he is King, Prieſt, and Prophet, and of his Kingdome there ſhall neuer bee an end. And we are put in mind of GOD the holy Ghoſt, by praying that his will may be done in earth, as it is Heauen, for he it is that ſanctifies the wils of the elect, and makes them acceptable to God the Father, through Ieſus Chriſt. And our firſt priuate ſuite that followes, is for our daily bread; for except God preſently furniſh, and ſuſtaine vs, with that which our temporall neceſſities doe require; our being in this world will faile before we can performe any part of our ſeruice which he requires at our hands, and a ſuddaine death will preuent our due preparation for our iourney to our true home. Wee next pray for remiſſion of our by-paſt ſinnes, that we may ſtand *recti in curia*, being waſhed in the blood of the Lambe; for elſe our corporall ſuſtenance doth but feede vs to the ſlaughter. And wee ſhew our ſelues capable of this great and ineſtimable bleſſing and benefit, by the profeſſion of our Charity in pardoning our brethren, according to his commaundement. And then the vgly horrour of our by-paſt ſinnes, and our true and ſenſible ſorrow for the ſame, together with the acknowledgement of our owne weakeneſſe, and diſtruſt in our owne ſtrength, makes vs pray that we bee not hereafter led into ſo dangerous temptations: but that he will heereafter deliuer vs from all euill both in body and ſoule; eſpecially from the cruell and craftie aſſaults of that euill one. And as in the preamble we called him our heauenly Father, to ſtirre vp our reuerent confidence in his loue; ſo doe wee

in

in the Epilogue acknowledge his Almightie and eternall glorious power: thereby to aſſure our ſelues, that he is as able, as hee is ready to heare and graunt theſe our petitions; cloſing vp all with AMEN; for the ſtrengthening our wiſhes with that ſmall meaſure of faith that is in vs, and aſſurance of the truth of the performance of our petitions, that our requeſts may be graunted. To which I adde another AMEN, *etiam fiat* DOMINE IESV.

A MEDITATION

Vpon the 27.28.29. Verses of the XXVII. Chapter of Saint MATTHEVV.

OR

A PATERNE FOR A KINGS INAVGVRATION:

Written by the KINGS MAIESTIE.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.

Y dearest and onely Sonne, *in the beginning of this same yeere, I wrote a short* Meditation *vpon the* Lords Prayer, *and I told the reason, that now being growen in yeares, I was weary of Controuersies and to write of high questions, and therefore had chosen now a plaine and easie subiect to treat of: But of late it hath fallen out, that one day reading priuatly to my selfe the passion of* CHRIST, *in the end of S.* Matthewes *Gospell, I lighted vpon that part, where the Gouernors Souldiers mocked our* Sauiour, *with putting the ornaments of a King vpon him. Which appeared to me to be so punctually set doune, that my head hammered vpon it diuers times after, and specially the Croune of thornes went neuer out of my mind, remembring the thorny cares, which a King (if he*

he haue a care of his office) must be subiect vnto, as (God knowes) I daily and nightly feele in mine owne person. Whereupon I apprehended that it would bee a good paterne to put inheritors to kingdomes in minde of their calling, by the forme of their inauguration; and so resolued to borrow some houres from my rest, to write a short Meditation vpon it. But on a time telling Buckingham *this my intention, and that I thought you the fittest person to whom I could dedicate it, for diuers reasons following, hee humbly and earnestly desired mee, that hee might haue the honour to be my* amanuensis *in this worke. First, because it would free mee from the paine of writing, by sparing the labour both of mine eyes and hand; and next, that hee might doe you some peece of seruice thereby; protesting, that his natural obligation to you (next me) is redoubled by the many fauours that you daily heape vpon him. And indeed, I must ingenuously confesse to my comfort, that in making your affections to follow and second thus your Fathers, you shew what reuerent loue you carry towards me in your heart; besides the worthy example you giue to all other Kings eldest Sonnes for imitation, beginning heereby to performe one of the rules set doune to my*

Lib. 2. *sonne* HENRY, *that is with God, in my* ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. *And indeede my graunting of this request to* Buckingham *hath much eased my labour, considering the slownesse, ilnesse, and vncorrectnes of my hand.*

As I dedicated therfore my Meditation *vpon the* Lords Prayer *to him, in regard aswell of the necessity that Courtiers haue to pray (considering that among great resort of people they cannot euer be in good company, besides the many allurements they haue to sinne) as also that short Prayers are fittest for them; for they haue seldome leisure to bestow long time vpon praying, as I told him in my Preface: euen so I can dedicate this my* Paterne of a Kings inauguration *to none so fitly, as to you,* my dearest Sonne, *both for the subiect and the shortnesse of it: the shortnesse, since you spend so much time abroad, as you can bestow but little vpon the Muses at home. And yet I will*

thus

thus farre excuse you, that I would haue euery age be like it selfe: to see a yong man old, and an old man yong, is an ill-fauoured sight. Youth should bee actiue and laborious, or else (I feare) dulneße wil come with age: Imberbis iuuenis, tandem custode remoto, Gaudet equis canibusque & aprici gramine campi. *but yet vpon the other part,* est modus in rebus, *and* moderata durant. *And as to the subiect, whom can a paterne for a Kings Inauguration so well fit as a Kings sonne and heire, beeing written by the King his Father, and the paterne taken from the King of all Kings?*

To your brother (now with GOD*) I dedicated my* ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ, *wherein I gaue him my aduice anent the gouernement of* Scotland *in particular: this is but a short preparatiue for a Kings Inauguration, and a little forewarning of his great and heauie burthen. it is soone read and easily caried: make it therefore your* vade mecum, *to prepare you, and put you in a habit for that day, which (I dare sweare) you will neuer wish for, (as you gaue sufficient proofe by your carefull attendance in my late great sickenesse, out of which it pleased God to deliuer mee) and I hope I shall neuer giue you cause. But it will bee a great reliefe to you in the bearing of your burthen, that you be not taken* tardè; *but that you foresee the weight of it before hand, and make your selfe able to support the same:* nam leuius lœdit quicquid prœuidimus antè; *and it is a good old Scottish prouerbe, that* a man warned is halfe armed. *Looke not therefore to finde the softnesse of a doune-pillow in a Croune, but remember that it is a thornie piece of stuffe and full of continuall cares. And because examples mooue much, I will remember you, what some kings of olde thought of the weight of a Diademe.*

Antigonus, *one of* Alexanders *successors, told an olde wife, that was praising vnto him his happinesse in his raigne; shewing his Diademe, that, if shee knew how many euils that clout was stuffed with, shee would not take it vp, if shee found it lying on the ground. And* Seleucus *another of them spake*

Stob. serm. 47. & Val Max. lib. 7. cap. 2.

Plutar. an seni gerenda sit Respub.

Cic.l.5.Tuſc. quæſt.

ſpake many times to the like effect. And Dionyſius, *the firſt tyrant of* Syracuſe, *though hee gouerned like a Tyrant all his life, and therefore onely cared for himſelfe and not for his people; yet, when* Damocles *his flatterer recounted vnto him his great magnificence, wealth, power, and all his Kingly maieſtie, affirming, that neuer any man was more happie, thinking therby to pleaſe his humour; the tyrant asked him (if he thought his life ſo pleaſant) whether he would be contented to trie his fortune a little. And his flatterer anſwering him that hee was contented, hee made him to bee ſet in a golden bed, and in the middeſt of a rich and ſumptuous feaſt, where no ſort of princely magnificence was wanting; and while* Damocles *was in the middeſt of his happie eſtate (as hee thought) hee made a naked ſword to bee hanged in a horſe haire perpendicularly ouer his head with the point dounward. Vpon the ſight whereof neither could his meate nor all his glorious royall attyre delight him any more; but all turned into his humble begging of the Tyrant, that hee might haue leaue to bee gone: for he was now reſolued that he would be no more happie. And one of our owne predeceſſours,* Henrie *the fourth (called* Henrie *of* Bullenbrooke*) being in a traunce vpon his death-bed; his Sonne,* Henrie *the fift, thinking he had beene dead, a little too nimbly carried away the croune that ſtood by his Father: but the King recouering a little out of his fit miſsed his croune, and called for it; and when his ſonne brought it backe againe, hee tolde him that, if hee had knowen what a croune was, hee would not haue beene ſo haſtie: for hee proteſted that hee was neuer a day without trouble ſince it was firſt put vpon his head. It is true that hee was an vniuſt vſurper of the croune, but after hee gouerned both with iuſtice and valour. For you muſt remember that there bee two ſorts of tyrants, the one by vſurpation, the other by their forme of gouernment, or rather miſgouernement. As for vſurpation you neede it not: you are like to ſucceede to a reaſonable proportion: and certainely,* Conquerours are but ſplendide robbers. *And for tyrannous go-*

uernement

uernement, I hope, you haue it not of kinde, nor shall euer learne it by me. All this I speake not to scarre you from cheerefull accepting of that place, when God *shall bring you vnto it; but onely to forewarne you, that you deceiue not your selfe with vaine hopes. But as I wrote in my late Meditation, that a man should both examine himselfe, and then receiue the blessed* Sacrament; *but neither examine and not receiue, nor yet receiue and not examine: so I say to you, in this case prepare your selfe for the worst, and yet bee not discouraged for it,* sed contrà audentior ito. *Remember that,* difficilia quæ pulchra, *and that,* via virtutis est ardua. *And for my part I will pray the Lord of heauen and earth so to blesse you (that are the sonne and heire of a King) with this paterne of the inauguration of a King, written by a King; as you may in the owne time be worthy of a heauenly and permanent Kingdome.* Amen.

τὰ καλὰ δύσκολα.

Dat. 29. Decemb. 1619.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

Vrteous Reader, *I know that in this extreamly short discourse of mine of the* Paterne of a Kings inauguration, *thou wilt bee farre from finding the office of a King fully described therein. And therefore I haue thought good to informe thee hereby, that I onely write this as a ground, whereupon I meane (if God shall spare mee dayes and leisure) to set doune at large (as in the descant) the whole principall points belonging to the office of a King. And if my leisure cannot permit (whereof I despaire) I intend (God willing) to set some other more nimble pen on worke with my instructions. In the meane time, I haue made this as a short forewarning to my Son, that he may in time prepare himselfe for the bargaine, and study his craft; that if it shall please God by course of nature to bring him to it, (which I pray God he may) hee may not make his entry in it like a raw Spanish* Bisogno, *but rather like an olde souldier of a trained band, that needes no prompting nor direction to teach him how to vse his armes. So as mine end in this is rather a warning, then an instruction vnto him.*

And so farewell.

A PATERNE FOR A KINGS INAVGVRATION.

S. MATTHEVV. Chap. 27. Verſ. 27,28,29.

Then the ſouldiers of the Gouernour tooke Ieſus into the Common Hall, and gathered vnto him the whole band of ſouldiers.

And they ſtripped him, and put on him a ſkarlet Robe.

And when they had platted a crowne of thornes, they put it vpon his head, and a reed in his right hand, and they bowed the knee before him, and mocked him, ſaying, HAILE KING OF THE IEVVES.

HEere haue wee in theſe three Verſes, ſet downe the forme and paterne of the Inauguration of a King, together with a perfect deſcription of the cares and croſſes, that a King muſt prepare himſelfe to indure in the due adminiſtration of his office. For the true vnderſtanding whereof, two things are to be reſpected and had in conſideration, the Perſon and the Paterne: the qualities of the Perſon to bee applied to our comfort and ſaluation; the Paterne for our imitation or example. The Perſon was our SAVIOVR IESVS CHRIST, who was humbled for our exaltation, tortured for our comfort, deſpiſed for our glory, and ſuffered for our ſaluation.

What belongs therefore to his Perſon in his paſſion, I diſtinguiſh, in this my *Meditation*, from that which hee left as a paterne for imitation by all good Kings; the former ſeruing for the generall ſoules health of all Chriſtians, the later onely for the inſtruction of Kings. But ſince my chiefe end in this diſcourſe is to ſpeake of the paterne, as properly

belonging to my calling; I will onely glaunce ſlightly at that which alanerly concernes his Perſon, that part being already ſufficiently handled by a whole armie of Diuines. But heere it may bee obiected that this wrong and iniurie done by the Gouernours Souldiers to our SAVIOVR, cannot fitly be drawne in example, and ſet foorth as a paterne for the Inauguration of Kings, becauſe they did it but in a mockerie of CHRIST; who hauing beene immediately before accuſed for vſurping the title of King of the *Iewes*; they thought his perſon and preſence ſo contemptible, as if it had beene worthy of no better Kingdome, then that ſcornefull reproach, which then they put vpon him. To this I anſwere, that heere I conſider not their wicked and ſcornefull actions, but what vſe it hath pleaſed the *Almightie* and *All-mercifull God* to draw out of their wickedneſſe, and turne it to his glorie. For it is ordinarie with *God* to bring light out of darkeneſſe, as hee did at the Creation, and to extract out of the worſt of things good effects, as was expreſſed by *Sampſons* riddle. And therefore I obſerue and diſtinguiſh in this action betwixt the part of *God*, that wrang his glory out of their corruption without their knowledge; and their peruerſe inclination. For, though the nobler part of man, which is the ſoule, was vtterly corrupted in them, yet *God* inforced their bodies (which is the vileſt part of man) to doe that homage to his onely Sonne, vnwitting of their ſoules; which both their ſoules and their bodies ought to haue performed: euen as hee made *Balaams* Aſſe to inſtruct her maſter. And *Balaam* himſelfe to bleſſe the people of *Iſrael*, when hee came of intent to curſe them for filthy lucres ſake, and as hee made *Caiphas* the high Prieſt to propheſie, though quite contrary to his owne meaning. It pleaſed therefore the *Almighty* to make thoſe Souldiers worſhip *Chriſt* in their bodies with the reuerence due to a King, which their wretched ſoules neuer intended; thereby teaching vs, that we euer ought to worſhip him and his onely Sonne as well with our bodies (as they did) as with our ſoules, which no Chriſtians denie; ſince he is the Creator and Redeemer of both. Theſe therefore, that will refuſe in any place or at any time to worſhip *Chriſt* aſwell in body as in ſoule, are in that point inferiour to thoſe prophane ſouldiers: which I wiſh were well obſerued by our fooliſh ſuperſtitious *Puritanes*, that refuſe to kneele at the receiuing of the bleſſed *Sacrament*. For, if euer at any time *Chriſt* is to bee worſhipped, it is in time of prayer: and no time can be ſo fit for prayer and meditation, as is the time of our receiuing the *Sacrament*; and if any place can be more fit then other for worſhipping of *God* and his *Chriſt* in, it is the *Church*, where is the ordinary aſſembly and meeting of his Saints. And now I returne to ſpeake of the paterne.

Matth. 27.11.

Gen.1.23.

Iud.14.14.

Num.22.28.

Num.6.10.

Ioh.11.49.

Then

Then the Souldiers of the Gouernour tooke IESVS *into the common Hall* (S. MARK. 15, 16. calleth it *Prætorium*, which was the *common Hall*, like our *Westminster Hall*, and serued for administration of Iustice, as the place of greatest resort) *and gathered vnto him the whole band of Souldiers.*

WEe see heere the Emperour of the whole world receauing the homage due vnto him, in that place, after that forme, and by that sort of persons, as it pleased him that many of the *Romane* Emperours (his shadowes and substitutes) should bee soone after his death inaugurated and inuested in the Empire, after that the gouernement of *Rome* was turned into a Monarchie, and ruled by Emperours. And it is worthy the obseruation (for prooving of the lawfulnesse of Monarchies and how farre that sort of gouernement is to bee preferred to any other) that as *Christ* himselfe was the Sonne and right heire by lineall descent of King *Dauid*; so was he borne vnder the first *Romane* Emperour, that euer established the *Romane* Empire. For, though *Iulius Cæsar* was in a manner the first Emperour, yet as he wan it by bloud, so ended hee in bloud: and therefore as *God* would not permit King *Dauid* to build him a materiall temple, because of his shedding of bloud; but made him leaue that worke to his sonne *Salomon*, who was a King of peace: so had it not beene fitting that the Sauiour of the World, the builder of his Church (whose body was likewise the true Temple represented by that of *Salomon*) should haue beene borne but vnder a King of peace, as was *Augustus*, and in a time of peace, when as the Temple of *Ianus* was shut, and when as all the World did pay him an vniuersall contribution, as is said in the second of Saint *Lukes Gospel*. Of which happy and peacefull time the *Sibyls* (though Ethnikes) made notable predictions, painting forth very viuely the blessed Child that then was to bee borne. Now as all publique solemnities haue a respect to these three circumstances, of forme, place, and person (whereof I haue already made mention) so in this action were all these three punctually obserued. First, the place, wherein this action was done, was the *common Hall*, the publique place for administration of Iustice. And although the *Romanes* did not precisely obserue any one place for the inauguration of their Emperours, yet were all the places, where that action was performed, places of most publique resort of the people, as was this *common Hall*. For it is very fitting that he, that is to be acknowledged the head of all sorts of people, should be inuested in a place where all sorts of people may conuene and concurre to doe him homage. And as to the qualities of the persons that performed this action, they were *Romane* Souldiers; and not a small number of them, but it was done by the whole band of the Gouernours Souldiers.

2.Sam.7.5.

2.Sam.7.13.

Luk.2.1.

And

And this was iust the forme of the election of a number of the *Romane* Emperours: for the *Romane* Emperours were neither elected by the Senate, nor by the people. For although the authoritie till the time of the Emperours was in the Senate and people of *Rome*, yet euer after the rising of the great factions in *Rome*, betweene *Iulius Cæsar* and *Pompey*, things were brought to that confusion, that the Senate and people retained but the shadow of authority: but in very deede it was the armie that vsurped the power of electing of all the Emperours, beginning at *Claudius*, who next *Caligula* succeeded *Tiberius*, who reigned at the time of *Christs* death, and so continuing still till after *Titus Vespasian*; and after *Commodus* almost all were thus chosen for the space of many yeares, as all the best Writers of the *Romane* history make mention. Now the *Prætorian cohorts* (who were indeed the very flowre and greatest strength of the *Roman* armie, had the chiefe sway in the election of the Emperors. The resemblance whereof we may at this day see in the *Turkish* Empire. For the great *Turkes Ianisaries* are his *Prætorian cohorts*; and although that Empire be hereditary, yet haue the *Ianisaries* so great power in it (as it was lately seene) that by them, after the death of *Achmat* this great Turkes father, this Princes Vncle was set vpon the throne and quickly after deposed by them againe, and this Prince *Osman* set vp in his fathers place. And euen so after the long troubles that were in *Moscouia*, after the death of their Duke or Emperour *Iuan Vasiliwich* (who was the last Prince that gouerned that land in in peace) the * *Cosackes*, which are the very *Prætorian cohorts* in that countrey, elected this Duke or Emperour, *Michael Feodorwich*, which now reignes. I know there was many sorts of *Prætors* in *Rome*, one was *Prætor ciuilis*, who iudged but in ciuill causes, and another was *Prætor militaris*, who was indeed the Captaine of the Emperours guards: and of them I now make mention, not that I meane hereby to exclude the power of the rest of the armie in that action; but the *Prætorian cohorts* being the strength and floure of them (as I said already) the rest of the armie commonly followed, where they led the ring. Now the kingdome of the *Iewes* being, in the time of *Christ*, subiect to the Emperour of *Rome*, the Emperours gouernours band of souldiers, which had a resemblance to the Emperours *Prætorian cohorts* (euen as a Viceroy represents the person of the Emperour or King his master) brought *Iesus* to the *common Hall* or *Prætorium*, and there did inaugurate him as you shall hereafter heare. And as to the forme of his inauguration, the spirit of GOD, sets it downe very punctually: First, *they stripped him, and put on him a scarlet robe*; S. *Marke* and S. *Iohn* cals it a *purple robe*, which is one in substance, * although they were of diuers ingredients. For the ancient *purple* was of a reddish colour, and both scarlet and purple were so rich and princely dyes of old, as they were onely worne by Kings and Princes, and that chiefely in their princely robes: but now these sorts of dyes are lost. This purple or scarlet dye may also admit a metapho-

* The *Cosackes* are a sort of warlike people dwelling vpon the riuer *Borysthenes*, whereof a number serues the K. of *Poland* in his warres; and others ye Duke of *Moscouia*: and of this latter sort, I speake here.

Mar. 15. 17. Io. 19. 2.

* The purple was of ye iuyce of a shell fish, named *Purpura*, and the scarlet of the graines of a berry.

metaphoricall allusion to the blood of *Christ*, that was shed for vs. For the robes of his flesh were dyed in that true purple and scarlet dye of his bloud, whose bloud must wash our sinnes, that wee may appeare holy and vnspotted before him in our white robes, washed in the bloud of the *Lambe*. They first *stripped him* then, for it is thought (and not improbably) that his owne cloathes were after the auncient forme of a Prophets garment; onely his coate, without any seame in it, was to fulfill the prophecie of *Dauid*, that *they should cast lots for it*; and did also signifie the indiuisible vnitie of the *Church*, which I pray God the true *Church* of *Christ* would now well remember. Now therefore, when they were to declare him a King, they tooke off his Prophets garment and put a royall robe vpon him.

Esa.63. 1,2,3. Reuel.19.13.

Psal.22.18.

Kings euer vsed to weare robes when they sate in their throne of Maiestie, and euen purple robes: for robes or long gownes are fittest to sit withall, and sitting is the fittest posture for expressing of grauitie in iudgment; standing signifies too great precipitation, which is chiefly to bee auoyded in iudgement, for no man can stand long without wearying; walking betokens a wandring lightnesse and distraction of the senses; leaning portends weaknesse, and lying inability. And therefore *God* himselfe is (*per* [illegible]) described in his word to sit in his Throne, and *Christ* to sit at his right hand; nay, the foure and twenty Elders haue Thrones set for them to sit in, for they are euen to be CHRISTS assistants in iudging of the world. Kings therefore, as GODS Deputie-iudges vpon earth, sit in thrones, clad with long robes, not as laikes and simply *togati* (as inferior secular Iudges are) but as *mixtæ personæ* (as I said in my ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ) being bound to make a reckoning to GOD for their subiects soules as well as their bodies. Not that they ought to vsurpe any point of the Priestly office, no more then the Priest should the Kings, for these two offices were deuided in *Aarons* Priesthood; but it is the Kings office to ouersee and compell the *Church* to do her office, to purge all abuses in her, and by his sword (as *vindex vtriusq; tabulæ*) to procure her due reuerence and obedience of all his temporall subiects. And that royall robes are of *purple*, it is to represent thereby as well the continuance and honor of their function, as that their iustice and equitie should be without staine or blemish. For the ancient purple, whereof we haue now but the counterfeit, was of extreame long lasting, and could not be stayned. And next,

Reuel.4.2.

Mar.16.19.

Reuel.4.4. *Saint Paul* 1.Cor.6.2.&3.

When they had platted a croune of thornes, they set it vpon his head.

Eere is set doune what thing they set vpon his head, of what stuffe it was made, and in what manner it was wrought. The thing they set vpon his head was a *croune*, in the greeke text called [illegible] Anciently the Kings of the Gentiles wore diademes: it is a greeke compound

word of [illegible] & [illegible], which is *to binde about*, for it went about the head: but in case one would stretch it to [illegible] & [illegible], which is *the people* (though the greeke language will no way beare it) it wil serue for a good remembrance to a King, for the diademe or croune must put him in mind how he raignes by the loue and acknowledgement of his people. I will not heere play the linguist to contest with a sort of popular tribunes, whether that [illegible] may in a greeke coniunction of wordes bee sometimes vsed as well for *for* as *from*: for I admit that sense, that it shall onely bee vnderstood *from the people*. For no question, though all succesiue Kings receiue their crounes from GOD onely, yet the people at their inauguration giue a publike acknowledgement of their willing subiection to his person and authority, submitting themselues to the will of GOD, who is the onely giuer of it; which is signified by the putting of the diademe or croune vpon his head.

The *diademe* it selfe was a manner of garland which went about the head made like a wreath of silke ribban, or some such like thing; which signified, that as all such, as wan the prize in any match, had garlands put vpon their heads, in signe of the popular applause for their good deseruings; so Kings had diademes put vpon their heads, in signe of the peoples willing consent to bee subiect vnto them, that diademe or garland being a marke of their eminencie aboue all others: not that I meane that the forme of diademes was taken from the garlands (for I take the diademes to bee farre more ancient then the garland) but I onely speake heere of the resemblance betweene them in some cases. Neither will I denie that many Kings of the nations had their diademes or crounes giuen them by the people, who translated and transferred by that act all their power into their Kings; but it followeth not that GOD therefore did not set those Kings vpon their thrones. For although those infidell nations knew not *God*, yet *God, qui disponit omnia suauiter*, put it in the peoples hearts to acknowledge them for their Kings, and willingly to submit themselues vnto them, euen that *God*, who is not onely the searcher and knower, but euen the rule of all hearts. But among the people of *God*, where *God* visibly ruled, the King of his people was immediately chosen by himselfe, and the people onely gaue obedience thereunto (as is more then plaine in the *old Testament*) so as the only difference was, that, what GOD did directly by his word and oracle among his owne people in the election of Kings, he did it onely by his secret working in the hearts of other nations, though themselues knew not from whence those motions came, which GOD by his finger wrought in their hearts. And the latine word *corona* signifies also the same thing that *diadema* did. For the croune is set vpon the Kings head and compasseth it, to shew, that as the croune compasseth the Kings head, so is hee to sit in the middest of his people. His wakerif care is euer to bee imployed for their good, their loue is his greatest safetie, and their prosperitie is his greatest honour

Wisd. 8. 2.

Psal. 7. 9. Prou. 21. 1. 1. Sam. 9. 16. 1. Sam. 16. 12.

nour and felicitie. For many times among the *Romans*, the word *corona* signified the people, as * *Aliquid etiam coronæ datum.* And Saint *Paul*, 1. *Thess.* 2. 19. calls them the *Croune of his reioycing* or glorying.

Cic. De finib. bon. & mal. lib. 4.

As to the stuffe wherof this Croune was made, it was made of thornes: and it is vulgarly well knowen that thornes signifie stinging and pricking cares. That King therefore, who will take his paterne from this heauenly King, must not thinke to weare a Croune of gold and precious stones only, but it must be lyned with *Thornes*, that is, thornie cares: for he must remember that hee weares not that croune for himselfe, but for others; that hee is ordayned for his people, and not his people for him. For he is a great watchman and shepheard, as well as Church-men are: and his eye must neuer slumber nor sleepe for the care of his flocke, euer remembring that his office, beeing duely executed, will prooue as much *onus* as *honos* vnto him. And as to the forme of making the croune of thornes, it is said, *they platted thornes and made a croune of them.* Now euery man knoweth, that where a number of long things, in forme of lines, shall bee platted through other, it makes a troublesome and intricate worke to finde out all the ends of them, and set them asunder againe, especially to set straight and eauen againe all the seuerall peeces that must be bowed in the platting: but aboue all, to set straight and asunder againe thornes that are platted, is a most vncomfortable worke. For though any one peece of thorne may be handled in some place without hurt, yet no man can touch platted thornes without danger of pricking. As a croune of thornes then represents the stinging cares of Kings; so a croune of platted thornes doth more viuely represent the anxious and intricate cares of Kings, who must not onely looke to be troubled with a continuall care for the good gouernement of their people, but they must euen expect to meete with a number of crosse and intricate difficulties, which will appeare to bee so full of repugnances among themselues, as they can scantly be touched without smarting. And euen as a good and skilfull Physitian is most troubled with that sort of patient, that hath many implicate diseases vpon him (the fittest cure for some of them beeing directly noysome to others, and the antidote to one of his diseases prooving little better then poyson to another of them) so must Kings exercise their wisedome in handling so wisely these knotty difficulties, and with so great a moderation; that too great extremitie in one kinde may not prooue hurtfull in another, but, by a musicall skill, temper and turne all these discords into a sweet harmonie.

And they put a reede in his right hand.

His reede represented the Kingly scepter, which is the pastorall rod of a King; and the straightnesse of the reed, his righteousnesse in the administration of iustice, without any partiality, as it is *Psal.* 45. 7. *The scepter of thy kingdome is a right scepter.* The scepter represents the Kings authority;

authority; for as the royall robes are first put on vpon a King, to shew the grauitie and dignitie of the person that is to bee inaugurated, and as the croune represents the loue and willing acknowledgement of his people, so the scepter is next put in his hand to declare his authoritie who is already found worthy to enioy the same by his coronation. The authoritie of *God* himselfe is expressed in the 2. Psal. by a *rod of yron*, wherewith he is to bruise the nations that rebel against him, which rod of yron signifies his scepter. But this scepter put in the hand of *Christ* was a reede. It is true that the reeds of those countreys, as those of India are, bee a great deale bigger, harder and more solid then ours; but though one may giue a great blow with them, yet are they much more brittle then solide timber is, and hard blowes giuen with them will easily make them breake: thereby teaching Christian Kings that their scepters (which represent their authority) should not be too much vsed nor stretched, but where necessity requires it. For many harde blowes giuen with a reede would make it quickly breake (as I haue sayd) and wise Kings would bee loth to put their prerogatiue vpon the tenter-hookes, except a great necessity should require it. For there is a great difference betweene the scepter (which represents the authority of a King toward all his subiects as well good as bad) and the sword, which is onely ordayned for the punishment of the euill. And therefore the scepter of a King should bee of a reede, that is, to correct gently: but the sword, which is ordayned for punishment of vice, and purging the land of haynous and crying sinnes, must bee a sharpe weapon. And also the scepter of a reede did not onely serue for a paterne to other Kings, but it fitted properly the person of *Christ*, who, being the true King of mercy, came to conuert sinners and bring them to repentance, but not to destroy them; for as himselfe sayth, *his burthen is light and his yoke is easie*. But although this scepter must bee put in the KINGS hand by some one of his subiects (for *God* will not come himselfe, nor by an Angell out of heauen deliuer it vnto him, for that were miraculous and is not to bee expected) yet I hope no Christian doubts but that the authority of a King, whereof the scepter is the representation, is onely giuen by *God*. *Per me reges regnant & domini dominantur*. Kings are anoynted of *God* sitting in his seate and therefore called *Gods*: and all superiour powers are of *God*; nay the Prophet *Ieremie* cals that Ethnike Emperour, *Nebuchadnezar*, *the seruant of God*, and *S. Paul* calls the tyrant *Nero*, in his time, *the minister of God*.

Psal. 2. 9.
Math. 9. 13.
Math. 11. 30.
Prou. 8. 15.
Psal. 82. 6.
Rom. 13. 1.
Iere. 34. 10.
Rom. 13. 4.

And that it was put in his right hand, it was because the right hand signifieth both honour and power: Honour, *Christ sits at the right hand of God. Sit thou at my right hand*, *Psal.* 110. Power, as the hand of action: *And thy right hand shall teach thee terrible things*, *Psal.* 45. and *Psal.* 118. 16. both are expressed, *The right hand of the Lord hath the preeminence, the right hand of the Lord bringeth mighty things to passe.*

Colos. 3. 1.
Verse 1.

And

And they bowed the knee before him, and (as Saint *Marke* witnesseth) *they worshipped him.*

NOw though this kneeling and worship was in a mockery done by them; yet may wee learne heere that *God* thought it no Idolatry that his sonne should be kneeled vnto, euen in the time of his greatest humilitie, and entring in his passion. But I haue touched this point already. As for their worshipping him, it is true that both their kneeling and worship were intended as a ciuill homage done to a temporal King. And in that sence the old word of *worship* was wont to be vsed in English, and as yet it is vsed here in the celebration of marriage. This ciuill worship is easily distinguished by them that please from diuine worship: for to reuerence an earthly creature, and do him respect in regard of the eminencie of his place, yea euen to make a request or prayer vnto him, is quite different from a diuine and spirituall worship. For in the former we onely doe reuerence or make our request to these temporall Kings or persons that are subiect to our senses; but we can vse no spirituall worship or prayer that can be auaileable vnto vs without faith. Let the schoole distinctions of δουλεία ὑπερδουλεία and λατρεία deceiue them that list to be deceiued with them: for all prayer in faith is due to *God* onely.

And after their kneeling and worshipping him,

They mocked him, saying, HAILE KING OF THE IEVVES.

AS for their mocking him, I haue largely declared that point alrady: but as to the words which they vsed in saluting him, they are also vsed in the ordinary forme of the Inauguration of Kings; that, after all the actions of ceremony are vsed vnto him, the people that are more remote & cannot with their eies see the performance of those actions, may know they are performed by the publike proclaiming of him. And because the rest of this inauguration of *Christ*, is set doune in other places of the *new Testament*, I must here suply it: for I onely set doune, in the beginning, the Text of S. *Matthew*, as being the only place of Scripture which makes the longest and most particular relation of his inauguration. For this action staved not here, but *Pilate* (who was both iudge and gouernour, vnder the *Romanes* of that par of the country) made him to bee sent forth out of the *common hall*, and sewed to all the people in that kingly attire: and when as the bloudy and malitious *Iewes* cryed out to crucifie him, hee answered againe, *shall I crucifie your King?* And after that, he sent him to *Herod* (who was Tetrarch and Viceroy of the fourth part of *Iewrie*) who put other gorgeous robes on him: so as he was not onely inaugurated

Ioh. 19. 4.

Io. 19. 13.

Luc. 23. 11.

and proclaimed King of the *Iewes* by the Gouernours *Roman* Souldiers who represented the *Prætorian cohorts*; but hee was also so acknowledged by the iudge and gouernour *Pilate*, and by the Tetrarch *Herod*. But herein was the difference, that all this action performed by *Herod* and his Souldiers, was but a wicked mockery in their intention: whereas by the contrary, *Pilate*, being both iudge and gouernour, meant it not in mockery; but was in a great doubt and wist not what to make of it: as
* Io. 18.33. & 37. it appeares both by his questioning of *Christ*, and also that hee brought him forth of the *common hall* and shewed him to the whole multitude in
Io. 19.5. his royall robes and his croune vpon his head, saying vnto them, *Behold the Man*; thereby as it were confirming publikely his inauguration done by the Souldiers before. and when the people cryed, *Away with him*, his
Io. 19.15. answere was (as I said already) *Shall I crucifie your King*? Both which words he spake to strike a terrour into them, or at least to mooue them, to commiseration, seeming to mocke him as they did: for both Christs answere vnto him, and his Wiues message vpon a dreame she had, put him in a great perplexitie; till the feare he had of offending the Emperor in case CHRIST had proued thereafter to haue beene the righteous King of the *Iewes* (which *Herod* the great also apprehended at his birth) enforced him to pronounce so iniust and detestable a sentence; so as, that in his owne heart he meant no iest in it, is clearely apparant in making his title to be written aboue his head vpon the Crosse, as an honorable inscription, euen set in that place aboue his head, and to the view of all the world. And to make it the more publike, it was written in
Io. 19.20. three languages, *Hebrew*, *Greeke*, and *Latine*: *Hebrew*, as the vulgar language of that people; and *Greeke* and *Latine* as the most common and publike languages of all *Proselytes* and strangers, that should come to see that spectacle: especially, these two were the languages of all prophane learning. Euen as in this kingdome it was the ancient custome and is still obserued to this day, that vpon S. *Georges* day, and at other high festiuall times, the chiefe *Herald garter* comes in the middest of the feast, and proclaimes my titles in three languages, *Latine*, *French*, and *English*: *English*, because it is the vulgar language of this kingdome; and *Latine* and *French*, as the two strange tongues that manist here do vnderstand. Especially the time is to be obserued whē the orde of the *Garter* was first instituted by *Edward* the third, who as hee was Sonne to the daughter of *France*, so at that time the *French* tongue was in a manner the vulgar language of this Nation: and therefore they are proclaimed in three languages heere, that it may bee vderstood by the vulgar sort (as *Pilates* inscription was) and not corealed from them. Now what ground the *Papists* can haue heeroy, to haue not onely their *Masse* and seruice in an vnknowne tonge, but euen that ignorant people shall bee taught their prayers in a strage tongue which they vnderstand not, I leaue it to the iudgement of he indifferent reader: for,

besides

besides that it is directly prohibited by Saint *Paul*, it is flatly contrary to *Pilates* action in this case. For one of the three languages wherein *Christs* title was written vpon the crosse, was *Hebrew*, which was the vulgar language of that Countrie; and the other two were these that were best vnderstood by the strangers and *Proselytes* there. So as it is a flat contradiction betweene *Pilates* act (who by all meanes stroue to make *Christs* title so to be read and vnderstood by all men) and our *Papists*, that will haue their seruice and prayers to bee in an vnknowen tongue, that no ignorant country-man may vnderstand them. But it is ill lucke for the *Church* of *Rome*, that the best warrant they can bring for this their forme of the worship of *God*, is grounded vpon the example of *Pilate*. But to returne to our purpose; though it was the common fashion that great offendors, so executed, had the nature and qualitie of their crimes written aboue their heads; yet in my opinion it is cleare enough (as I said already) that *Pilate* gaue the title to *Christ* in earnest. Not onely for that hee made it so solemnely to be written aboue his head vpon the crosse, but euen after that the high Priest had wittily and maliciously requested him to correct that writing, and in place of IESVS OF NAZARETH KING OF THE IEVVES, to say, IESVS OF NAZARETH THAT CALLETH HIMSELFE KING OF THE IEVVES, he absolutely refused it, in these words, *quod scripsi scripsi*, which was a constant refusall, worthy of a iudge in maintenance of a iust decree. Happy had *Pilate* beene, if base feare had not made him pronounce a worse sentence before. So as, if there were no more but this action of *Pilate* so constant and absolute, it were enough to prooue (according to my first ground in the beginning of this discourse) that though the wicked people (both *Iewes* and *Romanes*) intended nothing in all this worke, but a malicious and blasphemous mockery, yet had *God* his worke to two ends heerein. First, that his onely Sonne might thus be put to the height of derision, that his passion might be fully accomplished for our saluation: and next, that (as I said in the beginning) he, that brings light out of darkenes, might wring from this malitiously blinded people a bodily externall acknowledgement of his Sonnes true title to that kingdome, prophecied of old, that *the scepter should not depart from Iuda, nor a law-giuer from betweene his feete till Shiloh came*: prophecied likewise by *Balaam*, which prophecie (as * some learned writers thinke) instructed the wise Kings of the East, who were guided by the starre, to come and worship *Christ*. This title was likewise the occasion of great trouble to *Herod the greats* minde, whereupon came his murthering of the children; and is so carefully set doune in the genealogie of *Christ*, written by two *Euangelists*; and was not denied by *Christ* himselfe, when *Pilate* asked him the question. And so this forme of *Christs* inauguration was left for a paterne to all Christian Kings thereafter.

1.Cor.14.15.

Io.19.21.

Verse 22.

Gen.49.10.

Num.24.17.

Iust. martyr, Epiphan. Basil., &c.

Mat.2.15.

Matth 2.& Luk. 3.

Yet amongst all these *insignia regalia*, the *sword* is amissing, the reason

 is,

is, his first comming was to suffer for our saluation from the sword c diuine iustice; and not to vse the sword, to take vengeance vpon euill doers: at his second comming he will come as a iudge, and vse his sword vpon the wicked. And therefore he came in the flesh, as a lambe, not once opening his mouth when hee was led to the slaughter: suffering without repining the highest outrages to the minde, which is, mockery with contempt, a kinde of persecution; and the greatest tortures in the body that could bee deuised, that the prophecie of *Ieremie* might bee accomplished, *non est dolor sicut dolor meus.* He was buffeted, and so made a slaue, he was spit vpon as a worme, and so, farre lesse then any humane creature; *he was beaten with his owne rod*, as the prouerbe is: for after that they had put a reede in his right hand, they pulled it out againe and smote him with it: hee was mocked in the highest measure, both before and after his nayling to the crosse. and as to the torture of his body, hee was extreamly scourged: the croune of platted thornes made innumerable bloudy wounds in his head: and he was nayled both through his hands and feete to the infamous death of the crosse; that the extremity of his anguish in mind, and torture in body, might serue as a full ransome, to satisfie his fathers iustice for our redemption. He came then at this time as a titularie King of that kingdome, but not to exercise any worldly iurisdiction, *regnum eius non erat huius mundi*, and so he taught his Disciples to follow him, *Reges gentium dominantur eis vos autem non sic.* He had no vse of a sword then, nay, he found fault with Saint *Peters* vsing it, telling him, *Hee that striketh with the sword shall perish by the sword*; leauing it belike to those that call themselues *Peters* successors, who come in the spirit of *Elias* with fire, adding gun-powder and the sword vnto it. But our *Sauiour* knew not how to set both croune and mitre vpon one head: nor yet was he acquainted with that distinction, that a Church-man may vse the temporall sword, to procure *bonum spirituale.*

Isai.53.7.
Lam.1.12.
Luc.22.65.
Matt.27.30.
Io.18.36.
Matth.20.25.
Matth.26.52.

But to returne to our purpose of *Christs* humilitie; it may bee obiected that it is not likely, that our *Sauiour* would in the very middest of his passion (which was the action of his greatest humility) giue euen then a glance of his title to a worldly kingdome: for suffering of iniuries, especially such base abuses, is directly contrary to the maiesty of a King and the honour of his inauguration. To this I answere two wayes. *first*, it was necessary that *Christ* in the time of his passion should approue himselfe to bee lineally descended from *Dauid*, yea euen next heire to the croune of the *Iewes*; that he might in the sight of the world, before his going out of it, fulfill these prophecies which I lately made mention of, thereby to prooue himselfe the true *Messias* that was promised. And *next*, as hee was both *God* and *Man*, so shall ye finde that euen from his conception till his very expiring vpon the crosse, he euer intermixed glances of his glory, in the midst of his greatest humilitie. Was it not a glorious thing that the Angel *Gabriel* should be the messenger to the blessed

Luk.1.26.

Virgin

Virgin of his conception? When *Ioseph* thought to put away his wife, thinking shee had beene vnlawfully with childe by a man, hee was prohibited by an Angel in a dreame. When the blessed *Virgin*, beeing with child, went to the hill countrey to visit her cousin *Elizabeth*, *Iohn* the *Baptist* sprang in the belly of his mother, which was a miraculous kinde of worshipping and congratuling our *Sauiour* in the belly of his blessed mother. He was borne in a poore stable, in a beasts cribb, and amongst beasts, but the Angels sung a glorious hymne of gratulation at his birth. His parents fled to *Egypt* with him, when hee was yet in the cradle; but, immediatly before that, three Kings of the East brought presents to him, and worshipped him. Hee was obedient to his parents during his minority; but, being but twelue yeeres of age, hee disputed publikely in the Temple with the Doctors of their Law, to the admiration of all the hearers. Hee was baptized in *Iordan* by *Iohn Baptist*, as many of the common people were: but at his baptisme the *Holy Ghost* descended vpon his head in the likenesse of a doue, and a voice was heard from his Father, saying, *This is my beloued* SONNE, *in whom I am wellpleased.* And hee auowed to the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, that *Abraham* longed to see his day and did see it, giuing the title to himselfe which *God* vsed in the fiery bush to *Moses*, *I am that I am;* for hee sayd vnto them, *before Abraham was, I am.* Hee fled diuers times from the fury of the *Iewes*, nay, *the sonne of man had not a hole to hide his head in*: and yet hee purged the temple twice, and like a great temporall magistrate scourged and thrust out those that bought and sold in the temple: yea hee rebuked the windes and commanded the seas. And, at his transfiguration, he made his body appeare a glorified body, by dispensation at that time; hauing (as the true *God*) the *Law* and the commentary and application thereof, which is the *Prophets*, to attend vpon him in the persons of *Moses* and *Elias*. He payed tribute, to shew, that neither *Christ* as man, nor S. *Peter* must bee exempted from giuing vnto *Cæsar* that which is *Cæsars*: but caused *Peter* to angle for it, and take it out of the mouth of a fish, to shew the power of his Godhead. Sometimes hee went vp priuately to the feast at *Ierusalem* for feare of the *Iewes*: but at his last *Passeouer* hee sent some of his Disciples, and by them commanded him, whom hee meant to make his host, to prepare his house for him, *for the Lord meant to keepe his Passeouer there.* He refused to be a King when the people would haue made him one: and yet hee commanded some of his Disciples to vntie an asse, telling her owner *that the Master had neede of her.* And then made a publike entrie vpon her through *Ierusalem* like a temporall King, euen with many solemnities belonging to a Kings riding in state. For his Disciples put their clothes vpon the asse and the colt, as it were to represent the garnishing with foot-clothes, as wel the horse he rode on as his led horse: the people also spread their garments in the way, and others cut downe branches and strawed them: all which is an vsuall forme that people

Mat. 1. 41.
Luk 2. 7.
Cap 2.14.
Matt. 2. 11.
2.11.
Luk. 2.46.
Matt. 3.13.
Matt. 3.17.
Io. 8. 58.
Matt. 8 20.
Io. 2.15.
Matt. 8. 26.
Matth. 17. 2.
Matt. 17.27.
Io. 7.10.
Matth. 26.18.
Io. 6.15.
Matth. 21.3.

people vse to honour their King with, at such solemne times. He had
also the acclamation of all the people crying *Hosanna to the sonne of Da-*
Matt.21.9. *uid, &c.* nay, euen hee himselfe tooke it vpon him as his due; for when
the chiefe Priests and Scribes thinking that hee would not take such
state vpon him, asked if hee heard what the people said, hee answered
Psal.8.v.2. them out of that of the eight *Psalme, Out of the mouthes of babes and suck-*
lings thou hast perfected prayse. And as for his riding vpon an asse, it was
not a contemptible thing for Kings and Princes in the East, especially a-
Iud.10.4. & 12.14. mong the *Iewes*, to ride vpon asses euen in the sight of the people. Hee
Io.13.4. washed his disciples feete, to teach them humility, immediatly before
his last *Supper*: and yet a few dayes before that, he highly commended
Io.12.7. *Mary Magdalen* for breaking an alabaster boxe of oyntments vpon his
feete, and suffered her to wipe them with the haire of her head. When
the *Iewes* sent their officers with *Iudas* to apprehend him; though he suf-
fered them at the last to carrie him away, yet at the first with a flash and
Reuel.1.14. cast of his eye (wherein, no question, the Diuinitie sparkled when he li-
Io.18.6. sted) he made them all fall backewards, so as they could not approch him
Luk.22.61. againe till hee permitted them. The cast of his eye made likewise S. *Pe-*
Phil.2.9. *ter* goe forth and weepe when the cocke crew. And euen vpon the very
crosse, though the death thereupon was accursed by the Law, he was ex-
alted, as S. *Paul* saith; and there promised the penitent thiefe, he should
Luk.23.43. be that day with him in *Paradise*, hauing that royall inscription (where-
of I haue made mention already) written aboue his head in the three
most publike tongues. Yea, euen after that his body was taken off the
crosse, a principall man amongst the *Iewes*, *Ioseph* of *Arimathea*, begged
Luk.23.50. his bodie of *Pilate*; and not onely imbaumed it (as kings and Princes bo-
dies vse to bee) but put it in a new faire sepulchre, which had been pre-
pared for himselfe. And thus you see, that, through all the course of our
Sauiours life in this world, he gaue vpon euery occasion some glances of
his glory; for the conuersion or confirming of some of his elect, and for
Philip.2.6. making the wicked and stubborne hearted inexcusable. For *hee thought*
it no robberie to bee equall with God.

And now to conclude this paterne of a King, I will shortly summe vp these regall ornaments together with their signification, which before I handled. A King hath first great cause of contentment if the people of all sorts (especially those to whose place it belongs) doe willingly conueene and concurre to his publike inauguration. A King must looke to haue that action performed in publike, and in a publike place; that the loue of his people may appeare in that solemne action. Two things a King hath specially to looke vnto at his inauguration; *first*, that his title to the croune be iust, and *next* that he may possesse it with the loue of his people. For although a Monarchie or hereditary kingdome cannot iustly be denied to the lawful successor, what euer the affectiõs of the people be; yet it is a great signe of the blessing of *God*, when he enters in it with the willing

willing applauſe of his ſubiects. Now the firſt ornament, that is to be put vpon him, are his robes, to put him in memory that in his ſitting in iudgment he is to vſe grauitie, great patience in hearing all parties, & mature deliberation before he pronounce his ſentence. And the purple dye of his robe, ſhould put him in memory not to prooue vnwo. thy of ſo ancient a croune and dignitie; and to take great heed to his conſcience, that his iudgement may be without blemiſh or ſtaine of whatſoeuer corrupt affections. For iuſtice muſt be blinde, and it is ſhe *that eſtabliſheth the thrones of* KINGS. The ſetting of the croune vpon his head muſt put him in mind, that he is euer to walke in the middeſt of his people, that their loue is his greateſt ſafetie, and their proſperitie his greateſt glory and worldly felicitie. But he muſt not expect a ſoft and eaſie croune, but a croune full of thornie cares, yea, of platted and intricate cares: and therefore hee ought to make it his principall ſtudie (next the ſafetie of his ſoule) to learne, how to make himſelfe able to rid and extricate thoſe many knottie difficulties, that will occurre vnto him; according to my admonition to my ſonne HENRY in the end of my ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ, wherein I apply ſome verſes of *Virgil* to that purpoſe. And therefore, in all other commendable things he may preſſe ſo farre to excell, as his inclination and leiſure will permit him; but in the ſcience of gouernmen. hee muſt preſſe to be an arts-maſter. And his Scepter made of a reede, muſt put him in minde to manage his authoritie boldly, and yet temperately, not ſtretching his royall Prerogatiue but where neceſſitie ſhall require it. Temporall Kings muſt not likewiſe be barred the ſword, though it bee not in this paterne (as I told before) for it is to be drawne for the puniſhment of the wicked in defence of the good: *for a King carries not his ſword for naught.* But it muſt neither bee blunt: for lawes without execution are without life. nor yet muſt it be euer drawne: for a King ſhould neuer puniſh but with a weeping eye. In a word, a Chriſtian King ſhould neuer be without that continuall and euer wakeriffe care, of the account he is one day to giue to *God*, of the good gouernment of his people, & their proſperous eſtate both in ſoules and bodies; which is a part of the health of his owne ſoule. And then he ſhall neuer need to doubt of that happy and willing acclamation of his people, with an *Aue Cæſar*, or *haile King*, (which was mentioned in this paterne) not onely to begin at his entry to the croune. but euen to accompany him all the daies of his life thereafter; and when they haue bedewed and waſhed his graue with their teares, his poſteritie to bee well-commed by them, as a bright and ſunne-ſhining morning after a darke and gloomie night.

Prou. 16. 12.

Rom. 3. 14.

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