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THE WORKS OF JOHN MILTON

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A N G L I
P R O
POPULO ANGLICANO
DEFENSIO
DEFENSIO SECO

Coota infunem libellum anonymutn
cui titulos,

*Regii fangninis clamor ad
teelntft adwrfus parri-
cidas Anglicanos.*

LONDINI,
Typis Neucomiams, 1654.,

THE WORKS OF JOHN MILTON



VOLUME VIII

NEW YORK
Columbia University Press
1933

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1933

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JOANNIS MILTONI
ANGLI
PRO POPULO ANGLICANO
DEFENSIO SECUNDA

JOANNIS MILTONI

ANGLI

Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio II^{da}

CONTRA

INFAMEN LIBELLUM ANONYMUM, GUI TITULUS,

Regii sanguinis clamor ad ccelum,
adversus parricidas Anglicanos.

QUOD in omni vita hominum, omnique genere officii est primum, ut grati semper erga Deum, ejusque memores beneficiorum simus, turn praesertim, siqua supra spem votumque evenerint, utí, ob ea,
5 singulares atque solennes gratias quamprimum referamus, id mihi nunc in ipso limine orationis tribus potissimum de causis video esse faciendum. Primum, iis me natum temporibus patriae, quibus civium virtus eximia, & supergressa omnes majorum laudes magnitudine animi atque constantia, obtestata
10 prius Deum, eundemque sequuta manifestissimum ducem, editis post orbem conditum exemplis factisque fortissimis, & gravi dominatione rempublicam, & indignissima servitute religionem liberavit. Deinde, cum extitissent subito multi, qui, ut est fere ingenium vulgi, egregie facta odiose criminalis rentur, uniisque, prae caeteris, literatorio fastu, & concepta de

JOHN MILTON

AN ENGLISHMAN HIS

Second Defence of the People of England

A GAINS?

THE INFAMOUS ANONYMOUS LIBEL, ENTITLED,
The Cry of the Royal Blood to Heaven,
Against the English Parricides.

AS IT is the first of duties, throughout the life of man,
and in every condition, to be ever thankful to God,
and mindful of his benefits; and as it should be our
earliest and especial care, when events have been prosperous
5 beyond our hopes and even our wishes, to return, on that account,
our peculiar and solemn thanks—this I now feel incumbent on myself;
and chiefly for three reasons. First, that I was born in those times of my country,
when the effulgent virtue of its citizens—when their magnanimity and steady-
10 ness, surpassing the highest praise of their ancestors, under the inspection of God first implored,
and under his manifest guidance, setting examples and performing deeds of valour,
the greatest since the foundation of the world—delivered the Commonwealth from a grievous domination,
and religion
15 from a most debasing thralldom. And secondly, when there

se gregalium suorum opinione inflatus ac fidens, conscripto in nos libro admodum infami, tyrannorum omnium patrocini-
um nefarie suscepisset, me potius quam alium quemvis, neque tanti nominis adversario, neque tantis rebus dicendis
5 visum imparem, ab ipsis patriae liberatoribus has partes accepisse communi omnium consensu ultro delatas, ut causam
& populi Anglicani, & ipsius adeo Libertatis, siquis unquam alius, publice defenderem. Postremo, in re tarn ardua & expectationis plena, neque civium meorum de me sive spem, sive
10 Judicium illud fefellisse, neque exterorum quamplurimis cum doctis viris, turn rerum peritis non satisfecisse; adversarium ver6, quamvis audacissimum, ita profligasse, ut animo simul & existimatione fracta cederet; triennioque toto, quo postea vixit, multa licet minatus ac fremens, nullam tamen
15 amplius molestiam nobis exhiberet, nisi quod vilissimorum quorundam hominum obscuram operam subsidio sibi corrogaret, & laudatores nescio quos ineptos atque immodicos, ad inopinatam ac recentem infamiam, siquo modo posset, sarcinendam subornaret; quod statim patebit. Haec ego divinitus
20 mihi accidisse bona, & magna quidem ratus, appositissima denique non modo ad persolvendas numini ex debito gratias,

suddenly appeared many, who, as is customary with the vulgar, hatefully calumniated deeds nobly done; and when one, above the rest, inflated and confident with literary pride, and with the opinion entertained of him by those of his own herd, 5 nefariously undertook the defence of all tyrants, in a book beyond example scandalous, levelled against us — that I, rather than another, deemed not unequal to an adversary of so great a name, nor to speaking on so great a subject, accepted, of those very deliverers of the country, and by general consent, 10 the part spontaneously assigned me; namely, to defend publicly (if any one ever did) the cause of the people of England, and thus of liberty itself. Lastly, I return thanks to God, that, in a task so arduous, so full of expectation, I neither disappointed the hopes nor the opinions of my fellow-citizens, nor 15 failed to satisfy no small number of foreigners, as well among the learned, as among persons conversant with public affairs; that I even so completely routed my adversary, though of the most audacious order, that he retired with his spirit broken, his reputation shattered; and for the three years which he 20 afterwards lived, much as in his rage he threatened, he gave us no farther trouble, than to solicit, for his support, the secret services of certain persons of the vilest character, and to suborn I know not what senseless and unconscionable applauders, to patch up, if possible, his unexpected and recent ignominy. 25 This will immediately appear. As I conceived these fortunate, and even great events to have happened to me from above, and indeed, that they were particularly suited not only to discharge my debt of gratitude to the Deity, but to supply the most fa-

sed ad auspiciū quoque optimū instituti operis capiendū, cum veneratione, ut facio, imprimis commemoranda esse duxi. Nam quis est qui patriae decora non arbitretur sua? quid patriae cujusquam esse magis decori aut gloriae potest, 5 quam libertas, non civili tantum vitae, sed divino etiam cultui restituta? quae gens, quae civitas aut felicior aut fortius hanc sibi utrobique peperit? Etenim fortitudo, cum non tota in bello atque armis eniteat, sed contra omnes aequae formidines diffundat vim suam atque intrepida sit, Graeci quidem illi, 10 quos maxime admiramur, & Romani, ad tollendos ex civitatibus tyrannos nullam fere virtutem, praeter studium libertatis, expedita arma, promptasque manus attulere; Caetera omnia in proclivi, inter laudes omnium & plausus, & laeta omnia, peragebant; nec tam ad discrimen & ambiguum finis acinus 15 quam ad certamen virtutis gloriosissimum atque pulcherrimum, ad praemia denique & coronas spemque immortalitatis certissimam properabant. Nondum enim Tyrannis res sacra erat; nondum tyranni, Christi scilicet proreges atque vicarii repente facti, cum benevolentia non possent, caeca vulgi superstitione sese munierant: nondum Clericorum malis artibus attonita plebs, ad barbariem effusa, quae stolidissimos mortaliū infamat Indos, degeneraverat. Illi enim noxios sibi Daemones, quos abigere non possunt, pro Diis colunt; hinc Tyrannos ne liceret tollere cum posset, impotentissimos crea-

vourable omen for my proposed work, I thought it behoved me to begin, as I do, with the reverend mention of them. And who is there who considers not the honourable achievements of his country as his own? And what can be more for the
5 honour or glory of any country, than liberty, restored alike to civil life, and to divine worship? What nation, what city has struggled for it, in both kinds, more successfully or more courageously? Indeed as courage shines out not exclusively in war and arms, but displays its intrepid power equally against
10 every species of fear, those Greeks and Romans, whom we most admire, brought along with them, for the expulsion of tyrants from their states, scarcely any other virtue but zeal for liberty, accompanied with ready arms, and eager hands. The rest they achieved from the impulse thence derived,
15 amid the general shout, applause, and joyous circumstance. They were even less eager for dangerous and uncertain enterprise, than for the trial of virtue fair and glorious, and for rewards and crowns, and the certain hope of immortal fame. For, the sovereign authority was not yet consecrated to ty-
20 rants. Tyrants, suddenly transformed into viceroys, forsooth, and vicars of Christ, could not yet exercise their power through royal grace; had not yet fortified themselves by the blind superstition of the vulgar. The lower orders, stupefied by the wicked arts of priests, had not yet degenerated into a barbarism
25 viler than what disgraces the Indians, dullest of mortals: for these merely worship as gods those malignant demons they are unable to put to flight; while those, that they might not cashier tyrants when they had it in their power, exalted them

bat in se Deos; & humani generis pestes in suam perniciem consecrabat. At contra has omnes traditarum diu opinionum, religionum, calumniarum, atque terrorum densissimas acies, hoste ipso vehementius ab aliis formidatas, decertandum An-
5 glis erat. Quae omnia, edocti melius, proculdubio coelitus imbuti, tanta causae fiducia, tanta animorum firmitate ac virtute superarunt, ut cum numero populus sane magnus essent, animis tamen tam erectis tdmque excelsis, vulgus esse desierint; Britanniaque ipsa posthac, quae tyrannorum terra ferax
10 dicta olim est, nunc liberatorum longe feracior, perpetua seculorum omnium celebratione dici meruerit. Quos non legum contemptus aut violatio in effraenatam licentiam effudit; non virtutis & gloriae falsa species, aut stulta veterum aemulatio inani nomine libertatis incendit, sed innocentia vitae, morum-
15 que sanctitas rectum atque solum iter ad libertatem veram docuit, legum & religionis Justissima defensio necessari6 armavit. Atque illi quidem Deo perinde confisi, servitutem Honestissimis armis pepulere: cujus laudis etsi nullam partem mihi vendico, a reprehensione tamen vel timiditatis vel igna-
20 viae, siqua infertur, facile me tueor. Neque enim militiae labores & pericula sic defugi, ut non alia ratione, & operam, mult6 utiliorem, nee minore cum periculo meis civibus navarim, & animum dubiis in rebus neque demissum unquam,

into gods most impotent to rule over them—deifying the pests of the human race for their own destruction. Now against all these close embattlements of long-received opinions, religions, slanders, and terrors, more dreaded far by others than
5 the enemy himself, had Englishmen to contend; and being better taught, and without doubt inspired from heaven, such was their confidence in their cause, such their firmness and strength of mind, that all these they overcame. Hence, though, in number, they were indeed a great people, yet were they, in
10 spirit, so erect and lofty, that they were no longer a mere populace; even Britain herself, which heretofore has been said to be a land fruitful in tyrants, shall henceforth deserve the perpetual celebration of succeeding ages, as a country far more fruitful in deliverers. These men were never let loose, by a con-
is tempt or violation of the laws, to an unreigned licence; they were inflamed by no delusive vision of virtue and of glory, or by any foolish emulation of the ancients for the empty name of liberty; they were taught the straight and only way to true liberty, by innocence of life and sanctity of manners; they
20 were compelled by necessity to arm in the just defence of the laws and of religion. Thus, confident of the divine aid, they drove out slavery in their glorious warfare. Of this glory, though I claim no share for myself, it is easy for me to defend myself against the charge, if any such be brought against me,
25 either of timidity or of cowardice. For, if I avoided the toils and the perils of war, it was only that I might earnestly toil for my fellow-citizens in another way, with much greater utility, and with no less peril. In doubtful postures of our affairs, my mind

neque ullius invidiae, vel etiam mortis plus aequo metuentem
praestiterim. Nam cum ab adolescentulo humanioribus essem
studiis, ut qui maxime deditus, & ingenio semper quam cor-
pore validior, posthabita castrensi opera, qua me gregarius
5 quilibet robustior facile superasset, ad ea me contuli, quibus
plus potui; ut parte mei meliore ac potiore, si saperem, non
deteriore, ad rationes patriae, causamque hanc praestantissi-
mam, quantum maxime possem momentum accederem. Sic
itaque existimabam, si illos Deus res gerere tarn praeclaras
io voluit, esse itidem alios a quibus gestas dici pro dignitate atque
ornari, & defensam armis veritatem, ratione etiam, (quod
unicum est presidium verè ac proprie humanum) defendi
voluerit. Unde est, ut dum illos invictos acie viros admiror,
de mea interim provincia non querar; immo mihi gratuler, &
15 gratias insuper largitori munerum coelesti iterum summas
agam obtigisse talem, ut aliis invidenda multo magis, quam
mihi ullo modo poenitenda videatur. Et me quidem nemini
vel infimo libens confero; nee verbum de me ullum insolenti-
us facio: ad causam vero omnium nobilissimam ac celeberrimam

never betrayed any symptom of despondence, nor was I more afraid than became me of malice, or even of death. Devoted even from a child to the more humanizing studies, and always stronger in mind than in body, I set an inferior value
5 upon the service of the camp, in which I might have been easily surpassed by any ordinary man of a more robust make, and betook myself to those occupations, where my services could be of more avail; that, if I were wise, I might contribute my utmost power, from the higher and more excellent, not
10 from the lower parts of my nature, to the designs of my country, and to this transcendent cause. I thought, therefore, that if it were the will of God those men should perform such gallant exploits, it must be likewise his will, that when performed, there should be others to set them forth with becoming
15 dignity and ornament; and that the truth, after being defended by arms, should be alike defended by reason—the only defence which is truly and properly human. Hence it is, that while I admire those men, unconquered in the field, I complain not of the part allotted to myself; nay, I may rather con-
so gratulate myself, and once again return my highest thanks to the heavenly bestower of gifts, that such a lot has fallen to me, as may be viewed, with much greater reason, as a subject of envy to others, than in any way as a cause of repentance to myself. It is not my wish, however, to make a comparison of
25 myself with any one, not even with the humblest; nor is it from any arrogant feeling that I have spoken a single word in my own behalf. But when I turn my mind to that cause, of all others the most noble and most renowned, and to this

mam, & hoc simul defensores ipsos defendendi munus ornatissimum, ipsorum mihi suffragiis attributum atque judiciis, quoties animum refero, fateor me mihi vix temperare, quin altius atque audentius quam pro exordii ratione insurgam; & 5 grandius quiddam, quod eloqui possim, quaeram: quandoquidem oratores illos antiques & insignes, quantum ego ab illis non dicendi solum, sed & loquendi facultate, (in extranea prsesertim, qua utor necessario, lingua, & persaepe mihi nequaquam satisfacio) haud dubie vincor, tantum omnes omnium aetatum, materiae nobilitate & argumento vincam. Quod 10 & rei tantam expectationem ac celebritatem adjecit, ut jam ipse me sentiam non in foro aut rostris, uno duntaxat populo, vel Romano, vel Atheniensi circumfusum; sed attenta, & considente quasi tota pene Europa, & judicium ferente, ad 15 universes quacunque gravissimorum hominum, urbium, gentium, consessus atque conventus, & priore defensione, dixisse, & hac rursus dicturum. Jam videor mihi, ingressus iter, transmarinos tractus & porrectas late regiones, sublimis perlustrare; vultus innumeros atque ignotos, animi sensus mecum conjunctissimos. Hinc Germanorum virile & infestum servituti 20 robor, inde Francorum vividi dignique nomine liberates impetus, hinc Hispanorum consulta virtus, Italorum inde sedata

splendid office of defending even the defenders—an office assigned me by their own suffrages and judgments, I confess it is with difficulty I restrain myself from soaring to a more daring height than is suitable to the purpose of an exordium, 5 and from casting about for something of more grandeur, to which I may give utterance: for, to whatever degree I am surpassed (of which there can be little doubt) by the ancient, illustrious orators, not only as an orator, but also as a linguist (and particularly in a foreign tongue, which I employ of 10 necessity, and in which I am often very far from satisfying myself) I shall surpass no less the orators of all ages in the nobleness and in the instructiveness of my subject. This it is, which has imparted such expectation, such celebrity to this theme, that I now feel myself not in the forum or on the rostrum, 15 surrounded by a single people only, whether Roman or Athenian, but, as it were, by listening Europe, attending, and passing judgment. I feel that I addressed myself in my former defence, and that I shall again address myself in this, to all sittings and assemblies, wherever are to be found men of the 20 highest authority; wherever there are cities and nations. I imagine myself to have set out upon my travels, and that I behold from on high, tracts beyond the seas, and wide-extended regions; that I behold countenances strange and numberless, and all, in feelings of mind, my closest friends 25 and neighbours. Here is presented to my eyes the manly strength of the Germans, disdainful of slavery; there the lively and generous impetuosity of the Franks, worthily so called; on this side, the considerate virtue of the Spaniards; on that,

suique compos magnanimitas ob oculos versatur. Quicquid
uspiam liberorum pectorum, quicquid ingenui, quicquid
magnanimi aut prudens latet, aut se palam profitetur, alii
tacite favere, alii apertè suffragari, accurrere alii & plausu
5 accipere, alii tandem vero victi, dedititios se tradere. Videor
jam mihi, tantis circumseptus copiis, ab Herculeis usque co-
lumnis, ad extremes Liberi Patris terminos, libertatem diu
pulsam atque exulem, longo intervallo domum ubique gen-
tium reducere: Et, quod Triptolemus olim fertur, sed longe
10 nobiliorem Cereali ilia frugem, ex civitate mea gentibus im-
portare; restitutum nempe civilem liberumque vitae cultum,
per urbes, per regna, perque nationes disseminare. Sed nee
ignotus plane, nee fortasse non gratus rursum advenero; si
sum idem, qui pugnacissimum tyrannorum satellitem, &
15 opinione plerorumque, & sui fiducia insuperabilem antea
creditum, cum nos nostrisque acies contumeliose lacesseret,
& Optimates nostri me primiim intuerentur, singulari cer-
tamine congressus, adacto convitiantis in jugulum hoc stylo,
immo suismet ipsius telis, collocavi; & nisi velim tot undique
20 lectorum intelligentium calculis atque sententiis, neutiquam
addictis mihi aut obnoxiis diffidere prorsus & derogare, opima
spolia retuli. Haec sine ulla vaniloquentia ita esse re vera, vel
illud maxime argumento esse potest, quod ego nee sine Dei

the sedate and composed magnanimity of the Italians. Wherever there are natures free, ingenuous, magnanimous, either they are prudently concealed or openly professed. Some favour in silence, others give their suffrages in public; some hasten
5 to receive me with shouts of applause, others, in fine, vanquished by truth, surrender themselves captive. Encompassed by such countless multitudes, it seems to me, that, from the columns of Hercules to the farthest borders of India, that throughout this vast expanse, I am bringing back, bringing home to
10 every nation, liberty, so long driven out, so long an exile; and as is recorded of Triptolemus of old, that I am importing fruits for the nations, from my own city, but of a far nobler kind than those fruits of Ceres; that I am spreading abroad among the cities, the kingdoms, and nations, the restored culture of
15 citizenship and freedom of life. But if I am he, who laid low that redoubted satellite of tyrants, hitherto deemed invincible in the general opinion, and in his own conceit; if I am he, who, when he disdainfully defied us and our embattled might, (and our chief men turning their eyes first upon me) engaged
20 him in single combat, and with this stylus, the weapon of his choice, stabbed the reviler to the heart, and bore off abundant spoils;—unless I should choose to discredit, and wholly to disparage the estimates and opinions of hosts of intelligent readers on all sides, far from being devoted or under
25 obligations to me; if I am he, I say, I shall return as one not utterly unknown, perhaps even not unwelcome. That all this is true, without any extravagant talking, is most clearly proved even from the following circumstances: when Salmasius, or

nutu reor accidissee, quod, cum a Regina Suecorum Serenis-
sima, qua vivit opinor nemo, aut olim vixit, vel optimarum
artium, vel doctorum hominum studiosior, honorifice sane
esset invitatus, venissetque & Salmasius & Salmasia, (uterenim
5 horum is erat, uxoris palam dominatus cum fama turn domi
incertum admodum reddiderat) quo in loco peregrinus mag-
no in honore degebat, ibi eum nostra Defensio nihil tale me-
tuentem occupavit. Qua statim a pluribus perlecta, Regina
quidem, quae & ipsa cum primis perlegerat, de sua pristina
10 benignitate ac munificentia, id solum spectans quod se dig-
num erat, in hospitem nihil remisit: de caetero, si audita sae-
pius & quae arcana non sunt, licet referre, tanta animorum
facta subito mutatio est, ut qui nudiustertius summa gratia
floruerat, nunc pene obsolesceret; nee ita multo post discedens
is cum bona venia hoc unum in dubio permultis relinqueret,
honoratione advenerit, an contemptior abierit. Sed neque
aliis in locis detrimentum levius fecisse famae satis constat. Ve-
riim haec omnia non eo attuli, quo me cuiquam venditarem,
neque enim est opus; sed quod id duntaxat latius ostenderem,

Salmasia (for of what sex he was, was rendered extremely doubtful, from his being plainly ruled by his wife, alike in matters regarding his reputation, and in his domestic concerns) when Salmasius, or Salmasia, then, had indeed the
5 honour of being invited by the most serene, the queen of Sweden (than whom there lives not, I think, nor has ever lived one, who has more studiously cultivated the liberal arts, or who is a more generous patroness of men of letters) and when arrived in that country, of being treated, though a
10 foreigner, with great distinction—he was there surprised, while dreaming of no such thing, by our Defence—an event which I must think could not have happened but by the will of God. Here it was immediately perused by no small number; and the queen, who was among its first readers, attentive
15 only to what became her own dignity, remitted nothing, indeed, of her former grace and munificence towards her guest. For the rest, if it be allowable to disclose what I have often heard, and which is no secret, so remarkable a change was suddenly wrought in the sentiments of people, that the man,
20 who, of yesterday, blossomed in the meridian beams of favour, is to-day almost withered; and on his leaving Sweden, which he did, with good leave, not long after, it became a matter of doubt with many persons, whether his arrival was attended with more honour, or his departure with more contempt. It
25 sufficiently appears also, that his reputation sustained no less injury in other places. But as to all these matters, I am not so situated as to be forced to trumpet my own praises. This is not at all necessary. I would only show more clearly that I had no

quod initio institui, quas ob causas, & quam non leves, ab
agendis Deo Optimo Maximo gratiis potissimum sim exorsus;
mihique prooemium hoc fore honestissimum atque pulcher-
5 strare liceat, me, baud expertem licet calamitatum humana-
rum, me tamen, resque meas Deo curse esse; me maximis
prope de rebus, & ad patriae necessaria tempora accommodatis,
& civilis vitae religionisque ex usu maxime futuris, non uno
pro populo, nedum uno pro reo, sed pro universo potius ho-
10 minum genere, contra humanae libertatis hostes, quasi in
communi omnium gentium & frequentissimo concursu dis-
serentem, divino favore & auxilio adjutum atque auctum:
quo ego majus aut gloriosius quicquam mihi tribuere, neque
possim ullo tempore neque cupiam. Eundem proinde immor-
15 talem Deum oro, ut consueta ejus ope ac benignitate sola
fretus, qua integritate, diligentia, fide, felicitate etiam, for-
tissime justissimeque simul facta haud ita pridem defendi,
eadem, vel ea amplius, Authores ipsos, meque tantis viris
ignominix causâ, non honoris additum ab immeritis oppro-
20 briis, atque calumniis vindicare sufficiam. Quod si est, qui
contemni hsec satius arbitretur potuisse, fateor equidem, si
apud eos qui nos recte nossent haec spargerentur: casteris qua
tandem ratione constabit non esse verum quicquid adversarius

light reasons for beginning, as I did, with giving my especial thanks to God most high and most excellent; I would show that this proem, in which I am able to evince by so many proofs, that I and my concerns (though in no wise free from
5 the ills of humanity) are under the care of the Deity—must redound to my honour and fair fame; I would show that I am aided by the divine favour and help, in undertakings of the greatest magnitude, planned for the needed service of my country, and tending to be of the highest use to society and to
10 religion, not in respect of one people only, much less of one unprincipled man, but rather of the universal race of man, against the enemies of man's freedom—addressing myself, as it were, to the multitudes of all nations gathered together and crowded into one vast congregation. It is not possible for me,
15 nor can it ever be my desire, to ascribe to myself any thing greater or more glorious. Wherefore I implore the same immortal God, that as, upheld solely by his wonted aid and goodness, I have both justly and intrepidly defended deeds hitherto unparalleled, I may not be deficient in vindicating with the
20 same or even greater, integrity, diligence, fidelity, and even success the authors, and myself also, conjoined as I am with so many others, in unmerited reproach and calumny, for purposes of ignominy instead of honour. And if there be any one who thinks that these things would have been better
25 passed over in contempt, I do not dispute it, admitting these things to have been scattered among those who have understood us rightly; but how shall it be made appear at last to the rest of mankind, that the lies which our adversary has told are

noster est mentitus? cum autem, data, quae par est, opera, a nobis erit, ut quo praecessit calumnia, eodem vindex quoque veritas sequatur, & illos de nobis perperam sentire opinor desituros, & istum fortasse mendaciorum pudebit: si non pudu-
5 erit, turn demum, satius contempserimus. Huic interea responsum pro mentis celerius expedivissem, nisi se falsis rumoribus hactenus muniisset; dum saepius denuntiaret, ad incudem sudare Salmasium, nova volumina in nos fabricare, jam jam-
que editurum: ex quo hoc solum est consequutus, ut male-
10 dicentiae poenas aliquanto serius daret: expectandum enim duxi potius, ut potiori viribus adversario, integrum me servarem. Sed cum Salmasio debellatum jam puto mihi esse, utpote mortuo; & quemadmodum mortuo, non dicam: non enim ut ille mihi caecitatem, sic ego illi mortem vitio vertam.
15 Quanquam sunt, qui nos etiam necis ejus reos faciunt, illosque nostros nimis acriter strictos aculeos; quos dum repugnando altius sibi infixit, dum quod prae manibus habebat opus, vidit spissius procedere, tempus responsionis abiisse, operis gratiam periisse, recordatione amissae famae, existimationis, Prin-
20 cipum denique favoris, ob rem regiam male defensam, erga

not truths? Yet, as we shall do our endeavour, which is no more than just, that however far slander has gone before, so far the avenger truth shall follow after, it is my belief that those who have been deceived will cease to think wrongfully
5 of us, and that the adversary will peradventure be ashamed of his lies; and if he is not ashamed, that then it would at last be better to treat him with contempt. Meanwhile, I should have prepared a suitable reply to him with more despatch, if he had not all along entrenched himself in delusive rumours; giving
10 out every now and then his menacing warnings, that Salmasius was sweating at the anvil, and fabricating new volumes against us, which he was even on the point of publishing. By all this he merely effected that the punishment he would suffer for his slanderous tongue should be deferred: for I
15 thought it behoved me to wait, that I might reserve my strength entire against the more potent adversary. But with Salmasius I imagine my battling is now at an end, for he is among the dead. And how he died I shall not undertake to say: for I will not impute to him his death as a crime, as he did to me my
20 blindness. There are not wanting, however, those who lay the guilt of his death upon me, and upon those stings of mine which were but too sharp; and which, by resisting, he caused to sink the deeper. And while he saw the work he had in hand advance slower and slower; saw that the time for reply was
25 gone by; saw that the grace of his work was no more: stung, moreover, by the recollection, that his fame, his estimation had perished; in fine, that the favour shown him by princes had abated, by reason of his poor defence of the royal cause—

se imminuti, triennali tandem mcestitia, & animi magis segitudine, quam morbo confectum obiisse. Utcunque sit, si iterum cum hoste satis mihi cognito, si bella etiam posthuma gerenda sunt, cujus feroces ac strenuos impetus facile sustinui, 5 ejus languentes & moribundos conatus non est ut reformidem.

Nunc vero ad hoc quicquid est hominis, qui nos inclamat, aliquando veniamus: clamorem quidem audio, non Regii sanguinis, ut prae se fert titulus, sed obscuri cujuspian nebulonis; clamantem enim nusquam reperio. Eho! quis es? ho- 10 mone an nemo? hominum certe infimi, ne mancipia quidem, sine nomine sunt. Semperne ergo mihi cum anonymis res erit? at vero hi regios haberi se vel maxime volunt: miror si regibus sic persuaserint. Regum sequaces atque amicos regum non pudet; quo pacto igitur sunt isti regibus amici? non dant 15 munera; immo verò libentius multo accipiunt: res suas non impendunt, qui ne nomina quidem causae regiae dare audent: quid ergo? verba dant, sed nee verba gratis dare suis regibus, vel satis benevoli in animum inducunt, vel satis constantes nomine adscripto audent. Me quidem ὁ ἀνδρὲς ἀνόνομοι, fas 20 enim sit Grace quos Latine quid nominem non reperio, me inquam, cum vester ille Claudius de Jure Regio, materia sane gra-

he is said, after three years of chagrin, to have died, worn away by sickness of mind, more than from any bodily disease. But however this may be, if I must engage him a second time—if I must wage even a posthumous war with an enemy, who is
5 now sufficiently well known to me, as I have found no difficulty in sustaining the ferocity of his most vigorous charge, I can have no reason to dread his feeble and dying efforts.

But, at length, let us now proceed to the personage, such as he is, who raises this cry against us. I hear the cry indeed, not
10 of the royal blood, as the title would make us believe, but of some skulking scoundrel: for the crier himself I no where find. Ho there! who are you? A man, or nobody? Certainly of the most beggarly order of men; for slaves even are not without a name. Shall I for ever be concerned with the name-
is less? Such, however, would be accounted king's men in a degree above their fellows. I should wonder if they persuaded kings of this. The followers and the friends of kings are not ashamed of kings. How then are these men friends to kings? They make no presents; on the contrary, they are far more
20 ready to receive them. Those are not the men to expend their fortunes upon the royal cause, who venture not to bestow even their names. What then? They bestow words; but they have not enough good-will to persuade themselves, they have not enough constancy to have the courage to subscribe their
25 names, and thus to bestow even words upon their kings for nothing. But ὦ ἄνδρες ἀνώνυμοι, anonymous Sirs! (for I may be allowed to address you in Greek, as I find no name for you in Latin) since your Claudius had undertaken to write, with-

tiosissima, sine nomine tamen orsus esset scribere, & exemplo possem uti, usque adeci neque mei, neque causae puditum est, ut ad rem tantam accedere, nisi nomen palam professus, turpe ducerem. Quod ego in Republica palam videor contra Reges,
5 cur vos in Regno, vel Regum sub patrocinio, non nisi furtim & clanculum, contra Rempublicam audetis? cur in tuto pavidi, cur in luce nocturni, summam potentiam, summam gratiam, timiditate invidiosa plane, atque suspecta obscuratis? satisne vobis ut praesidii sit in Regibus veremini? sic tecti, sic
10 obvoluti non vos mehercule ad asserendum jus Regum defensores, sed ad aerarium compilandum fures potius videmini venisse. Equidem quod sum, profiteor; quod Regibus nego jus esse, vel in regno quovis legitimo pernegare ausim: nemo me laeserit Monarcha, quin se prius damnet, tyrannum fassus.
15 Si tyrannos insector, quid hoc ad Reges? quos ego a tyrannis longissime sejungo. Quantum a viro malo distat vir bonus, tantundem a tyranno discrepare Regem contendo: Unde efficitur, tyrannum non modo non esse Regem, sed Regi quidem adversissimum semper imminere. Et sanè qui monumenta
20 rerum percurrit, plures & tyrannis quam a populo oppresses Reges, atque sublatos inveniet. Qui igitur tollendos affirmat tyrannos, non Reges, sed inimicissimos Regibus, immo in-

out a name, on the right of kings, a subject truly gracious, I might have followed his example, but that I was not so much ashamed either of myself or of my cause: besides, I thought it dishonorable to go to a subject of such grandeur, without
5 openly declaring my name. How is it, that what I am seen to do openly against kings, in a commonwealth, you have not the spirit to attempt, unless secretly and by stealth, against a commonwealth in a kingdom, and under the patronage of kings? Why cast a cloud over the supreme power, the sovereign grace,
10 by this invidious and suspicious timidity?—timorous when in safety, dark in the midst of light. Are you afraid lest kings should be too weak to protect you? Thus cloaked, thus muffled up, by Jove, one would think you come not as defenders to assert the right of kings, but as thieves to rob the
15 treasury. Now what I am, I openly profess to be. The right which I deny to kings, I would boldly persist in denying, in any legitimate kingdom. No monarch could injure me, without first condemning himself, by the confession that he was a tyrant. If I inveigh against tyrants, what is that to kings? be-
20 tween whom and tyrants I make the widest difference. As much as a good man differs from a bad, so much, do I maintain, that a king differs from a tyrant. Whence it follows, that a tyrant is not only no king, but is ever the most irreconcilable enemy to a king. And in fact, he who runs over the records of
25 history will find that more kings have been overpowered and displaced by tyrants, than by the people. He who affirms, therefore, that tyrants ought to be displaced, affirms not that kings are to be displaced, but the bitterest foes to kings—foes,

festissimos regum hostes tollendos affirmat. Vos contii, quod regibus jus datis, ut quicquid libeat jus sit, non est jus, sed injuria, sed scelus, sed ipsa perniciēs: venenato isto munere, non saluari, quos supra omnem vim atque periculum fore praedicatis, eos ipsi occiditis; regem & tyrannum idem esse, siquidem idem utrobique Jus est, statuitis. Nam si isto suo Jure, Rex non utitur, (utetur autem nunquam quamdiu Rex, non tyrannus, erit,) non hoc Regi, sed viro assignandum est. Quid autem absurdius illo jure Regio fingi queat, quo si quis utatur, 10 quoties Rex vult esse, toties esse vir bonus desinat: quoties vir esse bonus maluerit, toties se arguerit non esse Regem? quo quid in Reges dici contumeliosius potest? Hoc jus qui docet, ipse sit oportet injustissimus, atque omnium pessimus: pejor autem quo pacto fiat, quam si quales format ac fingit alios, 15 talis ipse imprimis fuerit? Quid si orfmis vir bonus, ut antiquorum secta quaedam magnifice sane philosophatur, est Rex, pari ratione sequitur, omnem virum malum pro suo quemque modulo tyrannum esse: neque enim magnum, ne hoc nomine intumescat, sed infimum quiddam est tyrannus; & quant6 20 omnium maximus, tanto omnium vilissimus, & maxime servilis. Alii enim suis tantum vitiis volentes serviunt; Hic non

which, above all others are most hostile to kings. On the other hand, the right which you give to kings, that whatever they may choose to will, *that* shall be right, is not right, but wrong, but iniquity, but perdition itself. By a gift thus
5 poisonous, instead of salutary, you become yourselves the murderers of those, who as you affirm, should be above all violence and all danger: you make a king and a tyrant identical, inasmuch as you ascribe the same right to both. And admitting that a king makes no use of this right of his (which he
10 never will, as long as he shall be simply a king, and no tyrant) this is to be attributed not to the king, but to the man. Now what can be imagined more absurd than this kingly right, which if any king uses, that is, whenever he would be a king, he would cease to be a good man; whenever he should choose
15 rather to be a good man, he would prove himself to be no king? What greater contumely can be cast upon kings? He who teaches this right must himself be most unjust—yea, the worst of his kind: for how can he be worse, than by first becoming himself such a one, as he thus moulds and fashions
20 others. But if every good man is a king, as a certain sect of the ancients magnificently philosophized, it follows, by parity of reason, that every bad man, according to his proportion, is a tyrant: and that he may not be puffed up with this name let it be observed, that a tyrant, so far from being anything great,
25 is the meanest of earthly things; that as far as he surpasses all in the elevation of his rank, so far is he the vilest of all, and the most a slave. For others are the willing slaves, only of their own vices; he is obliged to be the slave, even against his will,

modo suis, sed ministrorum etiam atque satellitum importunissimis flagitiis etiam nolens cogitur servire; & suas quasdam tyrannides abjectissimo cuique suorum concedere: Tyranni igitur servorum infimi, suis serviunt etiam servitiis. Quamobrem recte hoc nomen vel in minimum quemque tyrannorum pugilem, vel in hunc etiam clamatorem poterit convenire; qui in hac causa tyrannica cur tarn strenue vociferetur, ex his quae dicta sunt, quaeque mox dicentur, satis liquebit: uti etiam cur anonymus: aut enim turpiter conductus, clamorem hunc 10 suum, regio sanguini, Salmasium sequutus, vendidit aut infamis doctrinae conscientia pallens, aut vita flagitiosus ac turpis, latere si cupit, minim non est: aut fortassis ita se parat, ut sicubi spem quaestus uberiores odoretur, desertis quandoque regibus integrum sibi sit, ad quamlibet etiam futuram rem-15 publicam transfugere; ne tunc quidem sine exemplo magni sui Salmasii, qui affulgente lucro captus, ab orthodoxis ad Episcopos, a popularibus ad regios, etiam senex defecit. Tu igitur iste e gurgustio clamator, qui sis non fallis; frustra tibi ista latibula quaesisti: extrahere, mihi crede, neque Plutonis 20 ista galea diutius te teget: dejerabis, quoad vixeris, me aut caecum non esse, aut tibi saltem non connivere. Quis igitur sit, quod genus hominis, qua spe adductus, quibus illecebris,

not of his own vices only, but of the most importunate profligacies of his ministers and satellites; he is obliged to yield the subordinate branches of his tyranny to the most worthless of his creatures. Tyrants, therefore, are the most abject of slaves; 5 they are slaves even to their own slaves. Hence, this name may be correctly applied even to the most insignificant pugilist of tyrants—nay to this crier; the reason of whose vociferating so furiously, in this tyrannous cause, will sufficiently appear from what has been already said, and from what shall be said 10 presently; as likewise, the reason of his being anonymous. For either he is basely hired, like Salmasius, and has sold this cry of his to the royal blood; or it were nothing strange, if, smitten with a fearful consciousness of the infamy of its doctrine, or if, from his flagitious and scandalous life, he is desirous of concealment; perhaps even he places himself in such 15 a position, as to snuff a more promising hope of gain from another quarter, that he may be free, in his own conscience, to desert kings at a future time, for some commonwealth, though yet to be established: and even in this case, he would not be 20 without an example in his great Salmasius, who, captivated by the glittering reward, revolted in his old age, from the orthodox to the bishops, from the popular party to the royalists. We are at no loss then to discover, who you are—crier as you are, from some paltry hovel; it is in vain you try to lurk unknown; 25 be assured you shall be dragged to light, nor shall that Pluto's helmet any longer protect you: I will make you swear to the latest day of your life, either that I am not blind, or at least that I am not purblind in respect of you. Listen now, if you have

quibus lenociniis delinitus, ad hanc causam regiam accesserit, (Milesia propemodum, aut Baiana fabula est) si vacat, nunc audite.

Est *Moms* quidam, partim Scotus, partim Callus; ne tota
5 hominis infamia, gens una, aut regio nimium laboraret; homo
improbus, & cum aliorum, turn, quod gravissimum est, ami-
corum, quos ex intimis inimicissimos sibi fecit, testimoniis
quam plurimis infidus, mendax, ingratus, maledicus, & viro-
rum perpetuus obtrectator & foeminarum, quarum nee pud-
10 citiae plus unquam parcere, quam famae consuevit. Is, ut primae
xtatis obscuriora praeteream, primum Geneva Grsecas literas
docuit; verum, saepius licet nomen suum Graece *Morum* disci-
pulis interpretatus, stultum & nequam ipse dediscere nequi-
vit, Quin eo potius furore est agitatus cum tot scelerum esset
15 sibi conscius, quamvis fortasse nondum-compertus, ut pasto-
ris in Ecclesia munus ambire, atque istis moribus inquinare
non horresceret. Verum haud diu Presbyterorum censuram
effugere potuit, mulierarius ac vanus, multisque aliis crimi-
nibus notatus, multis ab orthodoxa fide erroribus damnatus,
20 quos & turpiter ejuravit, & ejuratos impie retinuit; tandem
adulterii manifestus. Hospitis ancillam quandam forte ada-

time (and it is a sort of Milesian, or Baian tale) while I relate who he is, whence sprung, influenced by what expectation, by what allurements, coaxed by what panderly offices, he came to this cause of kings.

- 5 He is one "More/" part Scot, part Frenchman, (that one nation or country may not lie under the whole infamy of his character) an unprincipled fellow, who, according to general report, and what is of most weight, according to the testimony of his friends (whom from fast friends he has made his great-
10 est enemies) is without fidelity, without veracity, without gratitude; an evil-speaker, an unceasing slanderer of men, as likewise of women, whose modesty he is as little accustomed to spare, as their good name. This personage, to pass over the obscurity of his early life, first made his appearance as teacher
15 of Greek at Geneva; and though he often explained to his scholars the meaning of his own name, Morus, in Greek, he could not himself unlearn to be a fool and a profligate; besides, his being conscious of so many crimes, though perhaps not yet detected, served the more to work him up to such a pitch of
20 madness, that he felt no horror at becoming a candidate for, and at defiling with his scandalous manners, the office of pastor in the church. But he could not long escape the censure of the presbyters. A trifler, and given to women, marked also for various other offences, convicted of numerous aberrations
25 from the orthodox faith, which he was so base as to recant on oath, and so impious as to retain, he last of all turns out a notorious adulterer. He happened to be seized with a lawless passion for a servant girl of his host; and though the girl was

maverat; earn pau!6 p6st etiam alteri nuptam sectari non destitit; tuguriolum quoddam intrare hortuli, solum cum sola, vicini saepe animadverterant. Citra adulterium, inquis; poterat enim quidvis aliud: sane quidem; poterat confabulari, 5 nimirum de re hortensi, pradetectiones quasdam suas sciolae fortasse foeminae & audiendi cupidae expromere de hortis, Alcinoi puta vel Adonidis; poterat nunc areolas laudare, umbram tantummodo desiderare, liceret modo ficui morum inserere, complures inde sycomoros quam citissime enasci, ambula- 10 tionem amcenissimam; modum deinde insitionis mulieri poterat monstrare: haec & plura poterat, quis negat? veruntamen presbyteris satisfacere non poterat, quin ilium tanquam adulterum, censura ferirent, & pastoris munere indignum prorsus judicarent: harum & hujusmodi accusationum capita in Bibliotheca illius urbis publica etiamnum asservantur, Interea, dum haec palam nota non essent, ab ecclesia, quae Middelburgi erat Gallica, procurante Salmasio, in Hollandiam vocatus, magna cum offensione Spanhemii, viri sane docti, & pastoris integerrimi, qui eum Genevae antea probe noverat, literas 20 testimoniales, quas vocant, dum alii non ferendum existima-

married not long after to another, he still followed her; the neighbours had frequently observed them enter together a small lodge in the little garden. This amounts not, it may be said, to adultery; he might have been employed about some-
5 thing else. True, he might have been talking with her, for example, on the subject of gardening; he might have taken occasion from gardens, from those of Alcinous, suppose, or of Adonis, to introduce certain lecturings of his to the woman, who might have been a prodigy of understanding, and eager
10 to listen. He might now have praised the parterres; might even have wished for nothing more than shade; might have been allowed no other liberty than to engraft a mulberry in a fig, thence to raise, with the utmost dispatch, a line of sycamores—a most delectable walk. Then he might have shown
15 the woman the manner of engrafting. All these things and many more he might have done; who denies it? But all these things would not satisfy the presbyters, but they must smite him with their censure as an adulterer, and sentence him as totally unworthy of the pastoral office. The heads of these and
20 of similar charges are still preserved in the public library of that city. In the meantime, while these proceedings were not publicly known, he receives by the influence of Salmasius, from the Gallican church at Middelburg, an invitation to Holland; and to the great offence of Spanheim (a man truly
25 learned, and a pastor of the first character, who had known him well before at Geneva,) contrived to obtain of the Genevese, but on condition only of his quitting Geneva, letters testimonial, as they are called, (and these, to tell the truth, were

rent, ut homo istiusmodi ecclesiae testimonio ornaretur, alii
quidvis potitis ferendum, quam ipsum hominem, aegre a
Genevensibus, & non alia quam sui discessus conditione, at-
que illas quidem frigidulas, tandem impetravit. In Hollan-
5 diam ut venit, ad salutandum Salmasium profectus, domi
ejus in Uxoris ancillam, cui Pontiae nomen erat, oculos ne-
quiter conjecit: semper enim in ancillis prolabitur libido ho-
minis; hinc summa assiduitate Salmasium coepit colere, &
quoties licuit, Pontiam. Nescio an ille commoditate hominis
10 & assentatione captus, an hie optabilem excogitasse se conve-
niendae eo saepius Pontiae occasionem ratus, prior sermones
injecerit de response Miltonii ad Salmasium. Ut ut fuit, Mo-
rus propugnandum suscipit Salmasium: Et Salmasius quidem
Theologicam in ea urbe cathedram sua opera pollicetur Moro;
15 Morus & hanc & aliud insuper suavicillum, furtivos Pontiae
concubitus pollicetur sibi. Per causam consulendi de hoc opere
Salmasium, dies ac noctes earn domum frequentat. Jamque
ut olim Pyramus in morum, ita nunc repente morus in Pyra-
mum transmutatus sibi videtur, Genevensis in Babylonium;
20 verum illo juvene quanto improbius, tanto fortunatior, nunc
suam Thisben, facta sub eodem tecto copia, ut libitum est,
Pontiam alloquitur; rimam in pariete conquirere opus non
erat; Spondet matrimonium; ea spe pellectam vitiat; eodem-

rather cold); though, at the same time, there were some who thought it not to be borne, that a man of his description should be graced with the testimony of the church; while others again were of opinion, that anything was to be borne, rather
5 than the man himself. On his arrival in Holland, and going to pay his respects to Salmasius, he cast his wanton eyes on the servant-girl of Salmasius's wife, whose name was Pontia: for the fellow's lust always lights upon waiting-maids. From this, he began to pay court to Salmasius with his utmost assiduity,
10 and, as often as he could, to Pontia. I know not, whether Salmasius, pleased with his adulation and struck with the thought of using him for his convenience, or whether More, thinking to contrive a desirable opportunity of meeting Pontia the more frequently, was the first to begin the conversation on
15 the subject of Milton's Answer to Salmasius. However this may be, More undertakes to defend Salmasius, and Salmasius on his part promises to procure for More the divinity-chair in that city: and More promises himself both this, and the additional *douceur* of Pontia's stolen embraces. On pretence of
20 consulting Salmasius about that work, he frequents his house day and night; and as Pyramus of old was transformed into a mulberry tree, so the mulberry now fancies itself suddenly changed into Pyramus—the Genevan into the Babylonian. But exceeding that youth in good fortune as much as he ex-
25 ceeds him in wickedness, he has now the liberty of speaking with his *Thisbe*, his Pontia, whenever he pleases, under the same roof; there is no need of searching for a chink in the wall. He promises her marriage: and with this delusive hope de-

que scelere, horreo dicere, sed dicendum est, Sacrosancti Evangelii minister, hospitem etiam domum constuprat. Ex hoc demum congressu, minim quiddam, & prater solitum naturae prodigiosum accidit, ut & foemina & mas etiam conciperet, Pontia quidem Morillum, quod & Plinianum exercitorem diu postea exercuit Salmasium; Morus ovum hoc irritum & ventosum, ex quo tympanites iste clamor regii sanguinis prorupit. Quod quidem primo regiis nostris in Belgio esurientibus pergrata admodum sorbitio fuit; nunc rupto putamine, vitiosum ac putridum repertum aversantur. Nam Morus hoc suo foetu haud mediocriter inflatus, & Arausiacam factionem totam demeruisse se sentiens, jam integras professionum cathedras spe improba devoraverat, & suam Pontiam utpote ancillam & pauperulam, jam gravidam sceleratus deseruerat. Illa despectam se atque delusam querens, & synodi fidem & magistrates imploravit. Sic tandem evulgata haec res, & conviviis pene omnibus, ac circulis diu risum & cachinnos praebuilt. Unde aliquis, & lepidi sane, quisquis erat, ingenii, hoc distichon,

20 *Galli ex concubitu gravidam te, Pontia, Mori,
 Quis bene moratam, morigerdmque neget?*

bauches her; in committing which crime (I shudder with horror while I relate it, but it must be related) a minister of the holy gospel defiles even the house of his host. From this connection, there followed, in due time, something strange and
5 monstrous—out of the common course of nature. Not the female only, but the male conceived; Pontia a Moreling which, for a long time after, served to exercise the Plinian exercitator, Salmasius; More this addle and windy egg, from which burst forth that tympany—the *Cry of the Royal Blood*.
10 This was thought at first a most delicious sup for our hungry royalists in Belgium; but now the shell is broken, they turn with loathing from die rotten and offensive contents. As for More, inflated in no small degree with this birth of his, and thinking he had deserved well of the whole Orange faction,
15 he was already seizing, in his presumptuous expectations, new professorial chairs; and like a scoundrel as he is, had already deserted his poor, humble Pontia, she being only a waiting maid, and now great with child. Thus despised and deluded, she complained to the synod and magistrates, imploring their
20 protection. Hence the affair at length became public, and long furnished a subject for mirth and derision at almost all convivial meetings and parties. This gave occasion to somebody (and whoever he was, he had no contemptible genius for wit) to write the following distich:

25 As your belly, Pontia, 'gins to swell,
 From tread of the Gallican;
 That under More, you've been Mored, well,
 Deny it not a man.

Sola Pontia non risit; sed nee querendo quicquam profecit; Clamor enim regii sanguinis clamorem stupri, & stupratae mulierculae ploratum facile obruerat; Salmasius quoque illam sibi hanc totique familiar & injuriam & labem aegre ferens, 5 seque ab amico & laudatore suo sic ludos factum, sic adversario rursus obnoxium, accedente ad priores ejus in causa regia infelicitates forsitan hoc etiam infortunio, haud ita multo post supremum diem obiit. Verum aliquanto haec posterius. Interim Salmasius, Salmacidis quodam facto, ut enim nomen, ita 10 & fabula non abludit, nescius Hermaphroditum se adjunxisse sibi Morum tam gignendi, quam pariendi compotem, quid is domi genuisset ignarus, quod peperit exosculatur; librum nempe istum in quo sentit se Magnum toties dici, & suo forte judicio digne, aliorum certe stulte atque ridiculo laudatum, 15 Itaque typographum festinanter quaerit; & fugientem ab se jam diu famam, retinere frustra conatus, quas laudes, quas potius foedas sui adulationes per hunc atque alios misere concupiverat, iis etiam divulgandis obstetricatur ipse atque subservit. Ad hanc operam Vlaccus quidam est visus omnium maxime 20 idoneus; huic facile persuadet, non modo ut librum illum excudendum curaret, quod nemo reprehendisset; sed etiam ut Epistolae ad Carolum videlicet missae, multis in me, qui hominem nunquam noram, probis & contumeliis refertae, sub-

Pontia alone is not seen to smile; but she gained nothing from complaint: for the cry of the royal blood easily drowned the cry of her violated chastity, and the lamentation of a poor defiled girl. Salmasius too, full of vexation at the injury and dishonour brought upon himself and household, and that he had been thus made the sport of his friend and panegyrist; that he was thus again at the mercy of his adversary—this new misfortune, added to his former ill-success in the royal cause, was perhaps the circumstance which not long after brought him to his end. But of this by and by. In the meantime, Salmasius, not unlike in fate to Salmasis, (for as the name, so the tale is not inapt) unconscious that More, whom he had associated to himself, was an hermaphrodite, alike capable of procreation and of parturition, not aware of what More had begotten at home, he fondles in ecstasy what he had brought forth—namely the book in which he found himself so often styled great; being, no doubt in his own estimation, worthily praised, though certainly, in the estimation of others, most absurdly and ridiculously. However, he goes with all haste in search of a printer; and struggling in vain to keep hold of the fame which had been so long deserting him, those praises, or rather those gross flatteries, which he had pitifully coveted, through this man and others, he lends his obstetric services for bringing into the world. For this business one Vlaccus is found to be the fittest of all others. Him he easily persuades not only to print the said book, which nobody could have blamed; but also to profess himself, by subscribing his name, the author of a letter addressed to Charles, full of reproaches

scripto nomine se profiteretur authorem. Nequis igitur miretur cur se exorari tarn facile sit passus, ut me tarn impudenter nulla de causa laceraret, & alienas etiam intemperies in se transferre atque praestare tarn pro nihilo duceret, erga omnes
5 etiam alios quemadmodum se gesserit, sicuti ego compertum habeo, ostendam. Est Vlaccus unde gentium nescio, vagus quidam librariolus, veterator atque decoctor notissimus; is Londini aliquandiu bibliopola fuit clancularius; qua ex urbe, post innumeras fraudes, obaeratus aufugit. Eundem Parisiis
10 fide cassum & male agendo insignem, via tota Jacobaea cognovit: unde olim quoque profugus ne multis quidem parasangis audet appropinquare; nunc si cui opus est balatrone perditissimo atque venali, prostat Hagaecomitis Typographus recoctus. Hunc ut intelligatis, quid dicat, quidve agat, quam
15 nihil pensi habeat, nihil esse tarn sarictum, quod non lucro vel exiguo posterius putet, seque non causa publica, quod quis putasset, sic in me esse debacchatum, fatentem ipsum in se testem producam. Is cum vidisset quod in Salmasium scripseram, nonnullis librariis aera meruisse, scribit ad amicos
20 quosdam meos mecum agerent, ut siquid haberem excudendum, sibi committeretur; se typis longe melioribus, quam qui

and contumelies upon me, who had never any knowledge of the man. That no one, however, may feel surprise, that he suffered himself so easily to be prevailed upon to set upon me with such insolence without cause, and to think it, as he does, 5 so trifling a matter thus to become a proxy for venting other people's fury, I shall show (for I have made the discovery) how he has conducted himself towards the rest of mankind.

This Vlaccus, whose country I know not, is a sort of vagabond bookseller, a spendthrift, and a practised impostor. For 10 some time, he carried on a clandestine trade, as a bookseller, in London; from which city, after innumerable frauds, he fled for debt. At Paris, the whole of the Rue St. Jacques knew him for his total want of credit, and for his dishonest practices; and having been formerly a fugitive from this city 15 also, he dares not approach it within many parasangs. At this time, if any one has need of a venal and most incorrigible rogue, he shows himself newly furbished up as a printer at the Hague. Now, that you may know what he is saying, or what he is doing; how totally without business he is; that there is 20 nothing so sacred which he would not regard as of less value than even the most trifling gains; and that it was from no public consideration, as any one would have thought, that he raged so furiously against me—I shall produce himself as an evidence witnessing against himself. He no sooner observed 25 that some booksellers had got money by what I had written against Salmasius, than he writes to certain friends of mine to use their interest with me, that, if I had any thing to print, it might be thrown into his hands; assuring them it should be

prills excudisset, mandaturum: respond! per eosdem, non habere me in praesentia, quod excuso esset opus. Ecce autem! cui suam operam tarn officiose mod6 detulerat, in eum baud ita multo post, scripti contumeliosissimi non excusor solum
5 sed & author, subdititius licet, prodit. Indignantur amici; rescribit impudentissimus, mirari se simplicitatem eorum, & rerum imperitiam, qui officii rationem aut honesti ab se exigant aut desiderent, cum videant quibus rebus quaestum faciat: se ab ipso Salmasio illam epistolam cum libro accepisse; qui
10 rogabat id uti sua gratia vellet facere quod fecit; si Miltonio, vel cuivis alteri visum esset respondere, nullum sibi esse scrupulum; siquidem eadem sua opera uti voluerint: id est, vel in Salmasium vel in Carolum; namque id erat solum quod in response ejusmodi futurum expectare poterat. Quid plura?
15 hominem videtis; ad reliquos nunc pergo, non enim unus est duntaxat, qui hanc in nos regii Clamoris quasi tragoediam adornavit: en igitur initio, ut solet, dramatis persons: Clamor prologus, Vlaccus Balatro, aut, si mavultis, Salmasius Vlacci Balatronis persona & lacernis involutus, Duo Poetastri Cere-
20 visiali vappa temulenti, Morus adulter & stuprator. Mirificos sane tragoedos! bellum certamen mihi paratum! verum qualescunque sortiti, quoniam alios atque hujusmodi adversarios

- printed in far better type than what had been used by my former printer. I replied, through the medium of those friends, that at present I had nothing to print. But behold! not long after, he comes forth as the author (the suppositious
5 one indeed) of a production full of the grossest abuse against the very man to whom lately he had so officiously offered his services. My friends express their indignation. The fellow, unrivalled in impudence, writes in answer, that he is astonished at their simplicity and ignorance of the world, in expect-
10 ing or even in desiring any regard to duty or honesty from him, seeing by what business he got his livelihood; that he had received the said letter, together with the book, from Salmasius himself, who asked him, as a favour, whether he would do what he has actually done; that if Milton, or any one else,
15 should think proper to reply, and chose to make use of his labour, he had no scruple: that is, either against Salmasius, or against Charles: for in such reply, this was the only thing which he could expect to happen. I need say no more; you see the man.
- 20 I now proceed to the rest: for there were more than one concerned in getting up this tragedy, as they would make it, of the royal cry. Here then in the beginning, according to custom, you have the *dramatis persona*: The cry, by way of prologue; Vlaccus, a paltry rogue; or if you will, Salmasius,
25 disguised as the rogue Vlaccus; two poetasters, drunk with stale beer; More, adulterer and whore-master. Admirable set of tragedians, truly! the battle in array with which I have to encounter! But as our cause could hardly be expected to have

vk est ut causa nostra habere possit, nunc singulos aggrediamur; hoc tantum praefati, si cui minus gravitatis nostra alicubi refutatio habere videbitur, cogitare eum debere, non cum gravi adversario, sed cum grege histrionico, nobis rem esse; 5 ad quern dum refutationis genus accommodandum erat, non semper quid magis decuisset, sed quid illis dignum esset, spectandum duximus.

Regii sanguinis clamor ad cerium adversus parrictdas Anglicanos.

10 Siquidem non Jure fusum ostendisses, More, istum sanguinem, haud incredibile narrares: nunc, quemadmodum primis restituti Evangelii temporibus, Monachi, cum argumentis minus valerent, ad spectra nescio quae, & ficta monstra decurrere solebant; sic vos, postquam omnia defecere, ad clamores 15 nusquam auditos, & obsoletas fraterculorum artes revertimini. Voces e coelo audire quemquam nostrorum, longe abest ut credas; ego te clamores ab Inferis audisse, quod postulas, facile crediderim. Verum hunc regii sanguinis clamorem die sodes quis audivit? Te ais: nugae: Primum enim mate audis: 20 Ad ccelum autem qui clamor perveniat, si quis praeter Deum, justi puto soli & integerrimi quique audiunt, ut qui possint.

different adversaries, let us now attack them, such as they are, one after another; only premising, that if any one should think our refutation deficient in gravity, he should consider that we have not to do with a grave adversary, but with a herd of play-
5 ers; to which, while it was necessary to accommodate the nature of the refutation, we thought it proper to have in view not always what would be most suitable to decorum, but what would most suit them.

*The Cry of the Royal Blood to Heaven against the
English Parricides.*

If, More, you had shown that blood to have been unjustly
10 shed, your account might have worn an appearance of plausibility. But, as in the early periods of the reformation, the monks, from their weakness in argument, were used to have recourse to all manner of spectres and imaginary monsters; so you, after all other things have failed, resort to cries which
15 were never heard and to arts of despicable friars, which are grown out of date. You would be far enough from giving credit to any one of our party, who should affirm that he had heard voices from heaven; though I should have little difficulty in believing (with which you charge me) that you had
20 heard cries from hell. But tell us, I beseech you, who heard this cry of the royal blood? You say that you heard it: trash! for in the first place, you are never favoured in what you hear; and the cry which ascends to heaven, if heard by any but God, is heard, as I must think, by the just and the upright alone;
25 inasmuch as they being themselves void of offence, are author-

immunes ipsi, iram Dei consciis denuntiare. Tu vero quorsum audires, an ut satyram cynaedus scriberes? videris enim eodem tempore, & ementitus hunc clamorem ad coelum, & cum Pontia furtim libidinatus esse. Multa te impediunt, More,
5 multa intus fonsque circumsonant, quae te res istiusmodi ad coelum perlatas audire non sinunt; & si nihil aliud, certe qui contra ipsum te ad coelum quamplurimus fit clamor. Clamat contra te, si nescis, Moecha ilia tua hortensis, tuo maxime Pastoris sui exemplo, deceptam se esse questa; clamat contra
10 te maritus, cujus torum violasti; clamat Pontia, cui pactum nuptiale temerasti; clamat, siquis est, quern probro genitum, infantulum abdicasti; horum omnium clamores ad coelum contra te, si non audis, neque ilium regii sanguinis audiveris: interea libellus iste, non regii sanguinis clamor ad coelum, sed
15 lascivientis Mori hinnitus ad Pontiam, rectius inscribetur. Quae sequitur Epistola prolixa quidem, & bene putida, partim Carolo, partim Miltonio, alteri amplificando, alteri infamando, dedicatur. Ab ipso statim initio Authorem discite: *Caroli Regna*, inquit, *in Sacrilegam parricidarum*, & (*quia verba*
20 *desunt idonea, Tertullianceci voce abutimur*) *Deicidarum potestatem venerunt*. Haec sive Salmasiaea, sive Moraea, sive

ized to denounce the wrath of God on the guilty. But to what end should you hear it?—That, lecher as you are, you might write a satire ? For it appears, that at the very time you were forging this cry to heaven, you were slyly playing the wanton
5 with Pontia. You have many impediments, More, you have many things ringing within and without, which will not suffer you to hear things of that nature which have reached to heaven; and if you had nothing else to prevent you, the loud cry which is raised to heaven against yourself, would certainly
10 be sufficient. That strumpet of yours of the garden, who has complained, that what most of all led to her seduction was the example of yourself her own pastor, is crying, whether you know it or not, against you; the husband whose bed you violated is crying against you; Pontia is crying, with whom you
15 broke your nuptial compact; and if any one is crying, that little infant is crying, whom you begot in shame, and abandoned a helpless babe. If you hear not all these cries to heaven against yourself, you never could have heard the cry of the royal blood. At the same time, this libel, instead of being called the cry of
20 the royal blood to heaven, may be more properly inscribed—More's lascivious neighing for his Pontia.

The prolix and stale epistle which follows is devoted in part to Charles, in part to Milton, to extol the one, and to vilify the other. From the very beginning, you may form your judgment of the author. "The dominions of Charles (says he)
25 have fallen into the sacrilegious hands of parricides, and (because proper words could not be found, we are abused in a word from Tertullian) of deicides." Whether his rant is to be

Vlaoea sartago sit, pratereamus. Hoc ver6 aliis ridendum, Carolo indignandum profecto est, quod paulo post, *neminem*, ait, *vivere jdicitatis Caroli \$tudiosiorem*. Quine eandem & epistolandi, & excudendi operam Caroli hostibus detulisti, te
5 vivit nemo felicitads ejus studiosior? Miserum profecto dicis regem sic ab amicis omnibus derelictum, ut qui intimi restant, iis Vappa typographus comparare se audeat. Miserimum, cujus fidelissimis, Vlaccus perfidus fide ac studio non cedat: quo quid insolentius de se, contemptius de rege ami-
10 cisque regiis pronunciare potuit? neque hoc minus ridiculum, induci Idiotam & operarium de rebus gravissimis ac regiis virtutibus philosophantem, eaque dicentem, qualiacunque sunt, quibus nee Salmasius ipse, nee Morus meliora dixisset. Equidem Salmasium, ut saepe alias, ita hoc loco haud obscure,
15 si multa lectione, judicio tamen puerili & nullius usus hominem deprehendi; qui cum legere potuisset summos in Spartana civitate optime instituta magistratus, si quid forte viro malo excidisset sapienter dictum, id ei adimi jussisse, & in virum aliquem bonum ac frugi sortitione conferri, adeo id
20 omne quod decorum dicitur ignorarit, ut e contra, quas pro-

referred to Salmasius, to More, or to Vlaccus, let us pass it by. But what he says a little after—"That there lives not the man who is more studious to promote the happiness of Charles," though only ridiculous to others, must rouse the indignation
5 of Charles. And is there no one alive more studious of his happiness than you, who have offered to the enemies of Charles, your services in the very same way—that is, to write a letter, and afterwards to print it? Well might you call the king miserable, in being thus deserted by his friends, when a ras-
10 cally printer can presume to rank himself among the few more intimate friends which remain: miserable indeed, when his most faithful friends do not surpass in faith and studious regard the perfidious Vlaccus. What could he say more arrogant, as it respects himself, or more contemptuous, as it re-
15 gards the king and his friends the royalists? Nor is it less ridiculous to introduce an illiterate mechanic philosophizing on the weightiest subjects, and on the virtues of kings; uttering sentiments, such as they are, which could not have been bettered either by Salmasius or More. To tell the truth, I have
20 discovered Salmasius, here, as often elsewhere, and by no obscure signs, to be a man, though of great reading, of an unexercised and puerile judgment. Though he must have read—that the chief magistrates in the excellently modelled commonwealth of Sparta, if any wise saying happened to fall from
25 a worthless character, ordered it to be taken from him, and conferred by lot upon some man of virtue and prudence—he was yet so ignorant of every thing that is called decorum, as to do quite the reverse—as to suffer opinions, which he

bum atque prudentem decere sententias arbitraretur, eas homini nequissimo attribui sustineret. Bono es animo, Carole: veterator Vlaccus, *quæ sua est in Dcum fiducia*, bono animo te esse jubet. *Noli tot mala perdere*: Vlaccus decoctor perditissimus, qui bona omnia, siqua habuit, perdidit, author tibi est, perdere ut nolis mala: *Fruere novercante jortund*: Potin'es ut ne fruaré, hortatore praesertim tali, qui alienis etiam fortunis frui per fas & nefas tot annis consuevit? *In sapientiam penitus ingurgitdsti, & ingurgita*: sic monet, sic
10 *præcipit* regum Institutor sanè optimus Vlaccus gurgés, qui arrepta atramentosis manibus, coriacea lagena, inter combibones operas, ingenti haustu, sapientiam tibi propinat. Haec audet tuus Vlaccus, tarn prxclara monita, nomine etiam conscripto, quæ Salmasius, quæ Morus, caeterique pugiles tui aut
15 timidi non audent, aut superbi non dignantur; nimirum quoties te monito est opus aut defense, alieno semper nomine, atque periculo, non suo, sapientes aut fortes sunt. Desinat ergo, quisquis hic est, *strenuam & animosam facundiam* ipse suam inaniter jactare; dum *vir*, si diis placet, *insignis*,
20 *decoro ingcnio nomen suum celebenimum* edere metuit; librum, quo regium sanguinem ulcisci se ait, ne dicare quidem Carolo nisi per Vlaccum interpretem & vicarium ausus,

thought becoming in an honest and prudent person, to be put into the mouth of a man who is an arrant scoundrel. Be of good cheer, Charles: the scoundrel Vlaccus, "from his trust in God,"* bids you be of good cheer. "Don't throw so many sufferings away": Vlaccus, the most prodigal of spendthrifts, who has thrown away his whole substance, if he ever had any, counsels you not to throw away your sufferings. "Make use of fortune, who is thus acting towards you as a stepmother." And can you avoid making use of her, especially when you have such an adviser, who, for so many years, has been in the habit, right or wrong, of using other people's fortunes? "You have drunk deep of wisdom; drink on": so counsels, so directs the drunken Vlaccus, the unrivalled preceptor of kings, who, amidst his fellow-workmen and pot-companions, seizing the leathern flaggon with his inky hands, drinks a mighty draught to your wisdom. Such are the goodly counsels, to which your Vlaccus ventures to put his name, and which Salmasius and More, with the rest of your champions, are either too timid, or too proud to acknowledge: that is, when ever you require to be advised or defended, they are always wise or brave, not in their own name, but in the name of another, and at another's hazard. Whoever this personage may be, therefore, let him cease idly to vaunt his "bold and manly eloquence," when the man, who is eminent (please the gods) for the elegance of his genius, was afraid to give up "his very celebrated name." The book, in which he has avenged, as he says, the royal blood, he dared not even dedicate to Charles, but through his confident and deputy Vlaccus;

verbis typographi misere contentus significare, *Ubrum se,*
 sine nomine, *si pateris, O Rex, tuo nomini dicatum ire.* Sic
 functus Carolo in me impetum parat minitabundus: *Post*
hæcprocemia, tubam terribilem inflabit ὁ θαυμάσιος ilk Sal-
 5 *masius.* Salubritatem praedids & concentus musici novum
 genus futurum; isti enim tubae terribili, cum inflabitur, nulla
 aptior excogitari symphonia poterit, quam si affatim oppe-
 detur. Buccam vero Salmasius nimis inflatam ne afferat mo-
 neo; quo enim attulerit inflatiorem, eo mihi crede, oportu-
 10 niorem ad Colaphos praebebit; qui thaumasii Salmasii rhyth-
 micum hunc sonum, quo delectaris, buccis ambabus reso-
 nantibus, numerose reddent. Pergis cornicari. *Qui nee parem*
nee seeundum habet, in universo literarum & scientiarum
orbe. Vestram fidem! Eruditi, quotquot estis, vestram fidem!
 15 Siccine vobis omnibus anteferri Cimicem Grammaticum,
 cujus res atque spes omnis in glossario vertebatur? quern vel
 extremum merit6 occupet scabies, si cum viris vere doctis
 comparetur. Haec autem, nisi ab infimo quopiam & infra
 Vlaccum ipsum vaecorde affirmari tarn fatue nequiverunt.
 20 *Quique jam stupendam & infinitam eruditionem ecelesti*
junctam ingenio ad causam tuce majestatis contulit. Si me-
 ministis quod supra narravi, ipsum Salmasium, attulisse hanc

meanly content to signify, in the words of his printer, "that, with your permission, O king, he was going," without a name, "to dedicate die book to your name."

Having thus dispatched Charles, he is now preparing, with
5 no little blustering, his attack upon me: "After these preludes, the wonderful Salmasius will blow the terrible trumpet." You prognosticate health, and give us notice of a new kind of musical harmony: for when that terrible trumpet shall be blown, we can think of no fitter accompaniment for it than
10 a reiterated crepitation. But I would advise Salmasius not to inflate his cheek overmuch: for you may take my word for it, that the more it is swollen out, the fairer will he present it for slaps, in musical response, while both his cheeks ring again, to this modulated tone of the wonderful Salmasius, with which
15 you are so delighted.—You continue to croak. "Who has neither an equal nor a second in the whole circle of literature and of science." Can you believe it, ye learned, whoever you are, can you believe it, that this book-worm of a grammarian, whose whole ability and hope turned upon a glossary, does
20 thus indeed rank above you all? A man whom the devil might well take as the hindermost, if compared with men truly learned.—But the assertions which follow are so foolish, that they could never have been made, but by some low fellow, and infatuated to a degree even below Vlaccus: "And who has now
25 brought to your majesty's cause an erudition stupendous, infinite, conjoined with a celestial genius." If you recollect what I have told you above, that it was Salmasius himself who brought this epistle, together with the book, to be printed;

epistolam cum libro excudendam, vel ab ipso scriptam, vel ab anonymo quovis, vernamque typographum exorasse, ut quod author nollet, ipse suum nomen adscriberet, cognoscetis profecto pusilli omnino, & abjectissimi hominem ingenii suis
5 laudibus tam misere velificantem, & immensa encomia tarn stolidi laudatoris aucupantem. *Opus ceterum jrustrb sugillantibus nonnullis, jurisconsulti mirari satis nequeunt qubd homo Callus ita subitb res Anglicas, leges, deer eta, instrumenta, ita teneat, enodet, &c.* Immo quam ineptierit in
10 nostris legibus & psittacus fuerit, nostris etiam jurisconsultis testibus abunde ostendimus. *Sed ipse mox alterd, quam in Rebelles molitur, impressione, simul Theonum ora compri- met, simul Miltonum nobis pro eo ac meretur concastigatum dabit.* Tu igitur ut pisciculus ille anteambulo, prascurre Balse-
15 nam Salmasium, impressiones in haec littora minitantem; nos ferramenta acuimus, expressuri si quid habent impressiones & concastigationes illae sive olei sive gari. Bonitatem interea magni viri mirabimur plusquam Pythagoricam, qui animalia quoque miseratus, & praesertim pisces, quorum carnibus ne
20 quadragesima quidem parch, iis tarn decenter involvendis tot volumina destinavit, tot pauperum millibus, Thunnorum, credo, aut Scombrorum, chartaceas in singulos tunicas testamento legavit.

that it was written either by himself, or by some person who was nameless; that he entreated the obsequious typographer to put his name to it, as the author himself would not—you will judge him to be a man of a mind most weak and abject; thus pitifully spreading his sails to catch the breeze of his own panegyric, thus artfully endeavouring to entrap the immoderate praises of so senseless an encomiast!—"In vain do a few buffet the immortal work; the lawyers cannot sufficiently admire, that a Frenchman should so soon make himself master of English affairs, laws, acts of parliament, instruments, and disentangle them/' &c. Nay, what nonsense he has talked, what a mere parrot he has been, on the subject of our laws, we have abundantly shown, and in the opinion too of our lawyers.—"But soon, he himself, in another impression which he is meditating upon the rebels, will at once stop the mouths of the Theons, and chastise Milton for us according to his deserts." You yourself, then, like the little fish which goes before the whale as a client his patron, are merely the harbinger of the whale Salmasius, who is threatening an invasion of our shores! We sharpen our harpoons and instruments of iron, that we may secure whatever oil or pickle may be obtained from that invasion and meditated castigation of us. Meanwhile, we admire the more than Pythagorean benevolence of the great man, who, compassionating even animals, and above all fish, to whose flesh even Lent shows no indulgence, could have destined so many volumes to enwrap them decently, and out of so many thousands of poor tunnies, may be, or herrings, could have bequeathed a papercoat for each!

*Gaudete Scombrî, & quicquid est piscium solo,
Qui frigida hinc incolitis algentes jreta,
Vestris misertus ille Salmasius eques
Bonus amicis nuditatem cogitat;
5 Chartæque largus apparatus papyrinos
Vobis cucullos præferentes Claudii
Insignia nomenque & deum Salmasii,
Gestetis ut per omne ceterarum jorum
Equitis clientes, scriniis munerum
10 Cubito virorum, & capsulis gratissimos.*

Haec habui in Editionem diu expectatam tam nobilis libri; cujus impressionem, dum, ut ais, molitur Salmasius, tu ejus domum, More, faedissima compressione Pontiae contaminasti. Et videtur sane ad hoc opus absolvendum, Salmasius diu multumque incubuisse; paucis enim ante mortem diebus, cum vir quidam doctus, à quo hoc ipsum accepi, misisset qui ex eo quæreretur, ecquando apparatus partem secundam in Primum Papæ editurus esset, respondit, ad illud opus non ante reversurum se, quam absolvisset quod adhuc commentaretur
15 adversus Miltonium. Ita ego etiam Papæ refutandus praeferror; & quem illi primum in Ecclesia negavit, eum mihi ultro in inimicitia sua concedit; sic ego primatui Papæ jam jam evertendo salutem attuli; ego redivivum hunc Catilinam,

Rejoice ye herrings, and ye fish beside,
That, the winter chill, in cold friths abide;
For the good Salmasius, that piteous knight,
Of paper liberal, saddens at your plight;
5 Your nakedness to clothe, he'll frocks prepare,
The insignia, name, and honours that shall bear
Of Claude Saumaize; that through the fishy mart,
You all may wear your paper liveries smart,
As clients of the knight; a prize to those,
10 Who on their tunic's sleeve do wipe their nose.

I wrote these lines on the long-expected edition of this far-famed work; and while, as you tell us, Salmasius was meditating this impression, you, More, were contaminating his house, by a most shameless commerce with Pontia. It appears
15 indeed, that Salmasius long applied himself, and with great earnestness, to finish the work: for, a few days before his death, when a certain literary man, from whom I had the account, sent to inquire of him, when he intended to publish the second part of what he had prepared against the pope's
20 supremacy, he replied, that he should not return to that work, till he had completed what he had still in hand against Milton. And so, I am even preferred to the pope for refutation. That pre-eminence which he denies him in the church, he spontaneously concedes to me in his enmity. It seems then I have
25 made a timely diversion for the supremacy of his holiness, since it was to have been overturned without delay. I have diverted from the walls of Rome this new Catiline, though not

non in toga, ut consul olim Tullius, ne per somnum quidem, sed aliud omnino agens, Romanis moenibus averti; non unus profecto cardinalatus mihi hoc nomine debebitur; vereor, ne translato in me regum nuper nostrorum titulo, Defensor fidei
5 ab Romano Pontifice appellandus sim. Videtis quantus invidiae artifex in me concitandae, Salmasius fuerit; verum ipse viderit, qui tarn honesta provincia turpiter relictæ, alienis se controversiis immiscuerit, ab Ecclesiae causa, ad civiles & externas, quarum sua nihil intererat, se traduxerit; cum Papa
10 inducias fecerit; & quod foedissimum fuit, cum Episcopis, post bellum apertissimum, in gratiam redierit. Veniamus nunc ad mea crimina; estne quod in vita aut moribus reprehendat? Certe nihil: quid ergo? quod nemo nisi immanis, ac barbarus fecisset, formam mihi ac caecitatem objectat.

15 *Monstrum, horrendum, injorme, ingens, cui lumen
 ademptum.*

Nunquam existimabam equidem fore, ut de forma, cum Cyclope certamen mihi esset; verum statim se revocat. *Quantum nee ingens, quo nihil est exilius, exsanguius, con-*
20 *tractius.* Tametsi virum nihil attinet de forma dicere, tamen quando hic quoque est, unde gratias Deo agam, & mendaces

invested in the consular robe, as of old the consul Tullius, nor was it done in a dream, but in a very different manner; and shall merit for this service something beyond a mere cardinalship; I even suspect that the Roman pontiff, transferring to
5 me the title of our kings, will hail me as defender of the faith. You see what an artificer of envy Salmasius has been to me; yet, it is his place to see to it, who, basely deserting so honorable an office to mix in strangers' controversies, withdrew himself from the cause of the church, to political and foreign
10 concerns, with which his own had nothing to do; who made a truce with the pope; and what was baser than all, became reconciled to the bishops, after declaring open war against them.

Let us come now to the charges against me. Can he find
15 any thing to blame in my life or manners? Clearly nothing. What does he do then? He does what none but a brute and barbarian would have done; he upbraids me with my person, and with my blindness.

A monster horrid, ugly, huge, and blind.

20 I certainly never thought I should have to contend with the cyclops for the point of beauty! But he immediately corrects himself. "He is not huge, it is true: for nothing can be more lean, bloodless, and shrivelled." Though it is to little purpose for a man to speak of his beauty; yet at last, as I have reason, in
25 this particular also, for giving thanks to God, and am able to confound liars, lest any one should haply think me some monster with a dog's head, or a rhinoceros (as the Spanish

redarguam, ne quis, (quod Hispanorum vulgus de haereticis, quos vocant, plus nimio Sacerdotibus suis credulum opinatur) me forte Cynocephalum quempiam, aut Rhinocerotam esse putet, dicam. Deformis quidem a nemine, quod sciam, qui
5 modo me vidit, sum unquam habitus; formosus necne, minus laboro; statura fateor non sum procera: sed quæ mediocri tamen quam parvae propior sit: sed quid si parva, qua & summi saepe turn pace turn bello viri fuere? quanquam parva cur dicitur, quæ ad virtutem satis magna est? sed neque exilis
10 admodum, eo sane animo iisque viribus ut cum aetas vitaeque ratio sic ferebat, nee ferrum tractare, nee stringere quotidiano usu exercitatus nescirem; eo accinctus, ut plerumque eram, cuivis vel multo robustiori exequatum me putabam, securus quid mihi quis injuriae vir viro inferre posset. Idem hodie
15 animus, eadem vires, oculi non iidem; ite tamen extrinsecus ilksi, ita sine nube clari ac lucidi, ut eorum qui acutissimim cernunt: in hac solum parte, memet invito, simulator sum: in vultu, quo *nihil exsanguius* esse dixit, is manet etiamnum color exsanguis & pallenti plane contrarius, ut quadragenario
20 major vix sit cui non denis prope annis, videar natu minor; neque corpore contracto neque cute. In his ego si ulla ex parte

vulgar, trusting but too much to their priests, imagine of heretics) I will say a few words.

No one, who has only seen me, has ever to my knowledge, thought me ugly: whether handsome or not, is a point I shall
5 not determine. My stature, I own, is not tall; but may approach nearer to the middle than to the small size. And what if small, as many men have been, who were of the very first rank, both in peace and war; and why should that stature be called small, which is large enough for every virtuous purpose? But it is not true, that I am thus lean beyond example;
10 on the contrary, I possess that spirit and strength, that, when my age and manner of life so inclined me, I was neither unskilled in handling my sword, nor unpractised in its daily use. Armed with this weapon, as I commonly was, I thought myself
15 a match for any man, though far my superior in strength, and secure from any insult which one man could offer to another. At this day, I have the same spirit, the same strength, my eyes only are not the same; yet, to external appearance, they are as completely without injury, as clear and bright,
20 without the semblance of a cloud, as the eyes of those whose sight is the most perfect. In this respect only am I a dissembler; and here, it is against my will. In my countenance, than which, as he has said, there is "nothing more bloodless," there still remains a colour so very opposite to the bloodless and pale,
25 that, though turned of forty, there is scarcely any one who would not think me younger by nearly ten years. It is equally untrue, that either my body or my skin is shrivelled. In these particulars, were I guilty of any falsehood, I should deservedly

mentior, multis millibus popularium meorum, qui de facie
me norunt, exteris etiam non paucis, ridiculus merit6 sim:
Sin iste in re minime necessaria, tarn impudenter & gratuito
mendax comperietur, poteritis de reliquo eandem conjectu-
5 ram facere. Atque haec de forma mea vel coactus: de tua
quanquam & contemptissimam accepi, & habitantis in te
improbitalis atque malitiae vivam imaginem, neque ego di-
cere, neque ullus audire curat. Utinam de caecitate pariter
liceret inhumanum hunc refellere adversarium; sed non
10 licet; feramus igitur: non est miserum esse caecum; mise-
rum est caecitatem non posse ferre: quidni autem feram,
quod unumquemque ita parare se oportet, ut si accident, non
aegre ferat, quod & humanitus accidere cuivis mortalium, &
praestantissimis quibusdam, atque optimis omni memoria
15 viris accidisse sciam: sive illos memorem vetustatis ultimae
priscos vates, ac sapientissimos; quorum calamitatem, & Dii,
ut fertur, multo potioribus donis compensarunt, & homines
eo honore affecerunt, ut ipsos inculpare maluerint deos, quam
caecitatem illis crimini dare. De augure Tiresia quod traditur,
20 vulgo notum. De Phineo sic cecinit Apollonius in Argo-
nauticis:

expose myself to the ridicule of many thousands of my countrymen, who know me personally, and even of foreigners not a few. Now if this man be detected of telling such impudent and unfounded falsehoods, on a subject it was not at all necessary for him to meddle with, you may form a correspondent conjecture as to the rest.

Thus much have I been even constrained to say of my person. Of your person, though I have understood it to be most contemptible, and the living image of the wickedness and malice which dwell within you, I neither care to speak, nor do others care to hear. Would it were equally in my power to confute this inhuman adversary on the subject of my blindness ! but, it is not. Then, let us bear it. To be blind is not miserable; not to be able to bear blindness, that is miserable. But why should I be unable to bear that which it behoves every one to be prepared to bear, should the accident happen to himself, without repining? Why should I be unable to bear what I know may happen to any mortal being,—what I know has actually happened to some of the most eminent and the best of men, on the records of memory ? Or shall I mention those old poets, ancientest and wisest, whose calamity the gods are said to have recompensed with far more excelling gifts, and men to have honoured with that high honour, as to choose rather to blame the gods themselves, than to impute their blindness to them as a crime. What is handed down of the augur Tiresias is well known. Of Phineus thus sang Apollonius in his *Argonautics*:

Οὐδ' ὅσσον ὑπίζετο καὶ Διὸς αὐτοῦ

Χρείων ἀτρεχέως ἱερὸν νόον ἀνθρώποισι.

Τῷ καὶ οἱ γῆρας μὲν ἐπὶ δῆλαιον ἱάλλεν

Ἐχ' ὃ ἔλετ' ὀφθαλμῶν γλυκερὸν φάος.

5 — *ncque est veritus lovem if sum*

Edens veraciter mentem divinam hominibus:

Quare & senectam ei diuturnam dedit,

Eripuit autem oculorum dulce lumen.

Caeterum deus & ipse veritas est: in qua homines edocenda
 10 quo quis veracior eo similior deo acceptiorque sit, oportet.
 Non est pium veritatis invidentem deum credere; aut nolle
 hominibus quam liberrime impertitam: Ob nullam igitur
 noxam, divinus vir, & humani generis erudiendi studiosissi-
 mus, ut philosophorum etiam complures, caruisse luminibus
 15 videtur. Sive illos commemorem civili prudentia, gestisque
 rebus admirabiles olim viros; primum Timoleonem Corin-
 thium, & civitatis suae, & Sicilian totius liberatorem; quo virum
 meliorem, aut in republica sanctiorem nulla aetas tulit; turn
 Appium Claudium, cujus in Senatu pulcre dicta sententia,
 20 Italiam Pyrrho, gravi hoste, seipsum caecitate non liberavit;
 turn Caecilium Metellum Pontificem, qui non urbem solum,
 sed & fatum urbis Palladium, & penitissima sacra dum ab
 incendio servavit, suos oculos perdidit; quanquam alias certe

Not Jove himself he feared; his daring ken
With truth disclosed the will of fate to men;
With length of years did Jove him hence requite,
But his eyes bereft of the day's sweet light.

5 But God himself is truth; and the more closely any one adheres to truth, in teaching it to mankind, the more nearly must he resemble God, the more acceptable must he be to him. It is impious to believe God to be jealous of truth, or to be an enemy to the utmost freedom of its communication to men. It
ro does not appear, therefore, that it was for any crime, that this ancient sage, who was so zealous to enlighten human kind, and that many among the philosophers, were deprived of light. Or, should I mention those men of old, so deserving of admiration for their civil wisdom, as also for their great
15 actions? And first, Timoleon of Corinth—the deliverer of his own city, and of all Sicily—than whom, a better man or more revered in the commonwealth no age has produced. Next, Appius Claudius, who, by nobly declaring his sentiments in the senate, delivered Italy from Pyrrhus, a formidable enemy;
20 but himself delivered not from blindness. Then Caecilius Metellus the high-priest, who lost his eyes, in saving from the flames not the city only, but the Palladium, on which hung the destiny of the city, as also the most sacred of the religious mysteries; though on other occasions it is certain that God has
25 declared that his favour attends a devotedness so extraordinary, even among the Gentiles. What therefore has happened to such a man, I can hardly think should be considered as an

vix putem. Quid alios recentiorum temporum adjungam, vel ilium Venetiarum Principem Dandulum longe omnium praestantissimum; vel Boemorum Ziscam ducem fortissimum, orthodoxae fidei propugnatorem? Quid summi nominis theol
5 logos Hieronymum Zanchium, nonnullosque alios? cum & ipsum Isaacum Patriarcham, quo nemo unquam mortalium Deo charior fuit, annos baud paucos, caecum vixisse constet; aliquot fortasse, Jacobum etiam ejus filium, & ipsum Deo baud minus dilectum: cum denique Christi servatoris nostri
10 divino testimonio compertissimum sit, ilium hominem ab se sanatum, neque ob suum, neque ob parentum suorum aliquod peccatum, etiam ab utero caecum fuisse. Ad me quod attinet, te testor, Deus, mentis intimae, cogitationumque omnium indagator, me nullius rei, (quanquam hoc apud me
15 saepius, & quam maxime potui, serio quæsivi, & recessus vitae omnes excussi) nullius vel recens vel olim commissi, mihi met conscium esse, cujus atrocitas hanc mihi prae caeteris calamitatem creare, aut accersisse merito potuerit. Quod etiam ullo tempore scripsi (quoniam hoc nunc me lucre quasi pia-
20 culum regii existimant, atque adeo triumphant) testor itidem Deum, me nihil istiusmodi scripsisse, quod non rectum & verum, Deoque gratum esse, & persuaserim turn mihi, & etiamnum persuasus sim; idque nulla ambitione, lucro, aut gloria ductus; sed officii, sed honesti, sed pietatis in patriam
25 ratione sola; nee reipublicae tantum, sed Ecclesiae quoque liberandae causa potissimum fecisse: adeo ut cum datum

evil. Why should I add others of later times—as Dandolo prince of Venice, the first man by far of all his compatriots; or Ziska the gallant duke of Bohemia, champion of the orthodox faith? Why divines of highest name, Hieronymus Zanchius, 5 with some others? When it is well known, that the patriarch Isaac himself, than whom no mortal was ever more dear to God, lived blind no small number of years; and for some time, perhaps Jacob also his son, of God no less beloved; when, in fine, it is beyond all doubt, from the divine testimony of 10 Christ our Saviour, that the man whom he healed had been blind even from the womb, for no sin either of himself or of his parents. As for myself, I call thee, O God, to witness, the searcher of the inmost spirit, and of every thought, that I am not conscious of any offense (though, to the utmost of my 15 power, I have often seriously examined myself on this point, though I have visited all the recesses of my heart) recently committed or long ago, the heinousness of which could have justly caused, could have called down this calamity upon me above others. Whatever I have written, yea, at any time 20 (since the royalists in their exultation imagine I am now suffering for it, by way of atonement, as they will have it) I call the same God to witness, that I have written nothing, which I was not persuaded at the time, and am still persuaded, was right, and true, and pleasing to God; and this without being 25 moved by ambition, by lucre, or by glory; but solely by a sense of duty, of grace, and of devotion to my country; that, above all, I have done this, with a view not only to the deliverance of the commonwealth, but likewise of the church. Hence, when

mihi publice esset illud in defensionem regiam negotium,
eodemque tempore & adversa simul valetudine, & oculo jam
pene altero amisso conflictarer, praedicerentque diserte medici,
si hunc laborem suscepissem, fore, ut utrumque brevi amit-
5 terem, nihil ista praemonitione deterritus, non medici ne
Æsculapii quidem Epidaurii ex adyto vocem, sed diviniore
cujusdam intus monitoris viderer mihi audire; duasque sortes,
fatali quodam nutu, jam mihi propositas, hinc carcitatem,
inde officium; aut oculorum jacturam necessario faciendam,
10 aut summum officium deserendum: occurrebantque animo
bina ilia fata, qua? retulisse Delphis consulentem de se matrem,
narrat Thetidis filius.

Διχθαδίας κῆρας φερέμεν θανάτοιο τέλοσδε.

Εἰ μὲν ᾗ αὖθι μένων Τρώων πόλιν ἀμφιμήχομαι

15 **Ωλετο μὲν μοι νόστος, ἀτὰρ κλέος ἄφθιτον ἔσται.*

Εἰ δέ κεν οἴκαδ' ἴκωμι φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν.

**Ωλετό μοι κλέος ἐσθλόν, ἐπὶ δὴρὸν δέ μοι αἰὼν*

**Ἔσσεται.*

Iliad. 9.

20 *Duplicia jata ducere ad mortis finem:*
Si hic manens circa Troum urbem pugnavero,
Amittitur mihi rcditus; sed Gloria immortalis erit,
Si domum revertor dulce ad Patrium solum,
Amittitur mihi Gloria fulcra, sed diuturna vita
25 *Erit.*

Unde sic mecum reputabam, multos graviore malo minus
bonum, morte gloriam, redemisse; mihi contra majus bo-

that office against the royal defence was publicly assigned me, and at a time when not only my health was unfavorable, but when I had nearly lost the sight of my other eye; and my physicians expressly foretold, that if I undertook the task, I
5 should in a short time lose both—in no wise dismayed at this warning, methought it was no physician's voice I heard—not the voice even of Æsculapius from the shrine of Epidaurus—but of some diviner monitor within; methought, that, by a certain fatality in my birth, two destinies were set before me,
10 on the one hand, blindness, on the other, duty—that I must necessarily incur the loss of my eyes, or desert a sovereign duty. Nor did I fail to recollect the two-fold destiny, which the son of Thetis reports that his mother brought back concerning himself, when she went to consult the oracle at Delphi:

15 Two fates conduct me to the realms of night:
 If staying here around Troy-town I fight,
 I return no more; but my glory fair
 Shall shine immortal, and my deeds declare:
 If to my dear and native land I'm led,
20 Long is my life; but my glory is fled.

Iliad 9.

Hence I thought with myself, that there were many who purchased a less good with a greater evil; for example—glory, with death. On the contrary, I proposed to purchase a greater good with a less evil; namely, at the price of blindness only,
25 to perform one of the noblest acts of duty; and duty, being a

num minore cum malo proponi: ut possem cum caecitate sola
vel honestissimum officii munus implere; quod ut ipsa gloria
per se est solidius, ita cuique optatius atque antiquius debet
esse. Hac igitur tarn brevi luminum usura, quanta maxima
5 quivi cum utilitate publica, quoad liceret, fruendum esse
statui. Videtis quid praetulerim, quid amiserim, qua inductus
ratione: desinant ergo judiciorum Dei calumniatores male-
dicere, deque me somnia sibi fingere; sic denique habento;
me sortis mese neque pigere neque poenitere; immotum atque
10 fixum in sententia perstare; Deum iratum neque sentire,
neque habere, immo maximis in rebus clementiam ejus
& benignitatem erga me paternam experiri atque agnoscere;
in hoc praesertim, quod solante ipso atque animum confir-
mante in ejus divina voluntate acquiescam; quid is largitus
15 mihi sit, quam quid negaverit saepius cogitans: postremo nolle
me cum suo quovis rectissime facto, facti mei conscientiam
permutare, aut recordationem ejus gratam mihi semper atque
tranquillam deponere. Ad caecitatem denique quod attinet,
malle me, si necesse est, meam, quam vel suam, More, vel
20 tuam. Vestra imis sensibus immersa, nequid sani videatis aut
solidi, mentern obsecrat: mea, quam objicitis, colorem tan-
tummodo rebus & superficiem demit; quod verum ac stabile
in iis est, contemplationi mentis non adimit. Quam multa

thing in its own nature more substantial even than glory, ought on that account to be more desired and venerated. I decided, therefore, that, as the use of light would be allowed me for so short a time, it ought to be enjoyed with the greatest
5 possible utility to the public. These are the reasons of my choice; these the causes of my loss. Let the slanderers, then, of the judgments of God cease their revilings; let them desist from their dreamy forgeries concerning me; in fine, let them know, that I neither repine at, nor repent me of my lot; that
10 I remain fixed, immovable in my opinion; that I neither believe, nor have found that God is angry; nay, that in things of the greatest moment I have experienced, and that I acknowledge his mercy, and his paternal goodness towards me; that above all, in regard of this calamity, I acquiesce in his divine
15 will, for it is he himself who comforts and upholds my spirit—being ever more mindful of what he shall bestow upon me than of what he shall deny me; last of all, that I would not exchange my own consciousness of what I have done, for any act of theirs however well performed, or lose the recollection
20 of it, which is always so calm and delightful to me. As to blindness, I would rather at last have mine, if it must be so, than either theirs, More, or yours. Yours, immersed in the lowest sense, so blinds your minds, that you can see nothing sound or solid; mine, with which you reproach me, deprives
25 things merely of their colour and surface; but takes not from the mind's contemplation whatever is real and permanent in them. Besides, how many things are there, which I should choose not to see; how many which I might be unwilling to

deinde sunt quæ videre nollem, quam multa quæ possem
libens non videre, quam pauca reliqua sunt quæ videre cu-
piam. Sed neque ego caecis, afflictis, moerentibus, imbecillis,
tametsi vos id miserum ducitis, aggregari me discrucior;
5 quandoquidem spes est, eo me propius ad misericordiam
summi patris atque tutelam pertinere. Est quoddam per im-
becillitatem, praeunte Apostolo, ad maximas vires iter: sim
ego debilissimus, dummodo in mea debilitate immortalis ille
& melior vigor eo se efficacius exerat; dummodo in meis tene-
10 bris divini vultus lumen eo clarius eluceat; turn enim infir-
missimus ero simul & validissimus, caecus eodem tempore &
perspicacissimus; hac possim ego infirmitate consummari, hac
perfici, possim in hac obscuritate sic ego irradiari. Et sane
baud ultima Dei cura caeci sumus; qui nos, quo minus quic-
15 quam aliud praeter ipsum cernere valemus, eo clementius
atque benignius respicere dignatur. Vx qui illudit nos, vx
qui laedit, execratione publica devovendo; nos ab injuriis ho-
minum non modo incolumes, sed pene sacros, divina lex red-
didit, divinus favor; nee tarn oculorum hebetudine, quam
20 coelestium alarum umbra has nobis fecisse tenebras videtur;
factas illustrare rursus interiore ac longe praeestabiliore lumine
haud raro solet. Hue refero, quod & amici officiosius nunc
etiam quam solebant, colunt, observant, adsunt; quod &

see; and how few remaining things are there which I could desire to see! Neither am I concerned at being classed, though you think this a miserable thing, with the blind, with the afflicted, with the sorrowful, with the weak; since there is a
5 hope, that, on this account, I have a nearer claim to the mercy and protection of the sovereign father. There is a way, and the Apostle is my authority, through weakness to the greatest strength. May I be one of the weakest, provided only in my weakness that immortal and better vigour be put forth with
10 greater effect; provided only in my darkness the light of the divine countenance does but the more brightly shine: for then I shall at once be the weakest and the most mighty; shall be at once blind, and of the most piercing sight. Thus, through this infirmity should I be consummated, perfected; thus, through
15 this darkness should I be enrobed in light. And, in truth, we who are blind, are not the last regarded by the providence of God; who, as we are the less able to discern any thing but himself, beholds us with die greater clemency and benignity. Woe be to him who makes a mock of us; woe be to him who in-
20 jures us; he deserves to be devoted to the public curse. The divine law, the divine favour, has made us not merely secure, but, as it were, sacred, from the injuries of men; nor would seem to have brought this darkness upon us so much by inducing a dimness of the eyes, as by the overshadowing of
25 heavenly wings; and not unfrequently is wont to illumine it again, when produced, by an inward and far surpassing light. To this I attribute the more than ordinary civilities, attentions, and visits of friends; of whom there are some, with

nonnulli sunt, quibuscum Pyladeas atque Theseas alternare voces verorum amicorum liceat.

᾽Ορέστ. Ἔρπε νῦν οἷαξ ποδός μοι. *Ilv. φίλα γ' ἔχων κηδεύματα,*

Vade gubcrnaculum mei pedis. Py. per gratam mihi
5 *habens cur am. Eurip. in Orest.*

Et alibi,

Δίδου χεῖρ' ὑπηρέτῃ φίλῳ,

Da manum ministro amico.

Δίδου δέρῃ σὴν χεῖρ', ὁδηγήσω δ' ἐγώ,

to *Da collo manum tuam, ductor autem vice cro tibi ego. Id*
in Her. furent.

Non enim hoc casu factum me omnino nullum; non quio
quid est probi aut cordati hominis, pbsitum in oculis putant
esse. Quin & summi quoque in republica viri, quandoquidem
15 non otio torpentem me, sed impigrum & summa discrimina
pro libertate inter primos adeuntem oculi deseruerunt, ipsi
non deserunt; verum humana qualia sint, secum reputantes,
tanquam emerito favent, indulgent, vacationem atque otium
faciles concedunt; si quid est ornamenti, non detrahunt; si
jo quid publici muneris, non adimunt; si quid ex ea re commo-
di, non minuunt; & quamvis non aequae nunc utili, praeben-
dum nihilo minus benigne censent; eodem plane honore, ac
si, ut olim Atheniensibus mos erat, in Prytaneo alendum de-

whom, as with true friends, I may hold the dialogue of Pylades and Orestes:

Orest. Go slowly on, and be the rudder of my feet.

Py. Precious is my charge.

5

Eurip. in Orest.

And in another place:

Give your hand to your friend and helper.

Throw your arm about my neck, and I will be your guide.

Id. in Her. jurent.

10 For they do not suppose that by this misfortune I am rendered altogether a nullity; they do not suppose that all which belongs to a man of sense and integrity is situated in his eyes. Besides, as I am not grown torpid by indolence, since my eyes have deserted me, but am still active, still ready to advance
15 among the foremost to the most arduous struggles for liberty; I am not therefore deserted even by men of the first rank in the state. On the contrary, such men, considering the condition of humanity, show me favour and indulgence, as to one who has completed his services; and readily grant me exemption
20 and retirement. They despoil me of no dignity, they deprive me not of any public office I before held; they disparage not the benefit which may have accrued from that particular service; and though they are aware that they are now to confer their favours upon one who is become less useful, they think it
25 ought to be done with no less benignity; indeed, with the same honour, as if, like the Athenians in ancient times, they had decreed a maintenance for me in the Prytaneum. Thus, while

crevissent. Sic mihi & apud Deum & apud homines caecitatem solari meam quandiu licuerit, amissos honesti causa oculos nemo meos lugeat; absit quoque ut ipse lugeam, aut vel animi satis ut ne habeam quo caecitatis convitiatore facile
 5 possim contemnere, vel veniae ut ne possim facilius condonare. Ad te, quisquis es, redeo, qui parum tibi constans, nunc pumilionem me, nunc Antaeum vis esse: *Non aliud postremo optas libentius jccderatis Belgii Provinciis, quam ut tarn facile, tdmque jeliciter dejungantur hoc Bello, quhm dejungetur*
 10 *Salmasius Miltonio*. Cui ego voto si facile assensero, arbitror me nostris successibus Rei'que Anglican^a nee ominari male, nee male precari.

En ver6 iterum clamorem, alienum quendam & stridulum I anseres puto alicunde advolare: Jam sentio quid sit; memini
 15 clamoris hanc esse tragcediam; prodit Chorus: en duo Poetastri; vel duo vel unus, biformi sane specie & bicolore; Sphingemne dicam an Horatianum illud monstrum Poeticum, capite muliebri, cervice asinina, variis indutum plumis, undique collatis membris: id profecto ipsissimum est. Rhapsodus videlicet quispiam, centonibus & pannis obsitus; unusne
 20 an duo incertum, nam & Anonymus quoque est. Poetas equidem vere dictos & diligo & colo, & audiendo saepissime

I can derive consolation in my blindness both from God and man, let no one be troubled that I have lost my eyes in an honorable cause; and far be it from me to be troubled at it; far be it from me to possess so little spirit as not to be able without
5 difficulty to despise the revilers of my blindness, or so little placability, as not to be able, with still less difficulty, to forgive them.

I return to you, whoever you are, who, with no little inconsistency, will one while have me to be a dwarf, another while,
10 an Antaeus. But, at last, you express a wish: "Nothing better could befall the united provinces of Holland, than that they may make an end of this war as easily and as successfully, as Salmasius will make an end of Milton." In which wish I shall readily acquiesce, and am of opinion, that I am neither
15 presaging ill nor praying ill for our success, and for the cause of England.

But hark! again some strange and cackling cry! I suppose a flight of geese is on the wing, coming from some quarter or other! Oh, I now perceive what it is. I remember that it is
20 the clamour of a tragedy. The chorus makes its appearance. See, two poetasters; either two or one; but there are two different shapes and colours. Shall I call it a sphinx, or that poetical monster of Horace, with a woman's head, an ass's neck, arrayed in motley plumes, and with limbs borrowed
25 from different animals? Aye, that is the very thing: that is, some rhapsodist, covered from head to foot with centos and patches; whether he is one or two is doubtful, as he also is without a name. Now poets who are truly so called, I love and

delector; illorum etiam plerosque tyrannis esse scio inimicissimos, si vel a primis exorsus ad Buchananum usque nostrum recenserem: istos vero versiculorum nugivendos, quis non oderit? quo genere hominum nihil stultius, aut vanius, aut corruptius, aut mendacius. Laudant, vituperant, sine delectu, sine discrimine, judicio, aut modo, nunc Principes, nunc plebeios, doctos juxte atque indoctos, probos an improbos, perinde habent; prout Cantharus, aut spes nummuli, aut fatuus ille furor inflat ac rapit; congestis undique & verborum & rerum tot discoloribus ineptiis, tamque putidis, ut laudatum longe praestet sileri, & pravo, quod aiunt, vivere naso, quam sic laudari: vituperatus vero qui sit, haud mediocri sane honori sibi ducat, se tarn absurdis, tarn stolidis nebulonibus displicere. Primus qui est, si modo bini sunt, dubito Poeta sit an Caementarius; ita Salmasio os oblinit, immo totum quasi parietem dealbat atque incrustat. Curru nempe *triumphantcm* inducit, Heroem Gigantomachum, *hastilia* & *cæstus*, & nescio quæ nugamenta armorum vibrantem, doctos omnes pedibus quadrigam sequentes, sed post terga ejus innumeris spatiis relictos, utpote *quern numen rebus trepidis salutem orbis admovertit; tandem ergo tali tempus erat tegi umbone*

reverence; and it is one of the most frequent and delightful of my pleasures to listen to their song. Besides, I know that most of them, if I pass them in review from the very first down to our Buchanan, are the sworn foes of tyrants. But who can
5 endure these peddlers of verse?—a race of mortals than which nothing can be more foolish, more vain, corrupt, or lying. They praise or blame, without choice, without discrimination, without judgment or measure, now princes, now plebeians, alike the learned and unlearned, honest men and knaves,
10 as prompted by caprice,—as inspirited and transported by the bottle, by the hope of getting a little money, or by their own senseless fury; heaping together from all sides inconsistencies, both in words and things, so threadbare and of colours so incompatible, that it would be better far for the
15 person praised to be passed by in silence, and to live, as the saying is, on the sneers of contempt than to be thus praised: nay, he who has incurred their blame, may take it to himself as no ordinary honour, that he is not a favorite with these dull and paltry scoundrels. The foremost of them, if there are
20 really two, I am in doubt whether to call a poet or a mason, so unconscionably does he bedaub the person of Salmasius,—so like a perfect wall does he plaster and whitewash it. He introduces the giant-warring hero in a sort of "triumphal" car, brandishing his "spears and clubs," and I know not what
25 trumpery armour, with the whole host of the learned following on foot in the rear, but at an awful distance; like "the coming" forsooth, "of any God, in seasons of danger, for the salvation of the world: for at length the time was come, for kings to be

rcges, parents nimirum *Juris & imperil*. Delirus necesse est fuerit & bis puer Salmasius, qui his laudibus non solum tantopere sibi placuerit, sed excudendas etiam quam primum de se tarn sedulo curaverit: Misellus etiam poeta atque inde-
 5 corus, qui Grammaticum, quod genus hominum poetis ministrum semper atque subserviens fuit, tarn immodicis laudibus dignetur. Alter ver6 non versus facit, sed plane insanit, enthusiastarum omnium, quos tarn rabide insectatur, ipse amentissimus: hic Salmasii carnifex quasi sit, Syri Damae filius, Lora-
 10 rios invocatur & Cadmum; veratro deinde ebrius, totam, quio quid ubique est, Servulorum & Ballionum sentinam, ex Indice Plautino evomit; credas lingua Oscum non latine loquentem, aut inferarum, quas natat, paludum coaxare ranam. Turn ut intelligatis, quantus sit lamborum artifex, duabus syllabis
 15 una in voce peccat, altera producta, altera perperam correpta. *Hi trucidato rege per horrendum nefas.*

Aufer istas, asine, *vacivitatum* tuarum clitellas; & tria verba, si potes, sani ac sobrii hominis tandem affer; si tua ista cucur-
 20 bita & *blennum caput* vel ad punctum temporis potest sapere: interea te ego puerorum *virgidemiis* tuis caedendum trado

covered with such a shield by the parent," God wot, "of right and dominion." Surely, Salmasius must have been mad and twice a child, when he could not only be flattered with bepraisings so fulsome, but when he could use his utmost diligence to get them printed with all possible dispatch! The poet too must have been a sorry poet, and unobservant of decorum, who could dignify with such immoderate eulogiums a grammarian,—a description of person, who has ever been a menial—merely subservient to poets. The other, so far from making
10 verses indeed, is absolutely beside himself—the maddest of all the enthusiasts, whom he persecutes with so much fury. As if he were executioner to Salmasius, a son of Syrus or Dama, he invokes the slave-whippers, and Cadmus; then, drunk with hellebore, he vomits out a whole sink of foul abuse collected,
15 with the help of an index to Plautus, from the mouths of slaves and mountebanks. You would think he was speaking Oscan instead of Latin, or croaking like one of the frogs of the marshy plains in which he swims. Then, to show you what an adept at iambics he is, he makes two false quantities in one
20 word, making the one long where it ought to be short, and the other short where it ought to be long.

Hi trucidato rege per horrendum nefas.

Away with your panniers "of emptiness," you ass! and at last utter three words, if you can, like a man in his sound and
25 sober senses, if that pumpkin head, if that "thick head" of yours be capable of common sense even for a moment. In the meantime I hand you over, you Orbilius you, to be flogged by

Orbilium. Tu mihi sic perge maledicere, ut *Cromuclo* pcjor tibi sim, qua nulla majore me laude afficere potuisti. Te vero bcnevolumne dicam, an stolidum, an hostem insidiosum? benevolus certe non es, verba enim hostem indicant; cur ergo
 5 tarn stolidus fuisti vituperator, ut anteferre me tanto viro in buccam tibi venerit? ecquid tu non intelligis, an me putas non intelligere, quo graviora vestra in me esse odia ostenditis, e6 vos ampliora mea in rempublicam merita praedicare, vestra tot opprobria, tot mea esse apud meos praeconia? Nam si vos
 10 me omnium maxime odistis, sane ego vos omnium maxime exulceravi, vos ego maxime afflixi, causaeque vestrae nocui: id si ita est, idem ego de meis civibus optime quoque merui; hostis enim vel testimonium vel iudicium, etsi alias leve admodum, de suo tamen dolore longe est gravissimum. An Poeta
 15 non meministi, cum de Achillis mortui armis, Ajax & Ulysses contenderent, non Graecos populares set Trojanos hostes ex sententia Nestoris Iudices datos?

Τοῦνεκα Τρωσὶν ἐφῶμεν εὐφροσὶ τήνδε δικάσσαι.

20 *Quapropter Trojanis permittamus prudentibus hanc litcm
 judicandam.*

Et pau!6 post,

your own scholars. Go on, and revile me in this way, as being, in your eyes, "worse than Cromwell": for it is impossible for you to bestow upon me higher praise. But am I to consider you as a friend, or as a blockhead, or as an insidious enemy?

5 That you are not a friend is certain: for your words betray you for an enemy. How then came you to be so great a blockhead, as to take it into your head to prefer me for your accusation to so great a personage? Do you imagine, that what you do not comprehend, I also do not comprehend?—namely, that the

10 more inveterate you discover your hatred to be against me, the greater do you proclaim my merits to be towards the commonwealth?—That with my own party your manifold reproaches do but declare my praise? For if you hate me to a degree beyond all others, it is plain that I, of all others, have

15 galled you the most severely; that it is I, who have the most humbled you; that it is I, who have done the most mischief to your cause. If this be the fact, then it is I also, who have deserved the most highly of my fellow citizens: for the testimony or judgment of an enemy, though in other respects

20 abundantly trivial, is the weightiest of all on the subject of his own pain. Do you not remember, when Ajax and Ulysses contended for the arms of the dead Achilles, that the poet, by the counsel of Nestor, chose the judges not from among the Greeks who were their countrymen, but from the Trojans,

25 who were their enemies?

Hence let the impartial Trojans judge the strife.

And a little after:

Οἱ δ' αὖ δίκην ἰθεῖαν ἐπὶ σφίσι ποιήσονται.

Οὐδ' ἄν τις ἦρα φέροντες ἐπεὶ μάλα πάντας Ἀχαιοὺς

Ἴσον ἐπεχθαίρουσι κακῆς μεμνημένοι ἄτης.

Qui justum judicium de Us jecerint,

5 *Nemini gratificantes, cum vehementer omnes Achivos*

JEqiiit oderint, mail memores damni.

Hxc Smyrnus ille, sive Calaber. Insidiosus itaque sis oportet, meque in invidiam conjicere labores, qui quod judicium in hoste rectum atque sincerum esse solet, id dolo malo & 10 graves laedendi animo corrumpis atque depravas, ita non vir modo sed & hostis depravatissimus es. Verum ego, nullo negotio frustrabor te, vir bone; quanquam enim Ulyssem, id est, quam optime de patria meritum me esse sane perquam vellem, tamen Achilleia arma non ambio; coelum in clypeo pictum, quod alii, non ego, in certamine aspiciant, praeferre, onus non pictum sed verum, humeris portare, quod ego, non alii sentiant, non quæro: Equidem cum nullas omnino similitudines aut inimicitias ullo cum homine privatas geram, neque ullus, quod sciam, mecum gerat, tot in me maledicta jactari, 20 tot probra torqueri, reipublicae duntaxat causa, non mea, eo aequiore animo fero: nee praemii & commodorum inde provenientium, partem longe minimam, ignominiae longe maximam pervenisse ad me queror; contentus quæ honesta factu

Now they a righteous judgment will declare,
As nor to one nor t'other love they bear;
For all the Greeks they hold in equal hate;
Darkly remembering their ruined state.

- 5 Thus far the Symrnaean, or Calaber. It follows, then, that you must be insidious, and labour to cast an odium upon me, since, by wicked arts, and with the purpose of inflicting a deeper injury, you pervert and deprave that kind of judgment which is usually unbiassed and sincere in an enemy: hence,
10 you are not merely the most depraved of men, but the most depraved of enemies. But, my good man! I will render frustrate none of your endeavours: for though I could most ardently wish that I were Ulysses, that is, that I had deserved the most highly of all of my country; yet, I covet not the arms of
15 Achilles; I seek not to carry before me the heavens painted on my shield, which others may look to in a contest, though I do not; it is my endeavour to bear on my shoulders, a real not a painted burden, to be felt by myself, rather than by others. Indeed, as I have no private malice or enmity against any man,
20 nor, as far as I know, has any man against me, I am the less concerned at the torrent of abuse which is cast upon me, at the numberless reproaches which are hurled against me, as I bear all this not for myself, but for the sake of the commonwealth. Nor do I complain, that by far the least share of the reward
25 and of the advantages thence proceeding and that by far the greatest share of the reproach, have attached to me; content to have had in view and to have prosecuted without reward,

sunt, ea propter se solum appetisse, & gratis persequi: Id alii viderint, tuque scito, me illas *opimitates* atque *opes*, quas mihi exprobras, non attigisse, neque eo nomine quo maxime accusas, obolo factum ditiozem. Hie rursus infit Morus, & se-
5 cunda epistola causas scribendi refert; cuinam? *Lectori Christiana* nempe Moechus & stuprator Morus salutem: piam sane epistolam promittis; jam causas incipe. *Excitati sunt Europcearum gentium animi, maxime omnium Galli nostri reformati, ut parricidium fy parricidas, &c. cognoscerent.*
10 Galli & ipsi reformati contra reges bella gesserunt; quid ulterius fuissent facturi, paribus usi rerum successibus, affirmari non potest: certè reges ipsorum, si qua earum rerum monumentis fides, ab illis baud minus metuebant sibi, quam a nobis noster: neque injuria, quoties meminissent quæ etiam illi
15 scriptitarunt, & minati saepe sunt: Nolint igitur, quicquid tu causare, splendide nimis de se polliceri, iniquius de nobis sentire. Pergit in causis. *Equidem ea Anglorum melioris notes consuetudine sum usus.* Qui tibi sunt melioris notae, viris bonis sunt pessimae. *Ut ausim dicere me ista homi-*

those things which were honorable to be done, for their own
sakes alone. This is what others should look to, and as for
yourself, know that I have not so much as touched those "good
things," "that wealth" with which you reproach me, nor am
5 made one half-penny the richer by that name, on account of
which you bring your chief accusations against me.

Here More begins again, and in the second epistle gives his
reasons for writing: and for writing to whom?—To "the
Christian reader," forsooth, the adulterer and fornicator More
10 writes, greeting. You lead us to expect a truly pious epistle:
come let us hear your reasons. "The minds of the nations of
Europe and most of all our French protestants, were roused to
become acquainted with the parricide and with the parric-
icides," &c. The French, even the Protestants themselves, have
15 engaged in wars against the laws; what farther they would
have done, if they had had the like success with ourselves,
cannot now be known. It is certain, that their own kings, if
any credit is to be given to the records of those transactions,
stood in no less apprehension from them, than our king from
20 us: nor was this without reason, when they considered the
spirit and multitude of the writings even of those reformers,
and how often they had gone so far as to threaten. They were
unwilling, therefore, whatever you pretend, to promise too
splendidly of themselves, or to think unjustly of us.—He goes
25 on with his reasons. "Indeed, such have been my habits of
intimacy with Englishmen of the better note";—Those who
in your eyes are of the better note, are, in the eyes of men of
virtue, of the worst note;—"That I might undertake to say I

num monstra nosse intus & in cute. Putabam te moechas tantummodo tuas & scorta; tu etiam monstra intus & in cute. *Ut nomen meum premerem, facile impetrarunt Angli quibuscum consuevi.* Et astute quidem illi: sic enim sperabant & se impudentia tua e& largiore fruituros, & te tua fama, etiam turn mala, eo minus causx nociturum. Noverant enim te, & quam esses olim bonus hortorum custos, & nunc rasmus licet & pumicatus sacerdos, ut e Pontia ne Pilata quidem abstinere manus potueris; nee de nihilo sane, si enim a conficienda carne carnifex dictus putatur, cur minus tu conficiendo Pontiam Pontifex factus ex sacerdote tibi videare? Haec cum de te non nescirent alii, cum non posses ipse quin tibimet conscires, tamen incredibili, & execranda quadam impietate palam audes profited, te *Dei gloriam unice quærere, & vindicare:* & dum ipse turpissima quæris, simul accusare alios, quod *pietatis larvam criminibus important:* cum id nemo manifestius ac sceleratius quam tu ipse facis, unquam fecerit. *Ad rerum ais gestarum seriem magno tibi iussu adjumento cum alios scriptores turn maxime elenchum motuum nuperorum in An-*

know those monsters of men in heart and in grain." I thought you knew nobody but your adulteresses, and strumpets; and you also know monsters in heart and in grain.—"The Englishmen with whom I had intercourse easily prevailed upon
5 me to suppress my name." And, in truth, not without a crafty policy: for in this way, they had the hope of being indulged with a larger measure of your impudence, and that you would do less mischief to the cause by your character, which was bad even at that time. For they had known you of
10 old; had known what an excellent keeper of gardens you had formerly been; and though now a priest all shaven and spruce, that you could not keep your hands off not even from Pontia Pilate; nor without reason indeed: for if *carnifex* (an executioner) be supposed to be derived a *conficienda came* (from
15 dispatching flesh) why should you think it less likely, that from a priest you should be made *pontifex* (a high-priest) *conficiendo Pontiam*, (from dispatching Pontia) ? though these stories about you were no secrets to other people; though it is impossible but that yourself must have been conscious of
20 them; yet with an impiety which is scarcely credible, and which deserves execration, you dare openly to profess that "you are seeking only and vindicating only the glory of God"; and at the very time you yourself are pursuing the most scandalous courses, accuse others "of covering their crimes under
25 the mask of piety"; though no man was ever more manifestly and more wickedly guilty of this than yourself.—"For the order of transactions (you say) you derived great assistance from other writers, and especially from *A View of the late*

glia. Nae tu ineptus homo es, qui tanto clamore facto, quod tuum sit nihil afferas; sed scriptores tantum, regis partibus addictos eoque merito suspectos authores contra nos adducere potuisti, quorum fides si elevabitur, progredi nequeas. Nos igitur scriptores illos, si opus erit & elenchum elencho refutabimus, non illis per te, sed tibi per illos, cum visum erit respondemus; tibi quæ de tuo protuleris, videndum interea, ut tueri queas; quæ cujusmodi sint, ab impio & plane Atheo homine profecta, audiant nunc omnes pii & horrescant. *Jubet amor dei & injurice sancto ejus nomini jactæ sensus acerrimus cogit sufflices manus ad ducum attollere*. Abde, abde obscenas illas manus, quas libidine & ambitione supinatus attollere non vereris, ne coelum ipsum quoque audeas iis manibus incestare, quibus sacra religionis mysteria contrectando polluisti. Quam enim divinam ultionem aliis temerarius & vaecors imprecaris, earn in ipsius tuum impurissimum caput devocasse te olim intelliges.

Hactenus clamoris quasi preludia fuere; nunc, (summas enim, & prope solas in hoc dramate partes clamor obtinet,) quam potest maximo hiatu, rictum diducit: in coelum scilicet iturus; quo si ascendent, in neminem profecto acrius clambit quam in ipsum clamatorem Morum. *Cum omnibus secu-*

Troubles in England." You are indeed a trifling fellow: for though you raise so great a clamour, you can bring nothing that is your own; you could produce against us the writers only who are devoted to the royalist faction—authors, for that very
5 reason justly suspected—and whose credit once invalidated, you would be unable to proceed. We shall therefore refute those writers, and if necessary, one view by another: as we see occasion, we shall reply not to them through you, but to you through them. In the meantime, it behoves you to be pre-
10 pared to defend what you have brought forward of your own; the nature of which, as it proceeds from a name evidently impious and atheistic, let all religious persons now hear, and tremble with horror. "The love of God commands,—the keenest sense of the injury done to his sacred name compels
15 us, to lift up our suppliant hands to God." Hide, O hide those polluted hands, which, grovelling as you are in ambition and lust, you have the presumption to lift up, lest you dare also to pollute heaven itself with the touch that has already contaminated the sacred mysteries of religion. But that divine ven-
20 geance, which you rashly and absurdly imprecate upon others, you will find hereafter you have called down upon your own guilty head.

Thus far we have been listening merely to the preludes of the cry; now (for the cry gets the principal, and almost the
25 only part, in this drama) the mouth is opened to its utmost yawn, as the cry is to reach to heaven; and if it arrive thither, it will, in truth, cry out against no one more sharply than against the crier, More himself. "Since the majesty of kings

Us, sacra fuerit regum majestas, &c. Multa tu quidem More vulgariter, multa malitiose in nos declamas, quæ nihil attinent: regis enim caedes, & tyranni supplicium non sunt idem, More, non sunt; inter se distant longissime, atque distabunt, 5 dum sensus & ratio, jus atque fas, rectique & obliqui judicium hominibus concedetur. Verum de his satis jam saepius dictum, satis defensum est: non patiar qui tot diris inanibus laedere non potes, ut repetita crambe nos demum occidas. De patientia, deinde & pietate belle disputas: Sed

10

de

virtute loquutus

Clunem agitas: ego te ceventem, More, verebor?

Omnes ai's reformatos, fresertim Belgas & Gallos, jactum nostrum horruisse: & statim, bonis ubique non licuisse, idem sentire & loqui. Sed te tibi repugnare leviculum est; hoc 15 multo indignius atque atrocius; *free* nostro inquis, scelere, nihil juit Judcsorum scelus, Christum crucifigentium, sive hominum mentem, sive sceleris effectus compares. Furiose! tune Christi minister perpetratum facinus in Christum tarn leviter fers, quacunq; demum mente vel cficctu ut pari see-

has, in all ages, been held sacred/' &c. Indeed, More, you clamour many things against us, in your vulgarity, many in your malice, which are nothing to the purpose: for the murder of a king, and the punishment of a tyrant, are not the same,
5 More, they are not the same; they differ most widely, and will differ, as long as sense and reason, right and wrong, the power of distinguishing straight from crooked, shall be allowed to men. But as to these things enough has been often said already, enough defended. You who can do us no injury with
10 all your mighty blustering, shall not put an end to us at last by serving up your hash again. You have some fine things about patience; then about piety. But,

You preach of virtue, while of flesh you're frail;
What fear, though now as erst you wag your tail ?

15 "All protestants, you say, especially the Dutch and the French, were struck with horror at what we have done"; and immediately after—"good men were no where at liberty to speak what they thought." But for you to contradict yourself is a trifling matter; what follows is of a far more disgraceful
20 and atrocious character: "In comparison of our wickedness (say you) the wickedness of the Jews in the crucifixion of Christ was nothing, whether we consider the intention of the men, or the effects of the crime." Maniac! and do you, a minister of Christ, make so light of the horrible crime committed
25 against Christ, as, whatever might have been "the intention" or "the effect," to dare to pronounce, that to kill any king is

lere interfectum quemlibet regem audeas dicere? Judae certe clarissimis indiciis dei filium agnovisse poterant; nos Carolus non esse tyrannum, nulla ratione potuimus intelligere. Eventus autem, ad minuendum scelus, ineptissime facis mentionem: verum semper animadverto reges, quibus quisque acrior est, ed levitis ferre quicquid committitur in Christum, quam si quid in regem: cui tamen cum Christi praecipue causa obediendum doceant, facile ostendunt se neque Christum vere colere, neque regem: sed aliud quiddam sibi quaerentes, 10 incredibilem bane erga reges fidem ac religionem suam, vel ambitioni, vel occultis quibusdam aliis cupiditatibus obtinere. *Prodiit ergo magnus literarum princeps Salmasius.* Desine toties magnum illud, More; quod millies licet ingeris, baud cuiquam profecto intelligenti persuaseris magnum esse Salmasium, sed minimum esse Morum, & nullius pretii homulum, qui, quid deceat ignarus, magni cognomine tarn imperite abutatur. Nos grammaticis atque criticis, quorum summa laus aut in alienis lucubrationibus edendis, aut librorum mendulis corrigendis versatur, industriam quidem ac literarum scientiam, doctrine etiam baud contemnendae laudem, ac praemia libenter concedimus, magni cognomen baud largimur. Is solus magnus est appellandus, qui res magnas aut gerit, aut docet, aut digne scribit: res autem

equally sinful ? The Jews, from the clearest signs, might certainly have recognized the Son of God; but it was impossible that we, in any way, should have been made to comprehend that Charles was not a tyrant. To mention the accidental consequences with a view to diminish a crime, is most absurd. But I always remark this in a royalist; according as he is the more acrimonious, does he make less account of any offence committed against Christ, than against the king; and though he teaches that the king ought to be obeyed chiefly for the sake of Christ, he plainly makes it appear, that himself is no true follower either of Christ, or of the king; but that, having other selfish objects in view, he makes a display of this his incredible fidelity and devotion to his king, from ambition, or from other passions which he conceals.—"Salmasius, therefore, the great prince of letters, came forward." Don't persist, More, in this manner in calling such a man great. Though you should repeat it a thousand times, you would never persuade any man of sense that Salmasius was a great man; but rather that More is a most little one, a worthless manikin, who, from his ignorance of propriety, abuses thus absurdly the epithet of great. To grammarians and critics, whose highest praise consists either in editing the works of others, or in correcting the blunders of transcribers, we readily allow industry indeed and the knowledge of languages, with the credit and rewards of a learning by no means to be despised; but we do not bestow upon them the title of great. He alone deserves the appellation of great, who either achieves great things himself, or teaches how they may be achieved; or

magnae sunt solae, qua: vel vitam hanc nostram efficiunt beatam, aut saltern cum honestate commodam atque jucundam, vel ad alteram ducunt beatiorem. Horum vero Salmasius quid egit ? egit vero nihil; quid autem docuit aut scripsit magnum ?
5 nisi forte contra Episcopos, & primatum Papae, quod ipse postea & suis moribus, & aliis in nos pro episcopatu scriptis, recantatum penitus evertit. Magnus ergo scriptor dici non debet, qui aut nihil magnum, aut quod optimum in vita scripsit, ei faedissime renunciavit. *Litcrarum princeps* ut sit, &
10 Alphabeti per me licet; at vero tibi non *princeps* modo *literarum* est, sed *patronus regum*, & *patronus quidem dignus tantis clientibus*. Pulchre tu quidem regibus consuluisti, ut post alios insignes titulos, Claudii Salmasii clientes appellerentur. Ea nimirum lege solvimini cunctis aliis legibus, Reges,
15 ut in clientelam Grammatico tradatis vos Salmasio, sceptrae ferulae submittat: *Debebunt ei Reges, dum stabit orbis, dignitatis & salutis suae vindicias*. Audite, Principes; qui pessime vos defendit, immo ne defendit quidem, nemo enim oppugnavit, dignitatem & salutem vestram sibi imputat. Hoc nempe
20 solum consequuti sunt, qui superbissimum Grammaticum

who describes with suitable dignity the great achievements of others. But those things only are great, which either make this life of ours happy, or at least comfortable and agreeable as far as is consistent with honesty, or which lead to another and
5 a happier life. Now what has Salmasius done of such things as these? Clearly nothing. And what has he taught or written that is great? Unless perhaps what he wrote, against the bishops and the pope's supremacy, which, being recanted by his subsequent conduct, and by other writings in opposition to us
10 and in favour of episcopacy, he has rendered null. He, therefore, who had either never written any thing great, or who basely disclaimed the best thing he ever wrote, is not entitled to be called a great writer. He has my permission to be "the prince of letters," and of the alphabet too; but in your apprehension he is not merely the "prince of letters," but "the patron of kings," and "a patron truly worthy of clients so illustrious." Indeed, you have consulted admirably for kings, when, in addition to their other notable titles, you would have them to be styled the clients of Claudius Salmasius.
20 By the law, surely, that if you deliver yourselves up, ye kings, to the patronage of Salmasius the grammarian, if you humble your sceptres to the rod, you are absolved from all other laws.—"As long as the world shall stand, kings will owe to him the vindication of their dignity and safety." Hear,
25 O ye princes! the man who has defended you so scurvily, nay, who has defended you not at all, for he had nobody to oppose him, affirms, that for your dignity and safety you are indebted to him! Now this is all they have gained, who

sustinendis regum rationibus ex tinearum & blattarum foro
advocarunt. *Cut quantum res regia, tantundem etiam ecclesia
debebit*] non laudem sane, sed meritissimam deserts suae
causae notari. Nunc in laudes effunderis Defensionis regiae;
5 *ingenium, doctrinam, infinitum prope rerum usum, & inti-*
nam sacri & proiani juris penum, concitatce orationis vigo-
rem, eloquentiam, facundiam aurei illius opens admiraris,
quorum cum nihil affuisse homini contendo, (quid enim
Salmasio cum eloquentia?) turn aureum fuisse illud opus vel
10 centies fateor; tot enim Carolus aureos numeravit, ne dicam
quid Arausiacus etiam princeps in idem opus profuderit. *Nun-*
quam major surrexit vir magnus, nunquam magis Salmasius:
Et tant6 quidem major ut se ruperit, quam magnus enim
fuerit in illo opere jam vidimus; & siquid ejusdem argumenti,
15 ut fertur, posthumum reliquit, fortasse videbimus. Non equi-
dem inficior, edito illo libro, Salmasium in ore omnium fuisse,
regiis mire placuisse; *ab augustissima Sueciæ regina, amplis-*
simis prcemiis invitatum; quinimo tota ilia contentione Sal-
masio secunda omnia, adversa mihi penè omnia fuere. Pri-
20 mum de illius eruditione, erat hominum summa opinio,
quam multis ab annis jam diu collegerat, libros conscribendo

have assisted the haughty grammarian, while, in a court of moths and book-worms, he sustained the cause of kings.— "Nor will the church owe him less than the cause of royalty." It is not praise, then, that the church will owe him, 5 but a richly deserved mark of infamy, for deserting her cause. —Now you would lavish your encomiums upon the royal defence; you admire "the genius, the learning, the acquaintance with things little short of infinite, the profound knowledge of the canon and civil law, the vigour of elevated language, 10 the eloquence, the grace of that golden work"—of all which qualities I maintain that the man was wholly destitute (for what had Salmasius to do with eloquence?) But, that the work was a golden work, this I acknowledge a hundred times over: for so many pieces of gold did Charles count 15 out; not to mention what the prince of Orange also bestowed upon the same work.—"Never did a great man appear greater; never did Salmasius": yes indeed, he was so much greater that he burst: for how great he was in that work we have already seen; and if he has left any posthumous work, as 20 is reported, on the same subject, we shall perhaps see again. Now I do not deny, that, after the publication of that book, Salmasius was in everybody's mouth, and that he pleased the royalists to a miracle; that "he was invited, and amply rewarded, by the most august the queen of Sweden"; nay, that, 25 in the whole of that contest, Salmasius had every thing in his favour, and I almost every thing against me. In the first place, of his erudition, the opinion of mankind could go no higher, which opinion he had been collecting for many previous years,

multos, & bene magnos, non eos quidem plenimque utiles, sed abstrusissimis de rebus, & summorum authorum citatunculis differtos; quo nihil citius literatorum vulgus in admirationem rapit; me verò quis essem, nemo in iis fere regionibus norat; magnam ille sui expectationem concitabat, attentior operi quam solebat alias, ut in re tanta; ego mei nullam potui movere: immo vero multi me ab illo dehortabantur, tyronem cum veterano congressurum, partim invidentes, ne utcunque mihi gloriae foret cum tanto hoste decertasse; partim & mihi, & causae metuentes, ne utriusque gravi cum ignominia victus discederem; causa denique speciosa atque plausibilis, inveterata vulgi opinio, sive superstitio dicenda potius est, & propensus in regium nomen favor Salmasio vires & spiritus addiderat; eadem omnia contra me fecere, quo magis est mirandum, quamprimum responsio nostra prodiit, non si a plensque avide arriperetur videre gestientibus ecquis tarn praecepti animi esset ut auderet cum Salmasio conflare, sed tarn esse placitam multis atque gratam, ut, non authoris, sed ipsius veritatis ratione habita, qui modò summo in honore fuerat Salmasius, nunc quasi detracta, sub qua latuerat, persona, & existimatione, & animo repente caderet; seque asse-

by writing a multitude of books, and of no small bulk; not books of general utility, but on the abstrusest subjects, and stuffed with scraps of citation from eminent authors; than which nothing sooner excites the wonderment of the literary
5 vulgar. On the contrary, who I was, scarcely any one in those parts had ever heard. He, by applying a more than ordinary diligence to the work, the subject being of such magnitude, had awakened in respect of himself great expectation; while it was not in my power to awaken any. Nay, as I should be a
10 raw recruit engaging with a veteran, there were many who dissuaded me from the undertaking, partly out of envy, lest, whatever the issue, I should gain glory from a contest with an enemy so illustrious; partly, from apprehension for me and for the cause, lest I should retire vanquished, to the heavy dis-
15 grace of both. Lastly the specious and plausible nature of his cause, the rooted opinion of the vulgar, or which is more properly called superstition, and the prepossession in favour of the royal name, had given additional vigour and spirit to Salmasius — circumstances which all made against me. Hence
20 when our defence soon after made its appearance, it is less to be wondered at, that it was seized with avidity by most persons, as they had an eager curiosity to see who could be so rash as to presume to enter the lists with Salmasius, than that it should give such pleasure and satisfaction to many; insomuch
25 that as respect was no longer had to the author, but to truth itself, Salmasius, who was lately seated on the summit of honour, now, as if the mask which disguised him had been taken off, suddenly fell from his renown and from his confi-

rere, tametsi omnibus nervis id agens, quoad vixit postea non
valuerit. Te vero, serenissima Suecorum regina, tuumque
illud acre iudicium fallere haud diu potuit; tu veritatis par-
tium studiis antefereudae, Princeps atque Author prope dicam
5 coelestis exstitisti. Quamvis enim ilium hominem eximiae doc-
trinae fama, causaeque regiae patrociniu tune temporis longe
omnium celeberrimum, a te invitatum, multis honoribus affe-
cisses, tamen prodeunte illo responso, & singulari aequanimi-
tate abs te perlecto, postquam vanitatis & apertissimae cor-
10 ruptelse redargutum Salmasium, multa leviter, multa immo-
derate, falsa quaedam, adversus seipsum alia, & prioribus sen-
tentiis contraria disseruisse animadverteras, ad quæ, coram
accitus, ut ferunt, quod satis responderet nihil habuit, ita
palam animo affecta es, ut ab illo tempore neque hominem,
15 ut antea, colere, neque ejus ingeniufn aut doctrinam magni
facere, &, quod erat planè inopinatum, ejus adversario pro-
pensius favere, omnes te intelligerent. Quod enim erat in
tyrannos dictum, negabas id ad te ullo modo pertinere: unde
& apud te fructum, & apud alios famam rectissimae conscien-
20 tia adeptas es. Cum enim tua facta satis declarent, tyrannum
te non esse, haec tua tarn aperta animi significatio adhuc cla-
riis demonstrabat, te ejus rei ne omnino quidem tibi esse con-

dence; and though he strained every nerve to recover himself, he was unable to accomplish it as long as he lived.

But you, most serene queen of the Swedes! and that nice discernment of yours, he could not long deceive. You have
5 stood forth the princess and the authoress little less (shall I say?) than heavenly, of preferring truth to the partialities of faction. For although you invited and loaded with honours the man, who, at that time, was celebrated above his fellows for pre-eminent learning, and for his defence of the royal
10 cause, yet, after that answer had appeared, which was perused by you with singular equanimity, and you had discovered that Salmasius was convicted of talking to no purpose, and of palpable misrepresentation; that he had said many things which are frivolous, many which are extravagant, some which are
15 false, others which go against himself, and are contrary to his former sentiments, and that when called into your presence, as the report goes, he could give no satisfactory reasons for all this—your mind underwent so visible a change, that, from that time, it was plain to everybody, that you neither paid the
20 same attention to the man as before, nor made much account of his genius and learning; and what was altogether unexpected, showed an evident inclination to favour his adversary. For you denied that what was spoken against tyrants could have any reference whatever to you; and by this you gained,
25 with yourself the fruit, with others the reputation, of a most upright conscience. As it is sufficiently plain from your actions, that you are no tyrant, this open declaration of your sentiments shows, in a still clearer light, that you are utterly

sciam. Omespemeaomnifelioreml (Eloquentiam enim, nisi quæ in ipsa veritate Suada est, nullam mihi sumo) qui, cum in ea patriae tempora incidissem, ut necesse esset in causa tarn ardua tamque invidiosa versari, ut jus omne regium im-
5 pugnare viderer, tarn illustrem, tarn vere regiam nactus sim integritatis meae testem atque interpretem, nullum me verbum fecisse contra reges, sed contra regum labes ac pestes duntaxat tyrannos. Te ver6 magnanimam, Augusta, te tutam undique divina plane virtute ac sapientia munitam!
10 in jus tuum ac dignitatem poterat videri scriptum, non soliim tarn aequo animo atque sedato, tarn incredibili mentis candore, vultisque vera serenitate perlegere sustinuisti; sed contra ipsum Patronum tuum ejusmodi sententiam ferre, ut ejus adversario palmam etiam adjudicare ^ plerisque existimeris.
15 Quo te honore, qua te veneratione, Regina, prosequi semper debuero, cujus excelsa virtus ac magnitudo animi non tibi soliim gloriosa, sed mihi etiam tarn fausta atque fortunata, & suspicione me omni atque infamia apud alios reges liberavit, & praeclaro ac immortalis hoc beneficio tibi in perpetuum de-
20 vinxit. Quam bene de aequitate tua, deque justitia & sentire exteri, & sentire & sperare semper tui populi debebunt, qui, ctim tua res ac majestas ipsa agi videretur, tarn nihil turbatam

unconscious of the thing. Happy am I! happy even beyond my highest hope! (for I boast of no other eloquence than that persuasion which is inherent in truth itself;) who, when I had fallen upon those times of my country, in which I was
5 constrained of necessity to engage in a cause at once so arduous and invidious, that I must seem to impugn all regal right, have found a witness and an interpreter of my integrity so illustrious, so truly royal, as to interpret and bear witness for me, that I have spoken not a syllable against kings, but against
10 the underminers and pests of kings—against tyrants only. But how magnanimous, Augusta, how secure on all sides must you be, fortified as you are with a virtue and wisdom clearly divine! when you could not only peruse with such equanimity, such calmness, with a candour of mind so unexampled, with
15 a serenity of countenance so perfect, what might have seemed written against your own right and dignity; but could adopt an opinion of this nature against your own advocate himself, so as to be commonly thought even to award the palm to his adversary! In what honour, in what veneration, must you ever
20 be held by me, when your exalted virtue and greatness of spirit, not only glorious to yourself, but auspicious and fortunate for me, have freed me, as it respects other kings, from all suspicion and disgrace, and, by this signal and immortal benefit, have bound me to you for ever! With
25 what favour must foreigners have thought, with what favour must your own people have both thought and hoped of your equity and impartiality, when, at a time in which your own concerns, in which your majesty itself seemed

te de tuo haud minus placide, quam de populi jure soles, judicantem viderunt. Jam tu quidem haud temere, tot conquisita undique volumina, tot literarum monumenta conguessisti, non quasi te ilia quicquam docere, sed ut ex illis tui cives te discere, 5 tuaeque virtutis ac sapiential praestantiam contemplari possint; cujus ipsa Divae species, nisi tuo animo penitus insedisset, & quasi oculis conspiciendam se tibi prae buisset, haud ulla profect⁶ librorum lectione, tam incredibiles amores excitasset in te sui: quo magis ilium mentis tuae vigorem plane aethereum & 10 quasi purissimam divinae aerae partem in illas ultimas regiones delapsam admiramur; quam neque coelum illud triste ac nubilolum ullis frigoribus extinguere aut gravare, neque solum illud horridum ac salebrosum, quod & ingenia quoque incolarum haud raro indurat, quicquam in te inaequale aut 15 asperum creare potuit: quin & ipsa terra ilia, tot metallis faecunda, si aliis noverca, tibi certe alma parens, te summis enixa viribus totam auream produxisse videtur. Dicerem Adolphi filiam invicti atque inclyti regis unicam prolem, nisi tu illi, *Christina*, tantum prae duceres, quantum viribus sapientia, belli 20 artibus pacis studia praecellunt. Jam inde profect⁶ regina

to be the subject of contention, they saw you delivering your judgment, with as little emotion, with no less composure, on your own rights, than you had been accustomed to do on the rights of the people! Besides, it was for no idle purpose that you collected from all parts such multitudes of choice volumes, so many monuments of learning! It was not that from these things yourself might learn any thing, but that from them your own citizens might learn to know you, that they might be able to contemplate the pre-eminence of your virtue and of your wisdom; and unless the very image of the goddess of wisdom had sat before your inmost spirit, unless she had appeared, as it were, in a visible form before your eyes, she could never have raised in you, by any book-learning, such an ardent love of herself. This makes us admire the more your vigour of mind manifestly ethereal, as if the purest particle of the breath divine had fallen upon those remote regions—a particle, which that melancholy and cloudy sky, with its freezing cold, could neither extinguish nor oppress; nor could that horrid and rugged soil, which is wont to harden also the minds of its inhabitants, create in you any thing unequal or rough; nay, this very land, so fertile in divers metals, though to others a stepmother, being certainly to you a fostering parent, seems to have exerted her utmost powers to produce you entirely of gold. I would address you as the daughter of Adolphus, as the only descendant of that invincible and famous king, if, Christina, you did not outshine him as much as wisdom exceeds strength, as much as the arts of peace surpass the stratagems of war. Henceforward, not the queen of the

Austri baud sola cclebrabitur: habet nunc & septentrio regnam suam, & dignam sane quæ non modo sapientissimum
ilium Judxorum regem, aut siquis unquam similis futurus
esset, auditum proficisceretur, sed ad quam alii tanquam ad
5 clarissimum regaliū virtutum exemplar, & visendam omnibus Heroīnam, undique concurrant: nullumque in terris fastigium par esse ejus laudibus ac meritis fateantur, in qua minimum hoc esse videant, quod sit Regina, tot gentium monarcha. Non autem hoc minimum, quod etiam hoc esse
10 decorum suorum minimum ipsa sentiat, aliudque longe majus atque sublimius meditetur, quam regnare; hoc ipso nomine innumeris regibus praeponenda. Potest itaque, si ea manet Suecorum gentem calamitas, regnum abdicare, Regīnam deponere nunquam potest, non Sueciae sed totius orbis
15 terrarum dignam se imperio testata.

In has digressum me Reginas meritissimas laudes, nemo est, opinor, qui non collaudet, nedum reprehendat; quas ego quidem sine summa ingratitudinis culpa, vel aliis tacentibus, praetermittere non potui; qui nescio qua mea sorte, sane felicissima, aut si quis est occultus vel siderum, vel animorum,
20 vel rerum consensus aut moderamem, tantam arbitram quam omnium minime sperabam, omnium maxime optabam, tam mihi aequam & faventem in ultimis terris reppererim. Nunc

south alone shall be celebrated in story. The north has now also his queen, and worthy too, not merely to go and listen to that wisest king of the Jews, or to any other, should any ever more arise like him, but to be herself the heroine to be visited
5 by others, flocking from all quarters as to the brightest pattern of royal virtue; and who should confess that there is no dignity upon earth equal to her praises and merits; of which they would see that the least is, that she is a queen—the monarch of so many nations. Again, it is not the least, that she
10 herself thinks this the least of her honours, and meditates upon something far greater and more sublime, than to reign; meriting to be valued, on this very account, above innumerable kings. Hence, she may abdicate the kingdom, should such a misfortune await the Swedish nation; but that she, who has
15 proved herself worthy of the empire, not of Sweden only, but of the world, should divest herself of the queen, can never be in her power!

There is no one I trust, who, so far from blaming, would not commend me for this digression to an eulogium of the
20 queen so well deserved; an eulogium which, though others were silent, I could not omit without a heavy charge of ingratitude; since, I know not by what chance, though certainly by a most happy one, or whether by some hidden consent or guidance of the stars, or of spirits, or of things—I, who the
25 least of all men expected, who the most of all wished such a thing, have found, in the remotest regions, an arbitress so illustrious, so impartial and favorable to me.

We must now return to the remaining part of the work, of

tamen est. *Infremuisse, ais, nos ad Defensionis regies famam; dispexisse igitur Grammaticastrum aliquem famelicum, qui venalem calamum parricidii patrocínio vellet commodare. Hæc abs te malitiosissime ficta sunt, ex quo memineras, regies,*
5 *cum suis mendaciis ac maledicentiæ praeconem dispicerent, adiisse Grammaticum, si non famelicum, certe auri plus nimio sitientem Salmasium; qui non solum prasentem operam suam, sed bonam quoque mentem, si quam prius habuit, illis libentissime vendidit; ex quo memineras Salmasium,*
10 *fama jam deplorata atque perdita, cum dispiceret, qui existimationem affictam atque obtritam, quoquo modo reparare quiret, te invenisse justo Dei iudicio, non, unde excussus es, ministrum Genevensem, sed episcopum Lampsacenum, id est, ex horto Priapum, suae domus constupratorem; unde &*
15 *insulsissimas laudes, tanto cum dedecore emptas aversatus, & ex amico inimicissimus factus, tibi laudatori suo, multa moriens imprecatus est. Unus inventus est, magnus scilicet Heros, quern Salmasio opponerent, Joannes Miltonus. Ego Heroem me esse nesciebam, tu Heroi's cujuspiam forte filius*
20 *per me sis licet; totus enim noxa es. Atque unum me esse inventum, qui causam populi Anglicani tuear, si reipublicae rationes cogito, sanè quam doleo, si laudem, ejus participem habere me neminem facile patior. Quis & unde sim dubium*

however different a nature. By your account, "we were in the utmost agitation at the news of the royal defence; and looked around for some hungry pedagogue, who would employ his venal pen in defence of parricide." This, in your unrivalled
5 malice, is what has been invented by you, from your recollecting that the royalists, when they looked around for a crier for their lies and their slander, applied to the grammarian Salmasius, who, if not hungry, was at least not a little thirsty of gold; who fairly sold them not merely his present work, but
10 his good intentions, if he ever had any, for the future—from your recollecting that Salmasius, his fame now wept over and gone, when he looked around for some one who should repair, at any rate, his abased and shattered reputation, by the just retribution of God, lighted upon you; who were now no
15 longer the minister of Geneva, from which place you were driven out, but the bishop of Lampsacus—in other words, Priapus from the garden, the defiler of his own house. Whence, loathing such tasteless bepraisings, purchased with so much dishonour, he became, from a friend, an irreconcil-
20 able enemy, and died with many a curse upon you his own eulogist.—"One John Milton, a great hero doubtless, was found, to be opposed to Salmasius." I did not know that I was a hero, though you, for ought I know, may be the son of some frail heroine; for you are one entire mass of corruption. That
25 I was the only one who was found to defend the cause of the people of England, if I consider the interests of the commonwealth, is a subject of real concern to me; if I consider the glory, it is not willingly that I suffer any one to share it with

ais esse. Tarn olim erat dubium quis Homerus, quis Demos-
thenes. Equidem tacere diu, & posse non scribere, quod nun-
quam potuit Salmasius, didiceram; eaque in sinu gestabam
tacitus, quæ si turn proferre libuisset, aequè ac nunc, inclaruisse
5 jamdudum poteram: sed cunctantis famae avidus non eram,
ne hæc quidem, nisi idonea data occasione, unquam prola-
turus; nihil laborans etsi alii me quæcunque nossem scire
nesciebant; non enim famam sed oportunitatem cujusque rei
prastolabar; unde factum est, ut multo ante plurimis essem
10 notus, quam Salmasius notus esset sibi; nunc Andremonem
notior est caballo. *Homine an vermis.* Equidem malim me
vermem esse, quod fatetur de se etiam rex Davides, quam
tuum vermem in pectore nunquam moriturum intus celare.
Aiunt, inquis, hominem Cantabrigiensi Academid ob flagitia
15 *pulsum, dedecus & patriam fugisse, & in Italiam commi-*
grasse. Vel hinc licebit conjicere quam veraces illi fuerint, ex
quibus res nostras auditione accepisti; hic enim & te & illos
impudentissime mentiri & norunt omnes qui me norunt, &
statim amplius ostendam. Pulsus vero Cantabrigia, cur in
20 Italiam potius quam in Galliam aut Hollandiam commigra-
rem? ubi tu tot flagitiis coopertus. Minister evangelii, non

me. Who and whence I am, say you, is doubtful. So also was it doubtful, in ancient times, who Homer was, who Demosthenes. The truth is, I had learnt to be long silent, to be able to forbear writing, which Salmasius never could; and carried
5 silently in my own breast what if I had chosen then, as well as now, to bring forth, I could long since have gained a name. But I was not eager for fame, who is slow of pace; indeed, if the fit opportunity had not been given me, even these things would never have seen the light; little concerned, though
10 others were ignorant that I knew what I did. It was not the fame of every thing that I was waiting for, but the opportunity. Hence, it happened, that I was known to no small number of persons, before Salmasius was known to himself; now he is more known than the pack-horse Andremon.—
15 "Whether he is a man or a worm." In very truth, I had rather be a worm, a confession which king David also makes of himself, than conceal within my breast that worm of yours that shall never die.—You proceed—"It is said, that the man was expelled from the university of Cambridge for his debauch-
so cries, and that, flying from his disgrace and his country, he shifted his quarters to Italy." It may be conjectured even from this, what credit is due to those, from whom you received your information of our affairs: for, that both you and they are guilty of a most impudent falsehood, in this particular, is well
25 known to all who know me, and shall presently be shown more at large. Now, after being expelled from Cambridge, why should I shift my quarters to Italy, rather than to France or Holland? where you, who are covered with debaucheries

mod6 impunc vivis, sed concionaris, sed sacra etiam ministeria, summo cum illius Ecclesiae opprobrio, inquinatissimis manibus conspurcas. Cur vero in Italiam, More ? novus credo Saturnus, ut alicubi laterem, in Latium scilicet profugi. Verum ego Italiam, non, ut tu putas, facinorosorum latibulum aut asylum, sed humanitatis potius, & civilium doctrinarum omnium hospitium & noveram antea, & expertus sum. *Reversus librum de divortiis conscripsit.* Non aliud scripsi atque ante me Bucerus de regno Christi copiose, Fagius in Deuteronomium, Erasmus in Epistolam primam ad Corinthios dedita opera in Anglorum gratiam, alique multi percelebres viri, in commune bonum scripserunt. Quod in illis nemo reprehendit, cur id mihi prae caeteris fraudi esset, non intelligo: vellem hoc tantum, sermone vernaculo me non scripsisse; non enim in vernas lectores incidissem; quibus solemne est sua bona ignorare, aliorum mala irridere. Tene vero, turpissime, de divortiis obstrepere, qui cum Pontia ancilla tibi desponsata, post stuprum eo obtentu illatum, immanissimum omnium divortium fecisd ? Et tamen erat illa Salmasii famula, Anglica, ut fertur foemina, regiis parricibus apprimè dedita; nempe hoc erat, scelerate adamasti ut rem regiam, reliquisti ut rem publicam, cujus tamen conversionis, quam odisse adeo

out of number, and a minister of the gospel, not only live with impunity, but preach; but, to the utter disgrace of that church, defile with your filthy hands even the holy ministeries. Why then to Italy, More ? like another Saturn, I suppose, I fled to
5 Latium, to find a hiding place! But I fled to Italy, not, as you imagine, as to the skulking corner, or the place of refuge to the profligate, but because I knew, and had found before, that it is the retreat of civility and of all polite learning.—"On his return, he wrote his book on divorce." I wrote nothing more
10 than what Bucer before me wrote at large on the kingdom of Christ, than what Fagius on Deuteronomy, Erasmus on the first epistle to the Corinthians—works intended for the particular benefit of Englishmen—than what many other very celebrated men have written for the good of mankind in general. Why that should be charged upon me in particular as a
is fault, which nobody finds fault with in them, I cannot comprehend. I could wish only that I had not written in the vernacular tongue; for I had not fallen upon vernacular readers, with whom it is usual to be unconscious of their own good
20 fortune, and to ridicule the misfortune of others. And is it for you, base seducer, to make a clamour about divorce, who have been guilty of the most cruel of all divorces with Pontia, the waiting maid, whom you engaged in marriage, and with this lure debauched her? And yet this servant of Salmasius
25 was an Englishwoman, as it is said, attached the most warmly to the royal party; in short, miscreant, you loved her as a royal thing and left her as a public thing; but take care you are not found to be the author of her conversion, the thought of which

vis videri, vide ne ipse author fueris; vide, inquam, ne sub-
versa funditus dominatione Salmasiana Pontiam ipse in rem
publicam converteris. Et hoc modo multas tu quidem una in
urbe res publicas, regius licet, aut fundasse diceris aut ab aliis
5 fundatas minister publicus administrare. Haec tua sunt di-
vortia, seu mavis, diverticula, unde in me Curius prodiisti. Ad
mendacia nunc redis. *Cum de regis capite inter conjuratos
ageretur, serif sit ad cos, & nutantes in malam partem im-
pulis.* Ego vero neque ad eos scripsi, neque impellere attine-
10 bat, quibus id omnino agere, sine me, deliberatum jam erat:
verum ea de re quid scripserim, infra dicetur, uti etiam de
Iconoclaste. Nunc quoniam iste, Hominem an dicam haereo;
purgamentum potius hominis, ab ancillarum adulteriis ad
adulterandam omnem veritatem progressus, congestis in me
15 tot una serie mendaciis, apud externos infamem reddere cona-
tus est, peto ne quis rem secus interpretetur, aut in invidiam
trahat, neve moleste ferat, si de me plura quam vellem &
dixi supra, & porr6 dicam: ut si oculos a caecitate, nomen ab
oblivione aut calumnia non possum, vitam tamen possim ab
20 ea saltern obscuritate quæ cum macula sit, in lucem vindicare.
Idque non unam ob causam mihi erit necessario faciendum.
Primum ut tot viros bonos atque doctos, qui per omnes vici-

you seem so unable to endure; take care, I say, lest by utterly overturning Salmasia's sovereignty, you do not convert Pontia into a republic. In this way, indeed, you are said to have founded, though yourself a royalist, many republics in the
5 same city, or, to administer them, as public minister, after they have been founded by others. Such are your divorces, or as you would rather have it, your diversions, from which you have come out against me, a very Curius.—You now return to your lies. "When the decapitation of the king was agitated by the
10 conspirators, he wrote to them, while yet wavering, and urged them to the horrid deed." Now I neither wrote to them, nor was it possible that I should urge those, who had already resolved upon the thing, without even an intention of consulting me. But I shall speak of what I wrote upon that subject
15 hereafter, as also of the *Ei\onoJ(lastcs*.

Since this man (though I am in doubt whether I should call him a man, or merely the refuse of a man) from his corruption of maid-servants, has proceeded to corrupt all truth, and by heaping upon me lies without number, has endeav-
20 oured to render my name infamous among foreigners, let me intreat that I may not be misinterpreted, that I may not excite ill-will, that I may not give offence, if I have spoken before, and if I shall speak again more of myself than I could wish; that, if I cannot rescue my eyes from blindness, my name from
25 oblivion or calumny, I may at least be able, in open day, to redeem my life from that dimness which is produced by a stain. This will be necessary for me on more accounts than one. And first, that so many excellent and learned men,

nas gentes nostra jam legunt, deque me baud mate sentiunt, ne propter hujus maledicta mei poeniteat; verum ita sibi persuadeant non eum esse me, qui honestam orationem in honestis moribus, aut libere dicta serviliter factis unquam dedecorarim; vitamque nostram Deo bene juvante, ab omni turpitudine ac flagitio remotam longe semper fuisse: deinde, ut quos laudandos mihi sumo viros illustres ac laude dignos, hi sciant nihil me pudendum magis existimare, quam si ad eorum laudes vituperandus ipse ac nequam accederem; sciat 5 denique populus Anglicanus, quern ut defenderem, meum sive fatum sive officium, sua virtus impulit, si vitam pudenter atque honeste semper egi, meam defensionem, nescio an honori aut ornamento, certe pudori aut dedecori nunquam sibi fore: qui igitur, & unde sim, nunc dicam. Londini sum 15 natus, genere honesto, patre viro integerrimo, matre probatissima, & eleemosynis per viciniam potissimum nota. Pater me puerulum humaniorum literarum studiis destinavit; quas ita avidè arripui, ut ab anno aetatis duodecimo vix unquam ante mediam noctem a lucubrationibus cubitum discederem; 20 quæ prima oculorum perniciēs fuit: quorum ad naturalem debilitatem accesserant & crebri capitis dolores; quas omnia cum discendi impetum non retardarent, & in ludo literario, & sub

throughout the neighbouring nations, who are now reading my writings and are disposed to think favourably of me, may not feel regret and shame on my account; but may be convinced, that I am not such a one, who has ever disgraced fair
5 words by foul deeds, or the language of a free man by the actions of a slave; and that my life, by God's help, has been ever far removed from all baseness and loose behaviour. Secondly, that those praise-worthy and illustrious men, whose eulogies I undertake to pronounce, may know it to be my
10 opinion, that there could be no greater cause for shame, while myself was vicious and deserving of reproof; in fine, that the people of England, to whose defence, whether it was my destiny or my duty, I was impelled by their own virtue, may know, that if I have ever led a life free from shame and dis-
15 honour, my defence (whether it may redound to their honour and ornament I know not) can certainly never prove to them a cause of shame or disgrace. Who, then, and whence I am I will now make known.

I was born at London, of respectable parents. My father
20 was a man of the highest integrity; my mother, an excellent woman, was particularly known throughout the neighbourhood for her charitable donations. My father destined me from a child for the pursuits of polite learning, which I prosecuted with such eagerness, that after I was twelve years old,
25 I rarely retired to bed from my lucubrations till midnight. This was the first thing which proved pernicious to my eyes, to the natural weakness of which were added frequent headaches. But as all this could not abate my instinctive ardour for

aliis domi magistris erudiendum quotidie curavit: ita variis
instructum linguis, & percepta haud leviter philosophic dul-
cedine, ad Gymnasium gentis alterum, Cantabrigiam misit:
Illic disciplinis atque artibus tradi solitis septennium studui;
5 procul omni flagitio, bonis omnibus probatus, usquedum
Magistri, quern vocant, gradum, cum laude etiam adeptus,
non in Italiam, quod impurus ille comminiscitur, profugi, sed
sponte meâ domum me contuli, meique etiam desiderium,
apud Collegii plerosque socios a quibus eram haud mediocriter
10 cultus, reliqui. Paterno rure, quo is transigendae senectuds
causâ concesserat, evolvendis Graecis Latinsque scriptoribus
sumum per otium totus vacavi; ita tamen ut nonnunquam,
rus urbe mutarem, aut coemendorum gratia librorum, aut
novum quidpiam in Mathematicis, vel in Musicis, quibus turn
15 oblectabar, addiscendi. Exacto in hunc modum quinquennio,
post matris obitum, regiones externas, & Italiam potissimum,
videndi cupidus, exorato patre, uno cum famulo profectus
sum. Abeuntem, vir clarissimus Henricus Woottonus, qui ad
Venetos Orator Jacobi regis diu fuerat, & votis & praeceptis,
20 eunti peregre sane utilissimis, elegand epistola perscriptis, me
amicissime prosequutus est. Commendatum ab aliis nobilis-

learning, he provided me, in addition to the ordinary instructions of the grammar school, masters to give me daily lessons at home. Being thus instructed in various languages, and having gotten no slight taste of the sweetness of philosophy, he
5 sent me to Cambridge, one of our two national colleges. There, aloof from all profligate conduct, and with the approbation of all good men, I studied seven years, according to the usual course of discipline and of scientific instruction—till I obtained, and with applause, the degree of master, as it is called;
10 when I fled not into Italy, as this foul miscreant falsely asserts, but, of my own free will, returned home, leaving behind me among most of the fellows of the college, who had shown me no ordinary attention, even an affectionate regret. At my father's country house, to which he had retired to pass the
15 remainder of his days, being perfectly at my ease, I gave myself up entirely to reading the Greek and Latin writers; exchanging, however, sometimes, the country for the town, either for the purchase of books, or to learn something new in mathematics, or in music, which at that time furnished the
20 sources of my amusement. After passing five years in this way, I had the curiosity, after the death of my mother, to see foreign countries, and above all, Italy; and having obtained permission of my father, I set out, attended by one servant. On my departure, I was treated in the most friendly manner by
25 Sir Henry Wotton, who was long ambassador from king James to Venice, and who not only followed me with his good wishes, but communicated, in an elegant letter, some maxims of the greatest use to one who is going abroad. From the rec-

simus vir Thomas Scudamorus vicecomes Slegonensis, Caroli regis Legatus, Parisiis humanissime accepit; meque Hugoni Grotio viro eruditissimo, ab Regina Suecorum tunc temporis ad Gallic regem Legato, quem invisere cupiebam, suo
5 nomine, & suorum uno atque altero deducente, commendavit: discedenti post dies aliquot Italiam versus, literas ad mercatores Anglos, qua iter eram facturus, dedit, ut quibus possent officiis mihi praest⁶ essent. Nicaea solvens, Genuam perveni; mox Liburnum & Pisas, inde Florentiam. Ilia in urbe,
10 quam prae caeteris propter elegantiam cum linguae turn ingeniorum semper colui, ad duos circiter menses substiti; illic multorum & nobilium sane & doctorum hominum familiaritatem statim contraxi; quorum etiam privatas academias, (qui mos illic, cum ad literas humaniores, turn ad amicitias
15 conservandas laudatissimus est) assidue frequentavi. Tui enim Jacobo Gaddi, Carole Dati, Frescobalde, Cultelline, Bonmattlm, Clementille, Francine, aliorumque plurium memoriam, apud me semper gratam atque jucundam, nulla dies delebit. Florentia Senas, inde Romam profectus, post
20 quam illius urbis antiquitas & prisca fama me ad bimestre fere spatium tenuisset (ubi & Luca Holstenio, aliisque viris cum doctis turn ingeniosis, sum usus humanissimis) Neapolim perrexi: Illic per Eremitam quendam, quicum Roma iter feceram, ad Joannem Baptistam Mansum, Marchionem
25 Villensem, virum nobilissimum atque gravissimum, (ad

ommendation of others, I was received at Paris with the utmost courtesy, by the noble Thomas Scudamore, Viscount of Sligo, who of his own accord introduced me, accompanied by several of his suite, to the learned Hugo Grotius, at that time
5 ambassador from the queen of Sweden to the king of France, and whom I was very desirous of seeing. On my setting out for Italy some days after, he gave me letters to the English merchants on my route, that they might be ready to do me any service in their power. Taking ship at Nice, I arrived at
10 Genoa; and soon after at Leghorn and Pisa, thence to Florence. In this last city, which I have always valued above the rest for the elegance of its dialect and of its genius, I continued about two months. Here I soon contracted a familiar acquaintance with many persons eminent for their rank and learning,
15 and regularly frequented also their private academies—an institution which deserves the highest commendation, as calculated to preserve at once polite letters and friendly intercourse: for, the pleasing, the delightful recollection I still retain of you Jacobo Gaddi, of you Carolo Dati, Frescobaldi,
20 Coltellino, Bonmatthei, Clementillo, Francini, and many others, no time will efface. From Florence I pursued my route to Sienna, and then to Rome; and having been detained about two months in this city by its antiquities and ancient renown, (where I enjoyed the accomplished society of Lucas Holsten-
25 ius and of many other learned and superior men) I proceeded to Naples. Here I was introduced by a certain hermit, with whom I had travelled from Rome, to John Baptista Manso, Marquis of Villa, a man of the first rank and authority, to

quern Torquatus Tassus insignis poeta Italus de amicitia scripsit) sum introductus; eodemque usus, quamdiu illic fui, sane amicissimo; qui & ipse me per urbis loca & Proregis aulam circumduxit, & visendi gratia haud semel ipse ad
5 hospitium venit: discedenti serio excusavit se, tametsi multo plura detulisse mihi officia maxime cupiebat, non potuisse ilia in urbe, propterea quod nolebam in religione esse tectior. In Siciliam quoque & Graeciam trajicere volentem me, tristis ex Anglia belli civilis nuntius revocavit: turpe enim existima-
10 bam, dum mei cives domi de libertate dimicaret, me animi causa otiose peregrinari. Romam autem reversurum, monebant Mercatores se didicisse per literas parari mihi ab Jesuitis Anglis insidias, si Romam reverterem; eo quod de religione nimis libere loquutus essem. Sis enim mecum statueram, de
15 religione quidem iis in locis sermones ultro non inferre; interrogatus de fide, quicquid essem passurus, nihil dissimulare. Romam itaque nihilo minus redii: quid essem, si quis interrogabat, neminem celavi; si quis adoriebatur, in ipsa urbe Pontificis, alteros prope duos menses, orthodoxam religionem,
20 ut antea, liberrime tuebar: Deoque sic volente, incolumis Florentiam rursus perveni; haud minus mei cupientes reviensens, ac si in patriam revertissem. Illic totidem, quot prius,

whom the illustrious Italian poet, Torquato Tasso, addressed his book on friendship. By him I was treated, while I stayed there, with all the warmth of friendship: for he conducted me himself over the city and the viceregent's court, and more
5 than once came to visit me at my own lodgings. On my leaving Naples, he gravely apologized for showing me no more attention, alleging that although it was what he wished above all things, it was not in his power in that city, because I had not thought proper to be more guarded on the point of re-
10 ligious. As I was preparing to pass over also into Sicily and Greece, I was restrained by the melancholy tidings from England of the civil war: for I thought it base, that I should be travelling at my ease, even for the improvement of my mind abroad, while my fellow-citizens were fighting for their lib-
is erty at home. As I was about to return to Rome, the merchants gave me an intimation, that they had learnt from their letters, that, in case of my revisiting Rome, the English Jesuits had laid a plot for me, because I had spoken too freely on the subject of religion: for I had laid it down as a rule for myself,
20 never to begin a conversation on religion in those parts; but if interrogated concerning my faith, whatever might be the consequence, to dissemble nothing. I therefore returned notwithstanding to Rome; I concealed from no one, who asked the question, what I was; if any one attacked me, I defended
25 in the most open manner, as before, the orthodox faith, for nearly two months more, in the city even of the sovereign pontiff himself. By the will of God, I arrived safe again at Florence; revisiting those who longed no less to see me, than

menses libenter commoratus, nisi quod ad paucos dies Lucam excucurri, transcenso Apennino, per Bononiam & Ferraram, Venetias contendi. Cui urbi lustrandae cum mensem unum impendissem, & libros, quos per Italiam conquisiveram, in
5 navem imponendos curassem, per Veronam ac Mediolanum, & Paeninas Alpes, Lacu denique Lemanno, Genevam delatus sum. quæ urbs, cum in mentem mihi hinc veniat Mori calumniatoris, facit ut Deum hie rursus testem invocem, me his omnibus in locis, ubi tarn multa licent, ab omni flagitio ac
10 probro integrum atque intactum vixisse, illud perpetuo cogitantem, si hominum latere oculos possem, Dei certe non posse. Geneva cum Joanne Deodato, Theologian professore doctissimo, quotidianus versabar. Deinde eodem itinere, quo prius, per Galliam, post annum & tres plus minus menses in
15 patriam revertor; eodem ferme tempore quo Carolus, cum Scotis, rupta pace, bellum alterum quod vocant Episcopale, redintegrabat; in quo fuis primo congressu regiis copiis, cum videret etiam omnes Anglos, & merito quidem, in se pessime animatos, malo coactus, non sponte, Parlamentum haud ita
20 multo post, convocavit. Ipse, sicubi possem, tarn rebus turbatis & fluctuantibus, locum consistendi circumspiciens, mihi librisque meis, sat amplam in urbe domum condux; ibi ad intermissa studia beatulus me recepi; rerum exitu Deo im-

if I had returned to my own country. There I willingly stopped as many months as before, except that I made an excursion for a few days to Lucca; when, crossing the Apennine, I made the best of my way, through Bononia and Ferrara, to Venice.

5 Having spent a month in getting a survey of this city, and seen the books shipped which I had collected in Italy, I was brought, by way of Verona, Milan, and the Famine Alps, and along the lake Lemano, to Geneva. This city, as it brings to my recollection the slanderer More, makes me again call God

10 to witness, that, in all these places where so much licence is given, I lived free and untouched of all defilement and profligate behaviour, having it ever in my thought, that if I could escape the eyes of men, I certainly could not escape the eyes of God. At Geneva I had daily intercourse with John Deodati,

15 the very learned professor of divinity. Then, by the same route as before, I returned through France, to my own country, after an absence of a year and about three months. I arrived nearly at the time that Charles, breaking the pacification, renewed the war, called the episcopal war, with the Scots, in which the

20 royal forces were routed in the first engagement; and Charles, now finding the whole English nation enraged, and justly, to the last degree against him, not long after called a parliament; though not by his own will, but as compelled by his necessities. Looking about me for some place in which I

25 might take up my abode, if any was to be found in this troubled and fluctuating state of affairs, I hired, for me and my books, a sufficiently spacious house in the city. Here I returned with no little delight to my interrupted studies; leav-

primis, & quibus id muneris populus dabat, facile permissio. Interea Parlamento rem strenue gerente, Episcoporum fastus detumuit. Ut primum loquendi saltern caepta est libertas concedi, omnia in Episcopos aperiri ora; alii de ipsorum vitiis, 5 alii de ipsius ordinis vitio conqueri; iniquum esse, se solos ab ecclesiis omnibus, quotquot reformati sunt, discrepare; exemplo fratrum, sed maxime ex verbo Dei, gubernari Ecclesiam convenire. Ad haec sane expectatus, cum veram affectari viam ad libertatem cernerem, ab his initiis, his passibus, ad 10 liberandam servitute vitam omnem mortalium, rectissime procedi, si ab religione disciplina orta, ad mores & instituta reipublicae emanaret, cum etiam me ita ab adolescenda pararem, ut quid divini, quid humani esset juris, ante omnia possem non ignorare, meque consulissem ecquando ullius usus 15 essem futurus, si nunc patrix, immo vero ecclesiae totque fratribus evangelii causa, periculo sese objicientibus deessem, statui, etsi tunc alia quaedam meditabar, huc omne ingenium, omnes industrial vires transferre. Primum itaque de reformatanda ecclesia Anglicana, duos ad amicum quendam libros 20 conscripsi: deinde, cum duo prae caeteris magni nominis Episcopi suum jus contra Ministros quosdam primarios assere-

ing without difficulty, the issue of things more especially to God, and to those to whom the people had assigned that department of duty. Meanwhile, as the parliament acted with great vigour, the pride of the bishops began to lose its swell. No
5 sooner did liberty of speech begin to be allowed, than every mouth was open against the bishops. Some complained of their personal vices, others of the vice of the order itself. It was wrong, they said, that they alone should differ from all other reformed churches; that it was expedient the church
10 should be governed by the example of the brethren, and above all by the word of God. I became perfectly awake to these things; and perceiving that men were in the right way to liberty; that, if discipline originating in religion continued its course to the morals and institutions of the commonwealth,
15 they were proceeding in a direct line from such beginnings, from such steps, to the deliverance of the whole life of mortal man from slavery—moreover, as I had endeavoured from my youth, before all things, not to be ignorant of what was law, whether divine or human; as I had considered, whether I
20 could ever be of use, should I now be wanting to my country, to the church, and to such multitudes of the brethren who were exposing themselves to danger for the gospel's sake—I resolved, though my thoughts were then employed upon other subjects, to transfer to these the whole force of my mind and
25 industry. Accordingly, I first wrote *Of the Reformation of the English Church*, in two books, to a friend. Next, as there were two bishops of reputation above the rest, who maintained their own cause against certain leading ministers; and

rent, ratus de iis rebus, quas amore solo veritatis, & ex officii Christiani ratione didiceram haud pejus me dicturum quæm qui de suo quæstu & injustissimo dominatu contendebant, ad hunc libris duobus, quorum unus de Episcopatu pradatico, 5 alter de ratione Discipline ecclesiastics inscribitur, ad ilium, scriptis quibusdam animadversionibus, & mox Apologia, respondi; & ministris facundiam hominis, ut ferebatur aegre sustinentibus, suppetias tuli; & ab eo tempore, si quid postea responderent, interfui. Cum petiti omnium telis Episcopi 10 tandem cecidissent, otiumque ab illis esset, verti alio cogitationes; si qua in re possem libertatis verae ac solidae rationem promovere; quæ non forls, sed intus quærenda, non pugnando, sed vitam recte instituendo, recteque administrando adipiscenda potissimum est. Cum itaque tres omnino animadverterem 15 libertatis esse species, quæ nisi adsint, vita ulla transigi commodè vix possit, Ecclesiasticam, domesticam seu privatam, atque civilem, deque prima jam scripsissem, deque tertia Magistratum sedu!6 agere viderem, quæ reliqua secunda erat, domesticam mihi desumpsi; ea quoque tripartita, cum videretur 20 esse, si res conjugalis, si liberorum institutio recte se haberet, si denique libere philosophandi potestas esset, de conjugio non

as I had the persuasion, that on a subject which I had studied solely for the love of truth and from a regard to Christian duty, I should not write worse than those who contended for their own lucre and most iniquitous domination; to one of them I
5 replied in two books, of which one was entitled *Of Prdactical Episcopacy*, the other *Of the Reason of Church Government*; to the other, in some *Animadversions*, and soon after, in an *Apology*; and thus, as was said, brought timely succour to those ministers, who had some difficulty in maintaining their
10 ground against the bishops' eloquence: from this time too, I held myself ready, should they thenceforward make any reply. When the bishops, at whom every man aimed his arrow, had at length fallen, and we were now at leisure, as far as they were concerned, I began to turn my thoughts to other subjects;
15 to consider in what way I could contribute to the progress of real and substantial liberty; which is to be sought for not from without, but within, and is to be obtained principally not by fighting, but by the just regulation and by the proper conduct of life. Reflecting, therefore, that there are in all three species
20 of liberty, without which it is scarcely possible to pass any life with comfort, namely, ecclesiastical, domestic or private, and civil; that I had already written on the first species, and saw the magistrate diligently employed about the third, I undertook the domestic, which was the one that remained. But as
25 this also appeared to be three-fold, namely, whether the affair of marriage was rightly managed; whether the education of children was properly conducted; whether, lastly, we were to be allowed freedom of opinion—I explained my sentiments

solium rite contrahendo, verum etiam, si necesse esset, dissolvendo, quid sentirem explicui; idque ex divina lege, quam Christus non sustulit, nedum aliam, tota lege Mosaica gravio-
rem civiliter sanxit; quid item de excepta solum fornicatione
5 sentiendum sit, & meam aliorumque sententiam exprompsi, & clarissimus vir Seldenus noster, in Uxore Hebraea plus minus biennio post edita, uberius demonstravit Frustra enim libertatem in comitiis & foro crepat, qui domi servitutem viro indignissimam, inferiori etiam servit; ea igitur de re aliquot libros
10 edidi; eo praesertim tempore cum vir saepe & conjux hostes inter se acerrimi, hic domi cum liberis, illic in castris hostium materfamilias versaretur, viro caedem atque perniciem minitans. Institutionem deinde liberorum uno opusculo brevius quidem tractabam; sed quod satis arbitrabar iis fore, qui ad eam rem,
15 qua par esset diligentia, incumberent; qua quidem re, nihil ad imbuendas, unde vera atque interna oritur libertas, virtute hominum mentes, nihil ad rempublicam bene gerendam, & quam diutissime conservandam majus momentum potest afferre. Postremo de typographia liberanda, ne veri & falsi

not only on the proper mode of contracting marriage, but also of dissolving it, should that be found necessary: and this I did according to the divine law which Christ has never abrogated; and much less has he given a civil sanction to any other, that
5 should be of higher authority than the whole law of Moses. In like manner I delivered my own opinion and the opinion of others concerning what was to be thought of the single exception of fornication—a question which has been also copiously elucidated by our celebrated Selden, in his *Hebrew*
10 *Wife*, published some two years after. Again, it is to little purpose for him to make a noise about liberty in the legislative assemblies, and in the courts of justice, who is in bondage to an inferior at home,—a species of bondage of all others the most degrading to a man. On this point, therefore, I published
15 some books, and at that particular time, when man and wife were often the fiercest enemies, he being at home with his children, while she, the mother of the family, was in the camp of the enemy, threatening slaughter and destruction to her husband. I next treated, in one little work, of the education of
20 children, briefly it is true, but at sufficient length, I conceived, for those, who apply themselves to the subject with all that earnestness and diligence which it demands—a subject than which there can be none of greater moment to imbue the minds of men with virtue, from which springs that true lib-
25 erty which is felt within; none for the wise administration of a commonwealth, and for giving it its utmost possible duration. Lastly, I wrote, after the model of a regular speech, *Areopagitica*, on the liberty of printing, that the determina-

arbitrium, quid edendum, quid premendum, penes paucos
esset, eosque fere indoctos, & vulgaris judicii homines, libro-
rum inspectioni praepositos, per quos nemini fere quicquam
quod supra vulgus sapiat, in lucem emittere, aut licet aut libet,
5 ad justae orationis modum Areopagiticam scripsi. Civilem,
quae postrema species restabat, non attigeram; quam Magi-
stratui satis curae esse cernebam: neque de jure regio quic-
quam à me scriptum est, donec Rex hostis a Senatu judicatus,
belloque victus, causam captivus apud Judices diceret, capi-
jo tisque damnatus est: Turn vero tandem, cum Presbyteriani
quidam Ministri, Carolo prius infestissimi, nunc Indepen-
dentium partes suis anteferri, & in Senatu plus posse indig-
nantes, Parlamenti sentential de Rege latae, (non facto irati,
sed quod ipsorum factio non fecisset) reclamarent, & quan-
15 turn in ipsis erat, tumultuarentur, ausi affirmare Protestan-
tium doctrinam, omnesque ecclesias reformatas ab ejusmodi
in reges atroci sententia abhorre, ratus falsitati tam apertae
palam eundem obviam esse, ne turn quidem de Carolo quic-
quam scripsi aut suasi, sed quid in genere contra tyrannos
20 liceret, adductis haud paucis summorum Theologorum testi-
moniis, ostendi; & insignem hominum meliora profitentium,

tion of true and false, of what ought to be published and what suppressed, might not be in the hands of the few who may be charged with the inspection of books, men commonly without learning and of vulgar judgment, and by whose
5 licence and pleasure, no one is suffered to publish any thing which may be above vulgar apprehension. The civil species of liberty, the last which remained, I had not touched, as I perceived it drew sufficient attention from the magistrate. Nor did I write any thing on the right of kings, till the king, pro-
10 nounced an enemy by the parliament, and vanquished in war, was arraigned as a captive before judges, and condemned to lose his head. But, when certain presbyterian ministers, at first the bitterest foes to Charles, unable to endure that the independent party should now be preferred to them, and that
15 it should have greater influence in the senate, began to clamour against the sentence which the parliament had pronounced upon the king (though in no wise angry at the deed, but only that themselves had not the execution of it) and tried to their utmost to raise a tumult, having the assurance to
20 affirm that the doctrine of protestants, that all the reformed churches shrunk with horror from the atrocity of such a sentence against kings—then indeed, I thought it behoved me openly to oppose so barefaced a falsehood. Yet even then, I neither wrote nor advised any thing concerning Charles; but
25 simply showed, in general, what may be lawfully done against tyrants; adducing, in confirmation, the authorities of no small number of the most eminent divines; inveighing, at the same time, almost with the zeal of a preacher against the egregious

sive ignorantiam sive impudentiam prope concionabundus
incessi. Liber iste non nisi post mortem Regis prodiit, ad com-
ponendos potius hominum animos factus, quam ad statuen-
dum de Carolo quicquam quod non mea, sed Magistratuum
5 intererat, & peractum jam turn erat. Hanc intra privates pari-
etes meam operam nunc ecclesiae, nunc reipublicae gratis dedi;
mihi vicissim vel haec vel ilia prater incolumitatem nihil; bo-
nam certe conscientiam, bonam apud bonos existimationem,
& honestam hanc dicendi libertatem facta ipsa reddidere:
10 commoda alii, alii honores gratis ad se trahebant: me nemo
ambientem, nemo per amicos quicquam petentem, curiae fo-
ribus affixum petitorio vultu, aut minorum conventuum vesti-
bulis haerentem nemo me unquam vidit; domi fere me con-
tinebam, meis ipse facultatibus, tametsi hoc civili tumultu
15 magna ex parte saepe detentis, & censum fere iniquius mihi
impositum, & vitam utcunque frugi tolerabam* His rebus
confectis, cum jam abunde otii existimarem mihi futurum,
ad historiam gentis, ab ultima origine repetitam, ad haec
usque tempora, si possem, perpetuo filo deducendam me con-
20 verti: quatuor jam libros absolveram, cum ecce nihil tale cogi-
tantem me, Caroli regno in rempublicam redacto, Concilium

ignorance or impudence of those men, who had promised better things. This book was not published till after the death of the king, being intended rather to compose the minds of men, than to settle any thing relating to Charles; that being
5 the business of the magistrates instead of mine, and which, at the time I speak of, had been already done. These services of mine, which were performed within private walls, I gratuitously bestowed at one time upon the church, at another, upon the commonwealth; while neither the commonwealth
10 nor the church bestowed upon me in return any thing beyond security. It is true, that I gained a good conscience, a fair repute among good men, and that the deeds themselves rendered this freedom of speech honorable to me. Some men however gained advantages, others honours, for doing noth-
15 ing; but no man ever saw me canvassing for preferment, no man ever saw me in quest of any thing through the medium of friends, fixed, with supplicatory look to the doors of the parliament, or clung to the vestibules of lower assemblies. I kept myself commonly at home, and supported myself, how-
20 ever frugally, upon my own fortune, though, in this civil broil, a great part was often detained, and an assessment rather disproportionate, imposed upon me. Having dispatched these things, and thinking that, for the future, I should now have abundance of leisure, I undertook a history of the nation
25 from its remotest origin; intending to bring it down, if I could, in one unbroken thread to our own times. I had already finished four books, when lo! (Charles's kingdom being reduced to a commonwealth) the council of state, as it

States, quod dicitur, turn primum autoritate Parlamenti
constitutum, ad se vocat, meaue opera ad res praesertim ex-
ternas uti voluit. Prodiit haud multo post attributus Regi
liber, contra Parlamentum invidiosissime sane scriptus: huic
5 respondere iussus, Iconi Iconoclasten opposui; non *regiis*
manibus insultans, ut insimulor, sed reginam veritatem regi
Carolo anteponendam arbitratus; immo cum praeviderem
hanc calumniam cuius maledico in promptu fore, ipso ex-
ordio, & saepe alias, quoad licuit, a me istam invidiam sum
10 amolitus, Prodiit deinde Salmasius; cui quis responderet,
adeo non diu, quod ait Morus, dispiciebant, ut me in concilio
turn etiam praesentem statim omnes ultro nominarent. Hac-
tenus ad obturandum os tuum, More, & mendacia redar-
guenda bonorum maxime virorum in gradam, qui me alias
15 non norint, met rationem reddidi. Tu igitur, More, tibi dico
immunde, (*pffKbdyrt*, obmutesce inquam; quo enim magis
mihi maledixeris, eo me rationes meas uberius explicare coe-
geris; ex quo aliud lucrari nihil poteris, quam ut tibi menda-
ciorum opprobrium adhuc gravius concilies, mihi ad integ-
20 ritatis commendationem eo latius viam aperias. Reprehen-
deram ego Salmasium, quod extraneum se & alienigenam
rebus nostris immiscuisset: Tu instas, *ad cos qui ad Angliam*
non pertinent, hanc defensionem maxime pertinere. Quid

is called, now first constituted by authority of parliament, invited me to lend them my services in the department more particularly of foreign affairs—an event which had never entered my thoughts! Not long after, the book which was
5 attributed to the king made its appearance, written certainly with the bitterest malice against the parliament. Being ordered to prepare an answer to it, I opposed the *Iconoclast* to the *Icon*; not, as is pretended, "in insult to the departed spirit of the king," but in the persuasion, that queen truth ought
10 to be preferred to king Charles; and as I foresaw that some reviler would be ready with this slander, I endeavoured in the introduction, and in other places as far as it was proper, to ward off the reproach. Next came forward Salmasius; and no long time, as More reports, was lost in looking about for
15 some person to answer him, so that all, of their own accord, instantly nominated me, who was then present in the council. —It is chiefly, More, for the sake of those good men, who have otherwise no knowledge of me, that, to stop your mouth and to confound your lies, I have so far given an account of
20 myself. I tell you, then, foul priest, hold your peace, I say: for the more you revile me, the more fully will you compel me to explain my own conduct; from which you could gain nothing yourself, but the reproach, already too heavy, of being a liar; and would lay open for me a still wider field for the
25 commendation of my own integrity.

I had censured Salmasius, as being of another country, and of foreign extraction, for intermeddling with our affairs. You insist, "that this defence concerns those most, who have no

enim ? *possint*, inquis, *Angli existimari studio partium acrius agere; Gallos verb consentaneum est rei, non hominum, rationem habuisse*. Ad haec eadem quæ prius regero; externum & longinquum, qualis tu es, in alienas res pnesertim turbatas, 5 immersurum se neminem nisi corruptum; Salmasium prius demonstravi mercede conductum; te constat per Salmasium & Arausionenses professoriam cathedram petiisse; deinde, quod faedius est, exagitas Parlamentum, & subagitas Pontiam. Quam autem affers rationem, cur haec ad externos potius per- 10 tinerent, deridicula prorsus est; si enim Angli partium studiis feruntur, quid vos aliud, qui illos solos sequimini, quam eorum affectus duntaxat in vos transfertis ? adeo ut, si Anglis illis credendum in sua causa non est, vobis profecto sit multo minus; qui rerum nostrarum nihil intelligitis, aut saltern cre- 15 ditis, nisi quas ab ipsis accepistis quibus, vestra quoque sententia, vix est credendum. Hie rursum effundis te in laudem magni Salmasii: magnus sane tibi fuit, quem tu quasi pro lenone habuisti ancillae suae; laudas tamen; at is te non laudat, immo ante mortem palam est abominatus, seque ipse millies 20 incusavit, quod Spanhemio gravissimo Theologo, de te, quam

concern with England." And why? "Englishmen (you say) may be supposed to be strongly actuated by the spirit of faction; whereas, it is likely, that the French took more account of the thing, than of the men." To this I make the same re-
5 tort as before; that no man, who is a foreigner and at a great distance, like yourself, will embroil himself with the affairs of another country, especially when those affairs are in a state of distraction, unless he is corrupted. I have before shown that Salmasius was bribed; it appears that yourself, through the
10 medium of Salmasius and of the Orange faction, made interest for a professorial chair; and what is still worse, you are next falling foul of the parliament, while you are playing foul with Pontia. But the reason you give why these things rather concerned foreigners is perfectly ridiculous: for if the English
15 are carried away by party feelings, what is it that you, who follow them exclusively, transfer to yourselves, if not their passions only? Hence, if those Englishmen are not to be believed in their own cause, surely much less are you to be believed, who know nothing of our affairs, or at least believe nothing, but
20 what you have received from these very persons, and who, even in your own judgment, are scarcely worthy of credit.— Here again you break out in encomiums upon the great Salmasius. To you he was great indeed, you having employed him as a sort of pimp to procure his servant girl. You praise
25 him nevertheless; but he praises not you; nay, before his death it was well known that he held you in abomination, and reproached himself a thousand times for not giving credit to that venerable divine Spanheim, who warned him of your impiety.

impius esses, non credidisset. Nunc totus in rabiem versus ration! quasi renuntias; *Jamdudum rationi* scilicet *defunctus est Salmasius*. Tu clamandi tantum & furendi partes tibi deposcis, & tamen primas in maledicendo etiam tribuis Salmasio; *non quia verbis scevit, sed quia Salmasius*. Ὁ σπερμολόγε! has nempe argutias morigeranti debemus Pontiae. Hinc clamor tuus argutari atque etiam minurizare didicit; hinc minitabundus quoque, *expcriemini*, inquis, *aliquando, jadis-simce bclluce, quid styli potuerint*. Tene experiemur, ancil-
10 lariole, tene mæche, aut stylum tuum, ancillis tantummodo metuendum? cui si quis raphanum aut mugilem solum intenderit, actum mehercule præclare tecum putes, si nate non fissa & incolumi stylo isto salaci tuo queas aufugere. *Equidem non adco sum*, inquis, *vacui capitis ut provinciam h Salmasio*
15 *susceptam aggrediar*: quam ille quidem sine capite admodum vacuo, nunquam aggressus fuisset; festive tu quidem vacuitate capitis magnum Salmasium tibi anteponis. *At regii sanguinis clamorem ad cesium tollere quod ineruditi etiam debent*: hoc nempe tuum esse ais. Clama, vociferare, boa; perge hypo-
so critari, sancta verba usurpare, & Priapei'a vivere: Exurget, mihi crede, aliquando quern inclamas toties ultionum Deus,

—Now you have worked yourself up into a fury, as if bidding adieu to reason: "Salmasius," it seems "has been dead long ago in reason"; you ask for yourself the part only of crying and raving; and yet you give the first in reviling also to
5 Salmasius; "not because he is outrageous in his language, but because he is Salmasius." Babblers! for these smart things I suppose we are indebted to the more-bearing Pontia. It is hence your cry has learnt to be witty, as well as to lament in whining tone; it is hence also, in your bullying way, you
10 thus threaten us: "The time shall come, ye foul beasts, when ye shall be made to feel what the style can do." Shall we be made to feel you, maid-hunting miscreant—shall we be made to feel you, lecher, or your style, which is formidable only to maid-servants? When, if any one should only show
15 you a radish-root or a mullet, by Hercules, you would think yourself well off, to escape without having your breech cut in sunder, and without the loss of that salacious style of yours.—
"Indeed (you remark) my head is not so empty as to attempt a task which had been undertaken by Salmasius": a task,
20 however, which he had never undertaken, unless his head had been deplorably empty. It is truly amusing, for you to rank the great Salmasius before yourself in emptiness of head.—
"To raise the cry of the royal blood to heaven," "it being the duty" even "of the illiterate"—you mean, I suppose, is your
25 duty. Cry, vociferate, bellow; go on to play the hypocrite, to have words of sanctity in your mouth, to live in the worship of Priapus! Be assured, the time shall come, when the God of vengeance, to whom you so often cry, shall arise; he shall

exurget, teque imprimis eradicabit, diaboli ministrum, & reformat ecclesiae infandum dedecus & luem. Inculpantibus Salmasii maledicentiam quamplurimis, respondes, *Sic cum farricidis monstrorum omnium turpissimis, fuisse agendum.*

- 5 Laudo; telis enim nos instruis: & quo te pacto, tuosque perduelles tractari conveniat, commodus doces, nosque ipse absolvis. Nunc quando ratione nihil potes, ne audes quidem occupatum ab Salmasio jus omne regium, & quicquid est in eo rationis causatus, a contumeliis & rabie ad narrationes
- 10 quasdam miserabiles conversus, expers rationis, institutos ab initio clamores tantum persequeris: quas partim Salmasianas recoxisti, partim ex elencho illo *ἐλεγχιστῶ* anonymo, qui non patria solum, sed nomine etiam profugit, descriptas interpolasti: quarum ad præcipua capita, vel in Iconoclaste, vel in
- 15 Salmasianis ita jam respondi, ut citra modum Historic, responderi amplius posse non putem. Semperne ego ut identidem eandem orbitam teram, & ad Balatronis cujusque stridorem dicta toties cogar iterare? non faciam; neque mea sic abutar vel opera vel otio. Si quis conductitios ejulatus, &
- 20 composites vaenalissimi hominis ploratus, si quis declamatiunculas, quas etiam ancillaris concubitus adulterinas eduxit

arise, and it shall be his first care to root out you, minister of the devil! the unutterable disgrace and pest of the reformed church. To the multitudes who condemn the abuse of Salmasius, you reply,—"It is thus that parricides, of all monsters
5 the most abominable, deserve to be treated." I commend you; for you furnish us with weapons; and instruct us opportunely in what way it is proper that yourself as well as your adversaries should be dealt with; at the same time that you absolve us from blame. Finding you can do nothing with reason,
10 afraid to venture upon the general ground of the right of kings, which had been pre-occupied by Salmasius, and having alleged every thing that has relation to reason to be found in him, you now tack about from contumely and fury to some wretched narratives, though being destitute of any rational
15 purpose, you merely continue the same clamour with which you set out. These narratives you have partly dressed up from Salmasius, and partly copied from that anonymous and most refutable view, the author of which has forsaken not his country only, but his name; to their chief points having already
20 replied at sufficient length, either in Eikonoklastes, or in my answer to Salmasius, I cannot, I think, well say more, at lesser length than a regular history. Shall I for ever be compelled, every now and then, to tread the same round, and, at the noise of every low fellow, to repeat what I have so
25 often said before? I will not do it; I will not make so ill a use either of my labour or of my time. If any one thinks these mercenary cries, these ready-made lamentations of a hireling mourner, these contemptible speechifyings, the spurious

& spurias, Morilli nothi gemellas, fide satis locupletes arbitratum esse, ad me quod attinet, nihil quidem motor, quo miniis ita existimet; neque enim est ut ab ejusmodi credulo ac temerario metuendum nobis quicquam sit: attingam tamen
5 pauca, multorum instar, ex quibus tarn quis ipse, quam quid dicat, & quid de reliquo judicandum sit, summatim intelligetis. Postquam de camera plebis & camera procerum, ad unam redigenda, multa exoticus deblateravit, (quod postulat nemo sanus reprehenderet) *ut aequalitate*, inquit, *in*
10 *rcmpublicam invectd, adeandem in ecclesiam introducendam procederetur; tunc enim adhuc stabant episcopi: hic nisi sit purus putus Anabaptismus, nihil video.* Quis hoc a Theologo & ministro Gallico sperasset unquam? sane qui Anabaptismus quid sit, nisi hoc sit, non videt, eum ego crediderim haud magis
15 videre quid sit Baptismus. Sed si res propriis vocabulis appellare malimus, aequalitas in republica non est Anabaptismus, sed Democratia longe antiquior; in ecclesia praesertim constituta, est disciplina Apostolica. At enim *stabant episcopi*. Fatemur, stabant & Genevae; cum illa civitas &
20 episcopum & eundem legitimum principem religionis causa expulit; quod illis laudi, cur id nobis probro ducitur? scio

progeny of concubinage with a waiting maid, and born at a litter with the little bastard More—if any one thinks these things of sufficient account to be believed, I, for my own part, shall make no attempt to hinder him from thinking so still; 5 indeed, from any one so credulous and thoughtless, I can in truth have nothing to fear. I will touch, however, upon a few things, which will answer the purpose of many, from which you will learn in a few words of what description the author is, as well as what he says; and likewise what is to be thought 10 of the rest.

This alien having talked a good deal of nonsense about the reduction of the Lords and Commons to a single house (a demand which no man in his senses would blame) remarks, "that, having established equality in the state, they might proceed to introduce the same into the church: for at the time I speak of, the bishops yet remained: if this be not rank anabaptism, I do not see what is." Who could ever have expected this from a divine and a minister of the Gallic church? He who sees not what anabaptism is, unless this be it, I should 20 really think can see as little what baptism is. But, if we would call things by their right names, equality in the state is not anabaptism, but democracy, a thing far more ancient; and as established in the church, is the discipline of the apostles. But "the bishops remained." Granted; they remained too at 25 Geneva, when that city expelled, on account of religion, its bishop, who was at the same time its legitimate prince. Why should that be considered as disgraceful in us, which in them was regarded as honourable? I am not at a loss, More, to

quid tibi vis, More, Genevensium suffragia ultum is; quibus dimissus cum ignominia, an ejectus ex ilia ecclesia fueris, in dubio est. Te ergo cum Salmasio tuo ab evangelico hoc instituto descivisse, & ad episcopos transfugisse, si mod6 refert quo
5 tu transfugeris, apparet. *Deinde ad ministrorum*, inquis, *nostratum cequalitatem respublica transiit, ut palhm sit eundem spiritum tune viguissc qui octavo dcmum anno nejando regis parricidio rcm pcrcegit*. Ergo idem ut videtur spiritus & ministros constituit vestrates, & parricidium peregit: Perge ut
10 occepisti, quas par est apostatam, eructare insanias. *Non flures* _f inquis, *tribus libcllis supplicibus conjecerunt, qui in regem animadverti postulabant*. Quod notum est, & ipse memini, falsissimum esse. Sane qui has res apud nos memoriae mandarunt, non tres tantummodo libellos istiusmodi, sed
15 multos ex diversis Angliae provinciis, exercitusque legionibus unius fere mensis spatio, tres uno die allatos fuisse memorant. Vides quanta cum gravitate hac de re deliberaverit Senatus, cujus cunctationem Populus lenitatis nimiae suspectam tot supplicibus libellis eximendam putavit. Quot reris millia ho-
20 minum fuisse idem sentientium, qui Senatum ad id hortari, quod jam turn seri6 agitabat, vel importunum existimarent

know what you would be at; you would revenge the votes of the Genevese, by which it is yet a question, whether you were dismissed with ignominy, or ejected from the Genevese church. That you, therefore, as well as Salmasius, are become
5 a renegado from this evangelical institution, and are gone over to the bishops, (if it be of any consequence whither you go) is manifest.—"Then the state passed (you say) to the equality of the ministers of our persuasion: for it is known to every body, that the same spirit then prevailed, which at last, in the
10 eighth year, put an end to the business by the atrocious parricide of the king." It appears, then, that the same spirit by which the ministers of your persuasion were constituted, also executed the parricide. Go on as you have begun, to belch out your ravings, which comport well with an apostate.

15 "There were only three petitions (you say) which demanded punishment on the king": which is well known, and which I myself remember, to be utterly false. Indeed, those among us who have charged their memories with these circumstances, remember not three petitions only of this kind,
20 but many from different counties of England; and that, for the space of nearly a month, three a day were presented by the regiments of the army. You see what grave deliberation the parliament must have bestowed upon this subject, when the people, suspecting them of excess of lenity, thought it
25 right, by their numerous petitions, to put an end to their lingering. How many thousands were there, do you suppose, who were unanimous in thinking it officious or superfluous to urge the parliament to a measure, which was then under

vel supervacaneum ? quorum ex numero & ipse fui, qui tamen quid voluerim obscurum non est. Quid si contieuisent omnes rei magnitudine perculsi, eone minus habuisset Senatus in re tanta quod statueret, expectandusne populi nutus
5 erat, ex quo tantorum exitus consiliorum penderet ? enimvero supremum gentis Concilium, ab universe populo ea mente adhibitum, ut impotentem regis dominatum coereret, posteaquam efferatum & repugnantem bello cepisset, si recurrere ad jussa populi deberet, velit jubeatne de captivo hoste supplicium sumi, profect⁶ qui rempublicam fortissime recuperassent, quid aliud fecisse viderentur quam in laqueos tyranni a populo, si fors ita ferret, absoluti sese praecipites dedisse ? aut si accepta maximis de rebus decernendi summa potestate, de iis quæ præsertim vulgi captum superant, non dico ad populum
15 lum (nam cum hac potestate ipsi populus jam sunt) sed ad multitudinem rursus referre cogerentur quæ imperitiae suae conscia ad eos prius omnia retulerat, quis ultro citroque referendi finis esset ? quis tandem in hoc Euripo consistendi locus ? quod firmamentum inter libellos istiusmodi tot capitum levis-
20 simorum, quæ salus quassatis rebus hominum foret ? quid si

their serious consideration ? Of this number I myself was one, though what was my wish it is not hard to divine. What if all men had been silent, in amazement at the magnitude of the thing? Would the senate have been more at a loss how to
5 decide in so great a matter ? Was the nod of the people to be waited for, on which to hang the issue of counsels so important ? In truth, if the supreme council of the nation, which is employed by the whole body of the people as a check upon the wild domination of the king, after having made the king a
10 prisoner of war, he being found in open violence and resistance, were obliged to recur to the commands of the people, and to ask their orders to punish a captive enemy—what else would those men, who with so much courage had rescued the commonwealth, have appeared, in fact, to have done, but,
15 with the countenance of the people, if they had haply obtained it, to have rashly thrown themselves into the toils of the tyrant ? Or if, after having accepted the sovereign power to decide on things of the highest moment, on things especially which are above the capacity of the vulgar, they had been
20 compelled again to refer, I do not say to the people, (for though invested with this power, they are themselves still the people) but to the multitude, who, from feeling their own ignorance, had before referred every thing to them—what
25 ward ? In fine, what resting place had there been in this Euripus ? Amidst these petitions proceeding from so many fantastical heads, what settlement, what safety could there have been for the shaken fabric of society ? What if they had de-

restituendum regno Carolum postulassent ? cujusmodi libellos
extitisse aliquot non supplices sed minaces fatendum est sedi-
tiosorum hominum, quorum nunc odium, nunc miseratio
xque stulta aut malitiosa esse solebat; horumne ratio habenda
5 fuit? qui *ut cum Rege colloquium institueretur, ingenti, in-*
quis, numero pagis relictis ad Parlamenti fores accurrebant;
quorum Senatores, immisso milite, plurimos trucidarunt. Et
Surrienses dicis paganos, qui nescio aliorum e malitia, agrestes
ipsi, an sua improbitate impuls, cum libello supplice bene
10 poti, & comessabundi potius, quam aliquid petitori, per ur-
bem ibant; mox curiae fores facto agmine ferociter obsederunt;
collocatos ibi milites stationibus deturbarunt, unum ad ipsas
curiae fores occiderunt, priusquam illos vel dicto vel facto
quisquam laccessisset: inde merito pulsi ac male multati, haud
15 ultra duos tresve occisi, vinolentiam potius quam *libertatem*
sfrantes. Passim concedis *fotiores fuisse Independentitim*
partes, non numero, sed consilio & virtute militari. Unde ego
& jure & merito superiores quoque fuisse contendo: nihil
enim est naturae convenientius, nihil justius, nihil humano
20 generi utilius aut melius, quam ut minor majori, non nu-

manded that Charles should be restored to the kingdom? That there were some petitions of this description, not however, of a petitionary but of a menacing nature, must be confessed, from seditious persons, whose hatred one while, and
5 whose complaining another, was, for the most part, equally absurd and malicious: and were such to obtain notice? who according to your account, "to procure a conference with the king, left their villages and flocked to the doors of the parliament house in great numbers; of whom very many were
10 cruelly murdered by the military, who were admitted by the members." You mention also the country people of Surrey—mere peasants, who, whether instigated by the malice of others, or by their own licentious inclinations, I am not informed, paraded through the city with a petition, being in a state of
15 intoxication, and more prepared for carousing than for petitioning. Soon, in a body they beset the doors of the parliament-house in a riotous manner; turned the soldiers who were stationed there from their posts; killed one at the very parliament doors, without having received the slightest provocation
20 by word or deed; and "breathing" drunkenness rather than "liberty," they were very properly driven thence and roughly handled, though not more than two or three of them were killed.—You every where concede that "the Independents were the most powerful, not in number, but in counsel and mil-
25 itary virtue." And I contend, that they were hence also justly and deservedly superior: for there is nothing more agreeable to nature, nothing more just; nothing more useful or more for the interest of man, than that the less should yield to the

merus numero, sed virtus virtuti, consilium consilio cedat; qui prudentia, qui rerum usu, industria, atque virtute pollent, hi mea quidem sententia, quantumvis pauci, quantovis numero, plures erunt, & suffrages ubique potiores. Multa spar-
5 sim inseris de *Cromuello*, quæ cujusmodi sint infra videbimus; de reliquis responsum jampridem Salmasio est. Judicium quoque Regis non pmermittis, quamvis & illud e magno tuo rhetore miserabiliter sit declamatum. Proceres, id est, Regis purpuratos, & ministros fere aulicos, a judicando
10 Rege ais abhorruisse: Nos id parum referre, altero libro ostendimus. *Deinde curiarum judices erasos; quippe qui responderant esse contra Anglice leges, Regem judicio sisti.* Nescio quid tune responderint, scio quid jam approbent atque defendant: non est novum, Judices, quos minime decet, me-
15 ticulosos esse. *Præficitur ergo sordidæ fy scelerata curitz, par Presses, obscurissimus & petulantissimus nebulo.* Te verò tot vitiis & sceleribus obstrictum, immo meram spurcitiem, merum scelus, usque adeo obduxisse menti & sensibus callum, nisi tua mens potius tota callus est, ut in Deum atheus, & sa-
20 rorum contaminator, in homines inhumanus, cujusque optimi

greater; not number to number, but virtue to virtue, and counsel to counsel. Those who excel in prudence, in their experience in business, in industry and virtue, will, in my opinion, however few, prove to be the majority, and will prevail
5 more in the suffrages of mankind than any number, however great.

You intersperse a good many things about Cromwell, and of what description we shall see hereafter. As to the rest, we have long since replied to them as urged by Salmasius. You do
10 not forget also the judgment passed upon the king, notwithstanding this has been pitifully declaimed over by your great rhetorician. The nobles (you say) that is, the king's courtiers, and courtly ministers, as most of them were, shrunk with horror from judging the king. That this is of little weight, we
15 have shown in another work.—"Next, the judges of the courts were struck out: for they when appealed to had returned for answer, that it was contrary to the laws of England, that the king should be put upon his trial." I know not what they then answered; but I know what they now approve and defend. It
20 is no new thing for judges to be timorous, though in them of all men it is the least becoming.—"For this despicable and accursed court there was chosen a suitable president—an obscure and insolent scoundrel." Now for you who have been guilty of so much impurity and wickedness—for you
25 who are nothing but one mass of foulness and of crimes, to have brought such a callus upon your mind and senses (if your mind be not rather one entire callosity) as towards God to be an atheist and a defiler of the sacred rites, towards man a

calumniator esse ausis, quid aliud est esse quam germanum
Iscariotam atque diabolum? Quamvis autem tua vituperatio
laus summa sit, tamen praestantissimo viro cui oblatras, nee
non amico mihi semper plurimum colendo, nequaquam
5 deero; quo minus ab improbissimis perfugarum & Mororum
linguis, quas nisi causa reipublicae nunquam sensisset, vin-
dicem. Est *Joannes Bradscianus* (quod nomen libertas ipsa,
quacunque gentium colitur, memoriae sempiternae celebran-
dum commendavit,) nobili familia, ut satis notum est, ortus;
10 unde patriis legibus addiscendis, primam omnem aetatem
sedulo impendit; dein consultissimus causarum ac disertissi-
mus patronus, libertatis & populi vindex acerrimus, & magnis
reipublicae negotiis est adhibitus, & incorrupti Judicis munere
aliquoties perfunctus: Tandem uti Regis judicio praesidere
15 vellet, a Senatu rogatus, provinciam sane periculosissimam
non recusavit. Attulerat enim ad legum scientiam ingenium
liberate, animum excelsum, mores integros ac nemini ob-
noxios; unde illud munus omni prope exemplo majus ae for-
midabilius, tot Sicariorum pugionibus ac minis petitus, ita
20 constanter, ita graviter, tanta animi cum praesentia ac digni-
tate gessit atque implevit, ut ad hoc ipsum opus, quod jam
olim Deus edendum in hoc populo mirabili providentia decre-

savage, a calumniator of the undertakings of every man of eminent character,—what is it but to be near of kin to Iscariot and to the devil? But though your censure is the highest praise, yet, far be it from me to be so wanting to that pre-
5 eminent personage, at whom you are barking, and who is a friend of my own, of all others, the most deserving of my reverence, as not to defend him from the audacious tongues of the fugitives and the Mores, which but for the commonwealth he never had felt.

- 10 John Bradshaw (a name which liberty herself, wherever she is respected, has commended for celebration to everlasting memory) was sprung, as is well known, from a noble family; and hence, spent the early part of his life in the diligent study of the laws of his country. Becoming afterwards a skill-
15 ful and eloquent pleader, a zealous defender of liberty and of the people, he was admitted to the higher offices in the state, and several times discharged the function of an incorrupt judge. At length, on a request from the parliament that he would preside on the trial of the king, he refused not the dan-
20 gerous office: for to skill in the law, he added a liberal mind, a lofty spirit, with manners unimpeached, and beholden to no man. This office, therefore, which was great and fearful almost surpassing all example, marked out as he was by the daggers and threats of so many ruffians, he executed and filled
25 with such steadiness, such gravity, with such dignity and presence of mind, that he seemed destined and created by the deity himself for this particular act—an act which God in his stupendous providence had pre-ordained should be exhibited

verat, ab ipso Numine designates atque factus videretur;
& Tyrannicidarum omnium gloriam tantum superaverit,
quant6 est humanius, quant6 justius, ac maiestate plenius,
Tyrannum iudicare, quam iniudicatum occidere. Alioqui
5 nee tristis, nee severus, sed comis ac placidus, personam ta-
men quam suscepit tantam, aequalis ubique sibi, ac veluti
consul non unius anni, pari gravitate sustinet, ut non de tri-
bunali tantum, sed per omnem vitam iudicare Regem diceret.
In consiliis ac laboribus publicis maxime omnium indefessus,
10 multisque par unus; domi, si quis alius, pro suis facultatibus
hospitalis ac splendidus, amicus longe fidelissimus, atque in
omni fortuna certissimus, bene merentes quoscunque nemo
citius aut libentius agnoscit, neque maiore benevolentia pro-
sequitur; nunc pios, nunc doctos, aut quavis ingenii laude
15 cognitos, nunc militares etiam & fortes viros ad inopiam re-
dactos suis opibus sublevat; iis si non indigent, colit tamen
libens atque amplectitur; alienas laudes perpetuo praedicare,
suas tacere solitus; hostium quoque civilium si quis ad sani-
tatem rediit, quod experti sunt plurimi, nemo ignoscentior.
20 Quod si causa oppressi cuiuspiam defendenda palam, si gratia
aut vis potentiorum oppugnanda, si in quenquam bene meri-
tum, ingratitude publica objurganda sit, turn quidem in illo
viro, vel facundiam vel constantiam nemo desideret, non

among this people—and he so far surpassed the glory of all tyrannicides, as it is more humane, more just, more full of majesty, to try a tyrant, than to put him to death without trial. He was otherwise neither gloomy nor severe, but mild and
5 gentle. Yet, at all times equal to himself—the consul, as it were, not of a single year—he supported the high character which he took upon him with a becoming gravity; so that you would think him sitting in judgment upon the king, not on the tribunal only, but every moment of his life. He is above
10 all men indefatigable in counsel, and in exertions for the public—he alone is equal to a host. At home, he is, according to his means, hospitable and splendid; the most faithful of friends, and, in every change of fortune, the most to be relied upon. No one sooner or more willingly discovers merit, wher-
15 ever it is to be seen, or acts towards it with greater favour. At one time he aids the pious, at another the learned, or men known for any species of skill; now he relieves, from his private fortune, brave men of the military profession who have been reduced to want; and if they are not in want, he yet re-
20 ceives them with a willing courtesy, a friendly welcome. It is his constant practice to proclaim the praises of others, and to conceal his own: and among his political enemies, if any has happened to return to his right senses, which has been the case with many, no man has been more ready to forgive. But
25 if the cause of the oppressed is to be openly defended; if the favour and the power of the mighty is to be resisted; if the public ingratitude against any meritorious character is to be reproved; then indeed, no one could find in this man any

patronum, non amicum, vel idoneum magis & intrepidum,
vel disertiozem alium quisquam sibi optet; habet, quern non
minae dimovere recto, non metus aut munera proposito bono
atque officio, vultusque ac mentis firmissimo statu dejicere
5 valeant. Quibus virtutibus, & plerisque merit6 charus, &
inimicissimis non contemnendus, gestarum egregie rerum in
republica laudem, dirupto te, More, tuique similibus, apud
omnes turn exteros turn posteros, in omne aevum propagabit.
Sed pergendum, Rex capite damnatus est: *contra hanc vesa-*
10 *niam Londini pulpita fere omnia detonare.* Ligneo isto to-
nitru haud multum terres; istos Salmoneas nihil veremur, qui
fictitium illud fulmen & arrogatum sibi, aliquando luent;
graves profecto authores & synceri, qui pau!6 ante ex iisdem
pulpitis contra Pluralistas & Nonresidentes strepitu aequae
15 horribili detonabant; paulo post, raptis hie sibi ternis, ille
quaternis Pradatorum sacerdotiis, quos tonando abegerant,
atque inde nonresidentes necessari6 facti, eodem ipsi crimine
tenebantur in quod detonabant, & sui quisque tonitrus biden-
tal factus est: neque ullus adhuc pudor; nunc in vendicandis
20 sibi decimis toti sunt; & sane si decimarum tanta sitis est,

want of eloquence or of firmness; no one could even desire an advocate, or a friend, more able, more intrepid, more eloquent: for he has found one, whom no threats can turn aside from rectitude, whom neither intimidation nor bribes can
5 bend from his duty and virtuous purpose, can move from an unshaken steadiness of mind and of countenance. By these virtues, he has made himself deservedly dear to most men, and not to be despised by his greatest enemies. And when you, More, and those who are like you, shall be utterly confounded,
10 he shall spread the renown of his country's noble deeds among all foreign nations, and with posterity to the end of time.

But we must proceed. The king was condemned to lose his head. "Against this outrage, almost all the pulpits in London began to thunder." You will not fright us much with this
15 wooden thunder; we are nothing afraid of these Salmoneuses; the time will come when they will suffer for this counterfeit thunder, which they have had the presumption to wield. Now these are authorities truly grave and sincere, when but a little before, and from the very same pulpits, they thundered
20 with a noise equally horrific against pluralists and non-residents; and soon after, one seizing upon three, another upon four, to his own share, of the benefices of the prelates, whom with their thundering they had driven out, and thus of necessity becoming non-residents themselves, they were guilty of
25 the same crime as that against which they thundered; so that each was struck with the lightning which proceeded from his own thunderclap. Nor do they yet feel any shame. Now they are struggling tooth and nail in defence of tithes; and if their

censeo affatim decimandos: non terra fructus tantum, sed & maris fluctus sibi habeant decumanos. lidem prim⁶ bellum suadebant in Regem, ut in hostem exitio devotum; mox capto hosti, & imputatae a semetipsis toties caedis ac sanguinis effusi
5 damnato, parci volebant utpote regi. Ita in pulpitis tanquam in taberna quadam meritoria, quæ volunt mercimonia, quæ volunt scruta, vendunt popello; & quod miserius est, quæ jam vendidere, quoties volunt reposcunt. At *Scoti regem sibi reddi flagitabant, commemorant Senatus promissa quando Anglis*
10 *regem tradiderant.* Atqui ego vel Scotos etiam fatentes habeo, nulla omnino promissa publica intercessisse, cum rex tradere-
tur; & turpe sane fuisset Anglis, regem suum a Scotis in Anglia conductitiis, reddendum non fuisse nisi per condi-
tiones: quid? quod ipsa Parlamenti responsio ad Scotorum
15 cartulas Id. Mart. 1647. edita, ullam hac de re interpositam ab se fidem, quo pacto rex tractandus esset, dilucide negat; indignum quippe censuisse, non nisi ea lege sua jura obtineri à Scotis potuisse. Attamen *regem reddi sibi flagitabant.* Mites,

thirst of tithes is so great, why I would let them have tithes enough in all conscience; they should have not the tenth only of the fruits of the earth, but the tenth waves of the sea. The same persons were the first to advise war against the king, as
5 against an enemy devoted to destruction: by and by, when we had gotten the enemy into our hands—an enemy who had been so often condemned by themselves as the cause of the slaughter and bloodshed, they would spare him forsooth as being a king. Thus, in their pulpits, as if in a tradesman's
10 shop, they sell whatever wares, whatever trumpery they please, to the poor, silly people; and what is worse, they reclaim what they have sold as often as they think proper.—Again—"The Scots earnestly demanded that the king should be set at liberty; they mention the promises of the parliament
15 after they had delivered up the king to the English." Now I can prove from the confession of the Scots themselves, that there were no public promises at all, when the king was delivered up; and disgraceful indeed had it been to the English, if their own king was not to be given up by the Scots, who
20 were mercenaries in the pay of England, unless on conditions: nay, the very answer itself of the parliament to the stipulations of the Scots, which answer was made public on the 15th of March 1647, clearly denies that any assurance had been given as to the point, how the king was to be treated. Indeed,
25 the parliament thought it a disparagement of their dignity, that they should be unable to obtain their right of the Scots, but on such a condition.—But "they earnestly demanded that the king should be set at liberty." The gentle souls began no

credo, homines frangebantur animo, desiderium sui regis
ferre diutius non poterant: immovero iidem illi, cum ab initio
horum in Britannia motuum, de jure regio haud semel in
Parlamento retulissent, essetque ab omnibus assensum, ob tres
5 maximas causas regem privari regno posse, si tyrannus existat,
si fundum regium alienet, si suos deserat, circa annum 1645.
Parlamento Perthae habito sententias rogare caeperunt, sitne
rex quern sanctis infestum esse constet, communione ecclesiae
interdicendus? verum antequam ea de re quicquam decer-
10 neretur, Montrossius ad earn urbem cum copiis accedens con-
ventum disturbavit. Iidem in suo quodam ad Cromuellum
Imperatorem responso, an. 1650. fatentur punitum jure
regem, juris tantummodo formam fuisse vitiosam, eo quod
ipsi in illius iudicii consortium non vocarentur. Hoc ergo
15 facinus sine illis atrox, cum illis egregium fuisset, ex eorum
quippe nutu fas atque nefas pendebat, justum atque injustum
definiendum erat: quid isti, obsecro, rege sibi reddito lenius
in eum statuissent? At *Delegati Scotici a Senatu Anglico re-
sponsum hoc prius tulerant, nolle se regni Anglicani formam*

doubt to relent; they could no longer bear the yearning of their spirits towards their king: and yet, from the beginning of these commotions in Britain, these same men had more than once brought forward a motion in parliament on the subject
5 of the right of kingship, and had unanimously resolved, about the year 1645, that there were three main reasons for which a king may be deprived of his kingdom—his proving to be a tyrant, his alienation of the royal demesnes, and his desertion of his people. In the parliament held at Perth, they proceeded
10 to collect the sentiments of the house on the question, whether a king, who was plainly an enemy to the saints, might not be interdicted from the communion of the church? But before they came to any determination on this point, the assembly was thrown into confusion by the approach of Montrose to
15 that city at the head of his forces. The same men, in their answer to general Cromwell, in the year 1650, acknowledge that the king was justly punished; that the form only of the trial was reprehensible, and because themselves were not invited to act a part in it. This transaction, then, having taken
20 place without them, is atrocious; if themselves had had a share in it, it would then have been glorious; as if right and wrong depended upon their nod, and just and unjust must be defined agreeably to their dictate. Suppose the king had been set at liberty, would themselves, let me ask, have been more lenient
25 in their resolutions respecting him?—But "the Scottish delegates had received for answer before from the parliament of England—that it was not their intention to alter the form of the English government; though they afterwards answered,

immature, posted tamen respondere se tunc noluisse, nunc velle, prout salus reipublica postularct. Et recte quidem responderunt: quid tu hinc? *hcectropha*, inquis, *omnia federa, commercium, ipsumque sensum communem evertit.* Tuum
5 quidem evertit, qui nescis inter libera promissa, & pactam faederis fidem quid intersit: Angli de forma reipublicae suae futura, cujus rationem Scotis reddere necesse non erat, quod turn ipsis videbatur, libere quidem respondent; nunc salus reipublicae aliud suadebat; si fidem, si jusjurandum populo
10 datum violare nollent. Utrum sanctius obligare putas, liberumne de forma reipublicae futura datum Scoticis legatis responsum, an necessarium de salute reipublicae procuranda datum suo populo jusjurandum & summam fidem? Licere autem Parlamento vel Senatui, prout expedit, consilia mutare,
15 quoniam quicquid nos affirmamus, anabaptisticum tibi est & monstrosum, malo ex Cicerone audias pro Plancio. Stare omnes debemus tanquam in orbe aliquo reipublicae; qui quoniam versetur, eam deligere partem debemus, ad quam nos illius utilitas salisque converterit, Et statim, Neque enim in-
20 constantis puto, sententiam, tanquam aliquod navigium atque cursum, ex reipublicae tempestate moderari. Ego vero haec

that they had no intention at that time; but that now they had such an intention, as the safety of the state required it." And they answered well. But what is your remark upon this? "This subterfuge, you say, overturns all treaties, intercourse, 5 and common sense itself." It overturns your common sense, it seems, since you know not the difference between an unconditional promise, and the obligation of a treaty. Concerning the form of the future government, a view of which it was unnecessary to present to the Scots, the English gave a frank 10 reply, according to the best of their judgment at the time. Now, the safety of the state calls for different measures, if they would not forfeit their faith and solemn oath to the people. Which do you imagine to be of the most sacred obligation, an unconditional promise given the Scottish commissioners concerning the future form of the government, or an oath originating in necessity, and an assurance of the most solemn kind 15 given their own countrymen, that they would provide for the safety of the state? But that a parliament or senate is at liberty, according to expediency, to change its counsels, I would have 20 you learn, since every affirmation of ours is, in your eyes, ana-baptistical and monstrous, from Cicero's oration for Plancius. "We should all take our stand as it were in some circle of the commonwealth; and since this circle turns round, we should make choice of that particular point of it, to which we may 25 be directed by its advantage and safety." He proceeds to say that he does not consider it any mark of inconstancy, for a man to regulate his opinion, as if a sort of ship and a ship's course, by the political atmosphere. "Indeed, I have learnt, I

didici, haec vidi, haec scripta legi, haec de sapientissimis & clarissimis viris & in hac republica, & in aliis civitatibus monumenta nobis literae prodiderunt, non semper easdem sententias, ab iisdem, sed quascunque Reipublicae status, inclinatio
5 temporum, ratio concordiae postularet, esse defendendas. Haec Marcus Tullius: sed tu More Hortensium mavis; haec illae states quæ civili maxime prudentia floruerunt; quæ si sequuntur anabaptists, mea quidem sententia sapiunt. Quam multa alia possem proferre, quæ e ministerculis hisce & suo Salmasio,
10 si res non verba spectemus, plane indocto, pro anabaptisticis damnantur. At *nihilo*, inquis, *plus fotucrant potentissimi Belgii fcederati or dines, qui per oratores suos & prece & pretio oblato strenue allaborarunt sacrum Regis caput redimere*. Velle profect6 justitiam sic redimere, idem erat atque regem
15 salvum nolle: veriim didicerunt, non omnes esse mercatores; non adeo vendacem esse Senatum Anglicanum. Quod autem ad iudicium regis, *ut plurima*, inquis, *Christo similia Carolus pateretur, milites in cum ingeminant ludibria*. Plura quidem passus est similia Christus maleficis, quam Carolus Christo;
20 & multa istiusmodi jactabantur vulg6 ab iis quibus ad invidiam facti majorem excitandam, quidvis fingere aut fictum referre studium erat: Fac tamen gregarios milites insolentius

have observed, I have read—the writings of the wisest and most illustrious men in this republic and in other states have recorded for our use, that the same men are not always bound to defend the same opinions, but such as may be required by
5 the state of the nation, the bent of the times, and by a regard to union/' Thus Marcus Tullius; but you, More, would prefer Hortensius. Such are the maxims of those ages, which flourished most in civil prudence—maxims, which, if the anabaptists follow, they are in my judgment, wise. How many more
10 could I produce, which, by these trashy ministers and their Salmasius, a man absolutely without learning, if we consider things rather than words, are condemned as anabaptistical!—Again, you say, "the most potent, the united states of Holland could do no more: for they struggled hard, through the me-
15 dium of their ambassadors, both by entreaty and rewards, to ransom the sacred head of the king." Now to wish thus to bribe justice, was the same thing as not to wish that the king might be saved. But they have found, that all men are not merchants; that the parliament of England is not so eager to
20 sell.—Upon the sentence of the king you remark, "In how many respects did Charles, in his sufferings, resemble Christ! the soldiers made their incessant mocks at him." In truth, Christ resembled malefactors in his sufferings more than Charles resembled Christ; and many things of this sort were
25 every where bandied about by those who, on account of this act, made it their business to stir up the greater malice, to invent all manner of falsehood, and to retail what they found invented to their hands. But suppose the common soldiers did

se gessisse; non id continue in causam est conferendum. *Mac-*
tatum vero esse quernflam adpedes regis prcetereuntis, appre-
cantem ut Deus ejus misereretur, nee antea audivi unquam,
nee convenire quenquam adhuc potui qui audivisset: quin
5 immo tribunum ipsum, qui toto illius judicii tempore custo-
diis praefuit, regisque a latere vix discessit, interrogandum hac
de re curavi: is denique nee audisse se hoc antea, & pro certo
scire falsissimum id esse, constanter asseverabat. Ex quo intel-
ligi potest tuarum narrationum fides, etiam in reliquis quam
10 firma sit. Nam in benevolentia quoque & adoratione, si pos-
ses, Carolo post mortem procuranda, quam in odio nobis vel
iniquissime conflando haud multo veracior invenieris. *Audi-*
turn ais fuissc Regem in jatali pegmate episcopo Londinensi
ingeminantem, memento, memento. Id regis Judices anxios
15 nempe habuit, quid ilia ultimum iterata vox sibi voluisset;
accersitur, ut ais, episcopus, & illud geminum *memento* quid
sibi quæsivisset, additis minis, enuntiare jubetur. Is primo,
(sic enim fingi expediebat) ex composito nimirum delicias
fecit; &, quasi arcanum quoddam, prodere recusavit. Cum
20 illi vehementius instarent, id quasi metu sibi expressum, &
nolenti extortum, aegre tandem edidit, quod re vera quovis

behave with insolence; it does not immediately follow, that this is to be placed to the account of the cause. "That some man was actually murdered at the feet of the king, as he was passing along, for praying that God would have mercy on him," is
5 what I never heard before; nor could I ever yet meet with any one who had heard it: nay, I caused an inquiry to be made, as to this matter, of the colonel who commanded the guards during the whole time of the execution, and who scarcely moved a step from the king's side; and he positively affirmed
10 that he had never heard this before, and that he knew for certain that it was wholly without foundation. From this we may learn what credit is due to your narratives; nay, what foundation there is for credit even in the other parts of your work: for in soliciting for favour and even for adoration, if you can ob-
is tain it, for Charles after his death, you will be found to have paid not much more regard to truth, than in your iniquitous attempts to kindle hatred against us.—"The king (you say) on the fatal scaffold, was heard to say twice to the bishop of London, remember! remember!" This, to be sure, made the
20 king's judges anxious to know, to what last request this word, thus repeated, could have reference; and the bishop was sent for, as you report, and ordered, with threats, to declare what this reiterated "remember" meant. He, it seems, was at first squeamish, as had been pre-concerted (for a fiction of this
25 sort was expedient) and refused to disclose it, as if it had been some great secret. But upon their becoming more urgent with him, he at length, with much ado, made known, but in such a manner as if it had been wrested from him by intimidation

pretio divulgatum vellet; *Jusserat me, inquit, rex, ut si possem ad filium pervenire, hoc supremum morientis patris mandatum ad eum perjerrem, ut regno & potestati suae restitutus, vobis successores necis auctoribus ignosceret: hoc me me-*
5 *minisse, rex iterum atque iterum jussit.* O magis, regemne dicam pietatis, an episcopum rimarum plenum! qui rem tam secreto in pegmate suae fidei commissam ut effutiret tam facile expugnari potuit. At 6 taciturne! jampridem Carolus hoc idem inter alia praecepta filio mandaverat, in illa Icone Ba-
10 silica; quern librum ideo scriptum satis apparet, ut omni cum diligentia nobis vel invitis secretum illud, qua ostentatione simulatum erat, eadem paulo post evulgaretur. Sed video plane decrevisse vos Carolum quendam absolutissimum, si non Stuartum hunc, at saltem hyperboreum aliquem & fabu-
15 losum, fucatis quibuslibet coloribus depictum, imperitis rerum obtrudere: ita fabellam hanc velut acroama quoddam, diverbiis & sententiolis pulchre distinctum, nescio quern ethologum imitatus, ad inescandas vulgi aures putide concinnasti. Ego vero, ut non negaverim interrogatum fortasse obiter ab uno
20 vel altero consessorum hac de re episcopum, ita accersitum, dedita opera vel a concilio vel ab illo iudicum collegio, quasi

and against his will, what in reality, he would have had divulged at any price. "The king (said he) ordered me, if I could ever get to his son, to carry him this last command of a dying father, that, should he ever be restored to his kingdom
5 and his power, he would pardon you the authors of his death: this is what the king charged me again and again to remember." Shall I say now, that the king was the more pious, or that the bishop was the more leaky, when he could so easily be won upon, to blab a thing entrusted to him with so much
10 secrecy on the scaffold! But O miracle of taciturnity! Charles had long ago entrusted this very same thing to his son, among other precepts, in the *Icon Basilike*; which book, it sufficiently appears, was written, for the express purpose of divulging to us a little after, with all diligence, even against our wish, that
15 secret, and with the same parade with which it had been counterfeited. But I see plainly that you are determined to impose upon the inexperienced, if not this Stuart, at least some Charles Stuart who is the mirror of all excellence, some hyperborean and fabulous Charles, whom you draw
20 in whatever false colours may happen to hit your fancy. Thus you have fantastically got up this fable, as if for scenic representation, bravely embellished, after what mimic I know not, with dialogue and pithy sentences, as baits for vulgar ears. Now I do not mean to deny that the bishop might have
25 been incidentally questioned, as to this point, by some one or another of the commissioners; but I do not find that he was sent for, that either the council or that body of judges paid any particular attention to it, as if they had been at all appre-

id omnes curassent, aut sollicitè quæsiuissent non comperio. Sed demus inde quæ vis: dederit in pegmate suprema hæc episcopo mandata, ut suae necis authoribus ignosceretur, perferenda ad filium Carolus: quid tam egregium aut singulare
5 præter caeteros eo loci deductos fecit? quotusquisque est morientium in pegmate, qui peracturus jam vitae fabulam, cum *hxc* mortalia quam vana sint videt, non idem faciat; & inimitias, iras, odia, tanquam ex scena quadam jam exiturus, libens non deponat, aut saltern simulet, ut vel misericordiam,
10 vel innocentiae opinionem suae in animis hominum relinquat? Simulasse Carolum, neque unquam ex animo, & sincero mentis proposito tale mandatum dedisse filio, *ut suae necis authoribus ignosceret*, vel si hoc palam, aliud tamen clanculum mandasse, argumentis non levibus demonstrari potest:
15 nam filius, alioqui plus satis patri obsequens, patris gravissimo atque ultimo praecepto tam religiose sibi per episcopum tradito, haud dubie paruisset: qui autem paruit, cujus vel jussu vel autoritate duo Legati nostri, alter in Hollandia, alter in Hispania, & hic ne suspicione quidem ulla regiae necis reus,
20 trucidati sunt? qui denique haud semel scripto publico edixit

hensive on that account, or that they made any anxious inquiry about the matter. But let us now give your account of the business. Charles, on the scaffold, gave these last commands to the bishop, to be carried to his son, that he should
5 pardon the authors of his death. And in this, what has he done that is so extraordinary, so different from what others have done who have been brought to the same situation? Who is there among those who die on a scaffold, who when about to finish the drama of life, and seeing the vanity of things mortal,
10 tal, would not act in the same way? and willingly lay aside, or at least pretend so to do, his enmities, his angers, his hatreds, as if now making his exit from the stage, that he may leave behind him in the minds of men a feeling of compassion, or a conviction of his innocence? That Charles dissembled; that
15 he never from his heart, from the sincere purpose of his mind, gave such a command to his son, as "that he should pardon the authors of his death"; or that if he gave this command in public, he gave a different in private, may be proved by no light arguments: for there can be no doubt that the son, who
20 was, in other respects, over-obsequious to the father, would have paid obedience to the last and the most solemn of his father's injunctions, delivered to him with such religious care by the bishop. But in what manner has he paid obedience to it, when either by his order or by his authority, two of our
25 ambassadors, one in Holland, the other in Spain, have been murdered; the latter without even the slightest suspicion of being accessory to the king's death? When, in fine, he has more than once, by a public declaration in writing, made

atque omnibus palam fecit, se nolle patris sui interfectoris
ullo pacto veniam concedere? Hanc igitur narratiunculam
tuam vide an veram esse velis; quæ quo magis collaudat pa-
trem, eo magis vituperat filium. Nunc instituti oblitus, non
5 regii sanguinis ad cælum, sed populi ad Senatum clamores
ementiris, odiosissimus post Salmasium in republica aliena
pragmaticus & ardelio, qui tam foede praesertim res tuas domi
agas. Tudne voce, impurissime, populus pro se utatur, cujus
halitum ipsum oris lue venerea fetidum, purus omnis aver-
10 saretur? tu verò perfugarum ac perditorum voces populo at-
tribuis; & quod agyrta peregrinus ad coronam solet, vilissi-
morum duntaxat animalium voces imitaris. Quis autem negat
ea posse tempora saepius accidere, in quibus civium longè
major numerus improborum sit; qui Catilinam vel Anto-
15 nium, quàm sanio rem Senatus partem sequi malint; neque
idcirco boni cives obniti contra, & fortiter facere non debe-
bunt, sui magis officii, quam paucitatis rationem ducentes:
tuam ergo tam bellam pro nostro populo oratiunculam, ne
charta omnino pereat, in annales Volusi suadeo inseras; nobis
20 rhetorculo tam hircoso atque olido, non estusus. Dehinc inju-
riarum in ecclesiam postulamus. *Exercitus est omnium hircosus
con lerna*. Qui non maledicunt, exercitum nostrum ut for-

known to all men, that it is not his intention, on any account, to pardon those who put his father to death ? It is for you to consider, therefore, whether you could wish this pretty narrative of yours to be true, when in proportion as it applauds
5 the father, it condemns the son.

You now lose sight of your main object, and feign cries, not of the royal blood to heaven, but of the people against the parliament—you, who, next to Salmasius, are the most odious of meddlers in other people's affairs, while at home no man
10 manages his own so shamefully. Shall the people employ your voice in their defence, you mass of impurity, from whose very breath, tainted with venereal corruption, every clean person would turn with loathing ? You take the voice of the beggarly refugees for the voice of the people; and like a foreign
15 mountebank to the crowd, imitate the voices only of the vilest of animals. Now who denies that times may often occur, when a large majority of the citizens may be unprincipled—citizens, who would make choice of Catiline or Antony for their leader, in preference to the sounder part of the senate;
20 but it will not less behove good citizens to strive against them on that account, and to do bravely, more regardful of their duty, than of the smallness of their number. This dainty piece of declamation therefore, of yours, in behalf of our people, I would advise you, that the paper might not be wholly wasted,
25 to insert in the annals of Volusius. As for ourselves, we do not stand in need of so paltry, so goatish, so rank a rhetorician.

We are next accused of injuries to the church. "The army is the Lerna of all heresies." Those who do not calumniate our

tissimum, ita modestissimum ac religiosissimum esse confidentur: aliis in castris fere potatur, variis libidinibus indulgetur, rapitur, alea luditur, juratur & perjuratur; in his nostris quod datur otii, disquirendae veritati impenditur, sacrae Scripturae invigilatur; nee quisquam pulchrius existimat hostem ferire, quam se atque alios ccelestium cognitione rerum erudire, aut bellicam magis quam evangelicam militiam exercere, Et sane si proprium belli usum consideramus, quid aliud magis deceat milites? qui ideo constituti sunt atque conscripti, ut essent legum defensores, paludati justitiae satellites, ecclesiae propugnatores: quid illis, non ferocius aut truculentius, sed civilius aut humanius esse oporteat? qui non bellum serere ac metere, sed pacem & incolumitatem humano generi arare, vero ac proprio fine laborum suorum debent.

15 Quod si quos ad haec praeclara instituta aspirantes vel alienus error, vel sua animi infirmitas transversos abducit, in eos, non ferro saeviendum, sed rationibus ac monitis, precibus quoque ad Deum fuis enitendum, cujus est solius omnes animo errores dispellere, & coelestem veritatis lucem, cui volet imper-

20 tire. Haereses quidem, sic vere dictas, nos nullas approbamus, ne omnes quidem toleramus; extirpatas etiam volumus, sed quibus convenit modis, praeceptis nimirum & saniore doc-

army, acknowledge it to be not only the bravest of armies, but the most modest and religious. Other camps are usually distinguished for drunkenness, for indulgence in various lusts, for rapine, gaming, swearing, and perjury: in ours, the leisure
5 which is allowed is spent in the search of truth, in diligent attention to the holy scripture; nor is there any one who thinks it more honorable to smite the foe, than to instruct himself and others in the knowledge of heavenly things—more honorable to engage in the warfare of arms, than in the warfare of
10 the gospel. And indeed, if we consider the proper use of war, what can be more becoming in soldiers, who are enlisted and embodied for the express purpose of being the defenders of the laws, the guardians of justice in martial uniform, the champions of the church? What is there which can make it
15 more incumbent upon men to be, not ferocious and barbarous, but courteous and humane, whose duty it is not to sow and reap war, but to cultivate peace and safety for the race of man, as the true and proper end of their labours? But if any of those who aspire to these noble designs should be led astray by the
20 errors of others, or by their own infirmity, we should not in savage rage proceed against them with the sword, but should struggle against them with reason, with admonition, and with prayer poured forth to God, with whom alone it rests to dispel all errors from the mind, and to impart to whom he wills the
25 heavenly light of truth. Nevertheless, we approve no heresies which are justly so called; nor do we even tolerate all; we wish them extirpated, but by such means as are suitable—that is, by precept and sounder doctrine: for as they are seated in the

trina, ut in mente sitas, non ferro ac flagris quasi ex corpore
evellendas. *Altera, inquis, par nostra injuria est in temporali,*
quod vacant, ecclesice fundo. Percontare Belgas vel etiam
Germaniae superioris protestantes, numquid ab ecclesiae bonis
5 abstinerint; in quos Caesar Austriacus quo ties bellum mo vet,
vix alium quærit belli titulum, quam ut bona ecclesiae restitui
jubeat. Veriim ilia profecto non ecclesiae, sed ecclesiasticorum
duntaxat bona fuere, qui hoc maxime sensu clerici, vel etiam
holoclerici, ut qui sortem totam invasissent, rectius nomi-
10 nari poterant; immo lupi verius plerique eorum, quam aliud
quidvis erant dicendi; luporum autem bona, vel congestas
potius praedas majorum ex superstitione partas, quam per
tot saecula quæstui habuerunt, in usus transferre belli a se-
metipsis conflati, nefas non erat, quando aliud non erat
15 reliquum, unde sumptus belli tarn gravis ac diuturni sup-
peterent. Atqui *expectabatur, ut episcopis ereptæ opes in*
pastores ecclesiarum erogarentur. Expectabant, scio, illi, &
avebant omnia in se transfundi: nulla enim est vorago tarn
profunda, quæ non expleri citius quam clericorum avaritia
20 possit. Aliis fortasse in locis, baud aequè ministris provisum;
nostris jam satis superque bene erat; oves potius appellandi
quam pastores, pascuntur magis quam pascunt; pingua illis

mind, they are not to be cut out with the sword and lash, as if their seat had been in the body.—Again; "Another and no less injury of ours is in the temporal foundation of the church." Ask the Dutch, or even the protestants of Upper
5 Germany, whether they have ever abstained from the property of the church, when the Emperor of Austria seeks for no other pretence for making war against them, than that he may order the possessions of the church to be restored. But the truth is, that those possessions were not the property of the
10 church, but of the ecclesiastics only, who in this sense especially may be called clergy, or more properly, holoclergy, inasmuch as they had seized upon the whole patrimony. Indeed, most of them deserve to be called wolves, rather than any thing else; and what crime was there in transferring the
15 property of wolves,——or rather the accumulated plunder, obtained from the superstition of preceding times, of which for so many ages they had made their advantage,—to the purposes of a war kindled by themselves, when there was nothing else left to supply the heavy and daily expences of that war?
20 But, "it was expected that a law would be made for bestowing the wealth wrested from the bishops upon the pastors of the churches." I know that they expected and coveted that all should be poured upon themselves: for there is no gulf so deep which may not sooner be filled than the avarice of the clergy.
25 In other places perhaps the provision for the ministers is inadequate; ours were already provided for well enough and more than enough. They should be called sheep rather than shepherds: for they are fed more than they feed. With them

plerumque omnia, ne ingenio quidem excepto; decimis enim saginantur, improbato ab aliis omnibus ecclesiis more; Deoque sic diffidunt, ut eas malint per magistratum atque per vim suis gregibus extorquere, quam vel divinae providentiae, vel
5 ecclesiarum benevolentiae & gratitudini debere; atque inter haec tamen & apud discipulos & apud discipulas, tarn crebro convivantur, ut quid domicoenium sit, aut domiprandium pene nesciant: hinc itaque luxuriant plerique, non egent; liberique eorum & conjuges luxu & lautitiis, cum divitum
10 liberis atque conjugibus certant: hanc novis latifundiis adauxisse luxuriam, idem prorsus fuisset, ac si quis novum venenum, (quam olim pestem sub Constantino vox missa coelitus deflevit) in ecclesiam infudisset. Proximum est ut de injuriis in Deum, quarum tres maxime nominantur, de fiducia nimi-
15 rum divinae opis, *de precibus etiam atque jejuniis*, reddenda nobis ratio sit. Verum ex ore tuo, hominum corruptissime, te redargue; illudque Apostoli abs te prolatum in te retorqueo, Quis es tu qui *alienum servum judicas*? coram Domino nostro sine stemus vel cadamus. Illud insuper addam Davidis pro-
20 phetse, Cum flens affligo jejunio animam meam, turn hoc vertitur in summum probrum mihi. Caeteras hac de re tuas garritiones febriculosas, quas nemo bis legat, minutim persequi si vellem, haud levius profecto ipse peccem. Nee minus aliena sunt quæ de successibus prolixè oscitas: Cave tibi,

all things are usually full of fatness, their intellects even not excepted: for they are pampered with tithes, a custom which is disallowed by all other churches, and are so distrustful of God, as to choose rather to extort them from their flocks by
5 the magistrate and by force, than to owe them either to divine providence, or to the kindness and gratitude of the churches. And besides all this, they are so often feasting with their disciples both male and female, that they scarcely know what it is to dine or sup at home. Hence most of them live in luxury,
10 rather than in want; and their children and wives vie, in extravagance and finery, with the children and wives of the rich. To have increased this luxury by new and large possessions would have been precisely the same thing, as if some new poison had been poured into the church—a pest, which of old under
15 Constantine was deplored by a voice from heaven.—The next thing is for us to give an account of the injuries towards God, of which three are specified, namely, our confidence in the divine aid, "our prayers, and our fastings." Now out of thine own mouth, most corrupt of mortals, will I condemn thee;
20 and that expostulation of the apostle, which thou hast produced, I will retort against thee: who art thou that "judgest another man's servant?" Before our own master let us stand or fall. I will add that passage also from David the prophet: "When I wept and chastened my soul with fasting, that was
25 to my reproach." Were I to follow in detail your other delirious gabblings on this subject, which no one can read twice, I should myself be chargeable with no light offence.—Nor is what you so tediously prate about our successes, less foreign

More, & vide, ne post Pontianos sudores, gravedinem forte contraxeris aut polypum; metuendum, ne, ut Salmasius ille magnus nuper, *Thermas refrigeres*. Equidem de successu sic paucis respondeo; causam successu neque probari bonam, 5 neque argui malam: nos causam nostram non ex eventu, sed eventum ex causa judicari postulamus. Jam rationes politicas desumis tibi tractandas, *mancipium cathedrarium*, immo *cathedralitium*; injurias nimirum nostras in omnes reges ac populos. Quas? nobis enim nihil tale propositum erat; res 10 nostras tantummodo egimus, aliorum missas fecimus; siquid ad vicinos ab exemplo nostro boni redundavit, haud invidemus; si quid secus, non nostra id culpa, sed *abutentium evenire* credimus. Reges aut populi, te *Balatronem* suarum injuriarum interpretem, quinam tandem constituerunt? certe 15 oratores eorum ac legates, alii in Senatu, ipse in concilio cum audirentur saepe audivi non solum de suis injuriis nihil querentes, sed amicitiam nostram ac societatem ultro petentes; quinetiam regum suorum ac principum nomine, de rebus nostris nobis gratulantes, etiam bene precantes, pacem ac 20 diuturnitatem, atque eosdem felices successus, in perpetuum

to the purpose. Take care, More, take care, that after your Pontian sweats, you do not contract a gravedo in your head or a polypus in your nose. It is to be feared, that, like the once great Salmasius, you may chill the warm baths. Now as to
5 our success, I reply in these few words; that a cause is neither proved to be good, nor shown to be bad, by success: we demand not that our cause should be judged of by the event; but the event by the cause.—You now undertake to handle political considerations, chaired slave as you are, and even cathe-
10 dralized our injuries, against all kings and people. What injuries? for nothing of this sort had been laid to our charge. We have merely done our own business; we have not meddled with other people's business. If any good has overflowed upon our neighbours from our example, we have no invidious feel-
15 ings on that account; or if any thing of a different description, we do not believe it has happened by our fault, but by the fault of those who have abused us. And after all, who made you, such a pitiful fellow as you, interpreter of the injuries whether of king or people? Certain it is, that when their ambassadors
20 and lieutenants-general have had audience in the council, so far from complaining of their injuries, I have often heard them, as others have heard them in the senate, soliciting, of their own accord, our friendship and alliance; congratulating us besides, in the name of their kings and princes, on our
25 affairs; and even praying for our prosperity, and wishing us peace and length of duration, and a continuance of the same auspicious success. These are not the words of enemies; these are not, as you report, the words of those who hated us: it

exoptantes. Non inimicorum *hx* voces, non eorum qui odissent, ut tu praedicas; aut tu mendacii, quod in te levissimum est, aut reges ipsi fraudum ac malarum artium, quod illis inhonestissimum foret, damnentur necesse est. Verum scripta
5 nostra objectas confitentium, *Dedisse nos excmplum populis omnibus salutare, tyrannis omnibus jormidandum*. Immane crimen profecto narras; idem fere atque si dixisset quispiam,

Discite justitiam moniti, & non temncre Divos.

Numquid dici potuit perniciosius? *hcec Cromuellius ad Scotos*
10 *post Dumbarrense prcclium scrip sit*. Et se quidem & ilia nobili victoria digne. *Ejusmodi sesamo & papavere conspersce sunt injames Miltoni pagince*. Illustrem tu quidem collegam semper mihi adjungis, & in hoc facinore parem plane facis, nonnunquam & superiorem; quo ego nomine cohonestari me
15 maxime abs te putem, siquid a te honestum posset proficisci. *Cremate vero, inquis, sunt istce paging a carnifice Parisiensi suprcmi Scnatus autoritate*. Nequaquam id comperi à Senatu factum, sed ab officuario quodam urbico, locum tenente civili nescio an incivili, cui clerici quidam, ignavissima ani-
20 malia, autores fuere; tarn ex dissito atque longinquo, abdomini suo, quod aliquando precor evenire possit, augurantes. Censes non potuisse nos vicissim Salmasii defensionem regiam cremasse? potuissem sane vel ipse a magistratibus nostris hoc

follows then of necessity, that either you are convicted of a lie, which in you is a very trifling matter, or kings themselves of deceit and wicked arts, which in them would be most dishonorable. But you object to our writings, since in them we
5 confess, "that we have set an example salutary to all people, to be dreaded by all tyrants." You tell of a mighty crime no doubt; pretty much the same thing, as if any one had said:

Advised, learn justice, and revere the Gods.

Could any thing be said more pernicious? "This is what
10 was written by Cromwell to the Scots, after the battle of Dunbar." And which was worthy of himself and of that noble victory. "The infamous pages of Milton are strewn with sesamum and poppy of a like description." You always join me with some illustrious colleague, and in this affair, you
15 make me evidently Cromwell's equal, sometimes even his superior—a name by which, above all others, I think you honour me most, if any thing honorable can proceed from you.—"But those pages (you say) were burnt by the hangman at Paris, by order of the parliament." So far from this
20 being the work of the parliament, I find it was done by one of the city officers, (and whether he held a civil or an uncivil office I know not) at the instigation of some of the clergy, those laziest of animals, who, from scattered and distant auguries, prognosticated for their own bellies, what I pray
25 may one day fall upon them. Do you imagine that we also could not have burnt, in our turn, the royal defence of Salmasius? If I had thought such an insult deserving of any other

facile impetrasse, nisi illam contumeliam contemptu potius
ulciscendam existimassem: Vos ignem igne properantes ex-
tinguere, Herculeum praeuistis rogom, unde clarior exur-
gerem; nos consultius, Defensionis Regiae frigus calfacien-
5 dum non censuimus. Illud miror, tarn esse Majorum dissi-
miles factos Tolosates (nam & Tolosae combustos nos accepi-
mus) ut qua in urbe sub Raimundis comitibus, & libertas &
religio defensa olim tarn insigniter est, in ea nunc & libertatis
& religionis Defensio combureretur. *Utinam & Seriftor*
10 inquis. Itane ergastulum ? at ego parem ne reddam tibi salu-
tern, More, tu egregie cavisti; ut qui nigrioribus multo ignibus
jamdudum pereas: urunt te adulteria tua, urunt stupra, urunt
perjuria, quorum ope desponsatam tibi stupro foeminam per-
fidus excussisti; urunt perditissimi furores, qui impulerunt
15 te, ut sacrosancta munia facinorosus concupisceres, & imper-
spectum Domini corpus incestis manibus sacerdos pollueres;
sanctitatem etiam simulans, in sanctitatis simulatores, dira
omnia hoc tuo clamore denuntiaries; tuumque execrabile
caput, tuamet ipsius damnatum sententia irretires: his tu
20 sceleribus & infamiis totus flagras, his tu flammis furialibus
dies atque noctes torreris, dasque nobis poenas quibus gravi-

revenge than contempt, I could myself have easily obtained this from our magistrates. In your hurry to put out one fire by another, you have raised an Herculean pile, from which I may rise up in greater brightness. We have more wisely thought
5 that the chilliness of the royal defence should not be warmed. But this I wonder at, that the people of Toulouse should have become so unlike their ancestors (for I find I have been also burnt at Toulouse) as now to burn the defence of liberty and religion in the very city, in which, under the counts of Rai-
10 mond, both liberty and religion had been before so signally defended. "Would! (you exclaim) that the writer also had been burnt!" And is this indeed your wish, slave? You have taken especial care, that I shall not return you a like compliment, as you have been long since consuming in far blacker
15 flames. You are burnt by your adulteries, you are burnt by your fornications, you are burnt by your perjuries, by the aid of which perjuries you perfidiously shook off the woman who became betrothed to you by the sacrifice of her honour; you are burnt by your outrageous madness, which has impelled
20 you, miscreant as you are, to covet the holiest of functions, and as a priest, to pollute with adulterous hands the undiscerned body of the Lord. Under the pretence of sanctity also, you would denounce, in this cry of yours, every thing that is direful against pretenders to sanctity, though you must bring your
25 own accursed head into the snare, as being condemned even by your own sentence. With these crimes, with these infamies are you all on fire; in these furious flames are you scorching day and night, and suffering a punishment for us, than which

ores imprecari tibi nullus hostis potest. Me interim concre-
mationes vestrae non laedunt, non tangunt, & istis ignominiis
habeo complura quæ opponam grata meo animo atque ju-
cunda. Una me curia, unus forte lictor Parisiensis, malarum
5 avium impulsu, combussit; at quamplurimi per totam Gal-
liam viri boni atque docti nihilo minus legunt, approbant,
amplectuntur; quamplurimi per immensum Germanise
totius tractum, libertatis fere domicilium, per caeteras quoque
regiones, quacunque ejus vestigia ulla adhuc manent; quin
10 & ipsa Graecia, ipsae Athense Atticae, quasi jam redivivae, no-
bilissimi alumni sui Philarae voce, applausere. Hoc etiam vere
possum dicere, quo primum tempore nostra Defensio est edita,
& legentium studia incaluere, nullum vel principis vel civi-
tatis legatum in urbe turn fuisse, qui non vel forte obvio mihi
15 gratularetur, vel conventum apud se: cuperet vel domi in-
viseret. Tuos verò nefas sit praeterire manes, Adriane Pauui,
qui legatus ad nos summo cum honore missus, Hollandiae
decus atque ornamentum, summam in me ac singularem
benevolentiam tuam, etiamsi videre nunquam contigerit,
20 multis saepe nuntiis significandam curasti. Hoc verò etiam
saepius recolere memoria juvat, quod sine Dei propitio numine
accidere arbitror nunquam potuisse; mihi, qui contra reges,
ut videbatur, scripseram, majestatem ipsam regiam placide

no enemy could imprecate on you one more grievous. Meanwhile, these burnings of yours injure not, they touch not me; and against such disgraces I have many things to oppose which are grateful, which are delightful to my spirit. Under the
5 influence of bad auspices, I have been burnt by one court, perhaps by a single Parisian executioner. But, in spite of this, how many excellent and learned men are there, throughout all France, who read, approve, embrace? How many throughout the spacious tracts of Germany, the domicile, as it were,
10 of liberty, and in other regions, wherever any traces of liberty are yet visible: and even Greece herself—Athens the eye of Greece, revived as it seems once more, has contributed her applause by the voice of one of her sons—the noble Philaras. This, moreover, I can truly say; at the time when our defence
15 was first published, and readers were all glowing with attention to it, there was not an ambassador from any prince or state at that time in the city, who did not congratulate me either on an accidental meeting, who did not desire my company at his own house, or who did not visit me at mine. But
20 it were an injury to forget your departed spirit, Adrian Paul, who, with the high dignity of ambassador to us, and the glory and ornament of Holland, were solicitous to make known to me by frequent messages, though I never happened to see you, your great and distinguished kindness towards me. It is also
25 pleasing to me to dwell frequently upon the circumstance, and which, it is my belief, could never have happened without the especial favour of God, that I, who, as it seemed, had been writing in opposition to kings, have obtained the approving

annuisse; meaeque integritati, nee non sententiae, ut veriori,
testimonium divino proximum perhibuisse. Quid enim verear
hoc dicere, quoties augustissimam reginam illam, quantis
cum laudibus in ore omnium versetur, mecum cogito? Equi-
5 dem Atheniensem illum sapientissimum, cui me tamen non
confero, ne ipsius quidem Pythii testimonio, quam me illius
judicio ornatiorem existimem. Quod si mihi quidem *hxc*
scribere adolescenti contigisset, & oratoribus idem quod poetis
liceret, haud dubitassem profecto sortem meam deorum sorti
10 nonnullorum anteferre: quippe illos de forma duntaxat aut
de musica, deos, humano sub iudice contendisse; me homi-
nem in certamine longe omnium praeclarissimo, dea iudice,
superiorem discessisse. Sic me cohonestatum, nemo nisi car-
nifex ignominiose audeat tractare, tarn qui iusserit quam qui
15 fecerit Hic vehementer laboras, ut ne facta nostra Belgico-
rum pro libertate facinorum exemplo tueri queamus; quod a
Salmasio quoque frustra laboratum est: cui quod tunc re-
spondi, idem tibi nunc responsum volo; Falli qui nos opinatur
cujusquam exemplo niti; Belgarum pro libertate facinora
20 adjuvisse saepius ac fovisse, aemulari necesse nunquam ha-
buisse; siquid pro libertate fortiter faciendum est, autores ipsi

nod even of royal majesty itself, and its testimony, only not divine, to my integrity, and to the superior truth of my opinion. And why should I scruple to say this as often as I think of that most august queen, whose high praises are the
5 theme of every tongue? Indeed, not even that wisest Athenian, between whom and myself, however, I make no comparison, can I think more graced by the testimony of the Pythian himself, than me by her opinion. And if I had happened to have written what I have, when a young man, and
10 the same liberty were allowed to orators as to poets, I should in truth not have hesitated to prefer my fortune to that of some among the gods; forasmuch as they, being gods, contended only for beauty, or in music, before a human arbiter; and I, being a man, with a goddess for my arbitress, have come off
15 victorious in the noblest far of all contests. Thus highly honoured, no one but an executioner would dare to treat me with disrespect, whether by ordering it to be done, or by doing it himself.

Here you labour hard to prevent our defending what we
20 have done by the example of the exploits of the Dutch in favour of liberty—a point which has been fruitlessly laboured also by Salmasius. I would return the same answer to you now, as I did then to him: that he who thinks our struggles have been occasioned by the example of any one, is mistaken;
25 that, of necessity, we, who have often aided and encouraged the exploits of the Dutch in favour of liberty, could never have been their rivals; and that, if any thing is to be done bravely for liberty, we, being our own masters, are accus-

nobis sumus, praeire, non sequi alios assueti. Tu verb etiam ad bellum contra nos tressis orator, stultissimis argumentis, & te verberone dignis, Gallos hortaris: *Nostros, inquis, legates excipere Gallicus spiritus nunquam sustinebit*. Sustinuit quod
5 plus est, suos jam ter & amplius ad nos ultro mittere: Galli igitur generosi, ut solent, tu degener & spurius, politicarum rationum rudis ac falsus deprehenderis. Hinc id agis ut demonstres, *h faderatis ordinibus ex composite rem in longum duel, eosque nobiscum nee jcedus nee bellum velle*. Atqui
10 interest profecto ipsorum ordinum, non pati consilia sua sic nudari, &, ut ita dicam, vitiari a Genevensi perfuga apud se stabulante, qui si diutius toleretur, non ancillis mod6, sed consiliis etiam publicis stuprum videtur illaturus; cum ipsi fraterna atque sincera omnia prae se ferant; nunc pacem, quæ
15 vota sunt bonorum omnium, perpetuam nobiscum redintegraverint. *Jucundum erat, inquit, videre, quibus ludibriis, quibus periculis furciferi illi legati, Anglorum scilicet, quotidie conflictarentur, non modo ab Anglis regiis, &c. sed maxime omnium h Batavis*. Nisi exploratum nobis jam diu
20 esset quibusnam & prioris legati Dorislai caedes, & duorum postea acceptis injuriae referenda sint, en delatorem, qui hospites & altores suos etiam falso deferat: Hunc cene apud vos,

tomed to lead the way, not to follow others. But you, vile orator, by the absurdest of arguments, worthy of a paltry fellow like you, also incite the French to war against us: "The spirit of the French, (you say) will never bear to receive our
5 ambassadors." But, what is more, the spirit of the French has already borne to send their own, three or four times, and of its own accord, to us. The French, then, are generous as usual; while you, degenerate and spurious, are found to be ignorant and mistaken as to your political considerations.—You next
10 try to make it appear, that the negotiation was purposely spun out to a great length by the United States; and that they were desirous neither of a treaty nor of a war with us. Surely it concerns the States not to suffer their counsels to be thus exposed, and, as I may say, falsified by a Genevese fugitive who is got
15 housed among them, and who, if tolerated much longer, will not merely, as it seems, bring prostitution upon their servant maids, but upon their public counsels: for they themselves are all sincerity and brotherly kindness, and have now, agreeably to the wish of every good man, renewed with us a perpetual
20 peace. "It was amusing (says he) to see, with what scoffs, with what perils, those gallows ambassadors," namely of the English, "had daily to contend, not only from the English royalists, &c. but most of all from the Dutch." If we had not long since discovered on whom was to be charged the murder
25 of Dorislaus our first ambassador, and the injuries received by our two succeeding ambassadors, here would be an informer, who accuses even falsely his hosts and supporters. And do you suffer this man, Hollanders, to be fostered among you, who

Batavi, non modo venereum in ecclesia ministrum, sed sanguinarium etiam, nee violandi solium juris omnis hortatorem, sed violati quoque falsum indicem ac proditorem ali ?

Ultimus accusationum titulus est *nostra injuria in Refor-*
5 *matas ecclesias*. At vero qui magis nostra in illas quam illarum
in nos ? si exemplo instes, certe si ab ipsis Valdensibus & Tolo-
sanis, ad Rupellanam usque famem monumenta repetas, nos
omnium ecclesiarum ultimi reperiemur contra tyrannos arma
sumpsisse. At primi capite damnasce. Sane quia nobis hoc
10 primis in manu adhuc fuit: quid illi, si data similis facultas
fuisset, fuissent facturi, opinor ne ipsos quidem satis nosse.
Equidem in ea sum sententia, contra quem bellum gerimus,
eum, si quis rationis aut iudicii usus sit, hostem a nobis judi-
cari; hostem autem tam interficere quam oppugnare, eodem
15 semper jure licuisse: Tyrannus igitur cum non noster solum,
sed totius prope generis humani publicus hostis sit, eum quo
jure armis oppugnari, eodem posse & interfici. Nee vero haec
mea unius sententia est, aut nova, eandem & aliis olim sive
prudencia sive sensus communis dictavit. Hinc pro Rabirio
20 M. Tullius: Si interfici Saturninum nefas fuit, arma sumpta
esse contra Saturninum sine scelere non possunt; si arma jure

is not merely a debauchee-minister of the church, but a sanguinary instigator to the violation of all right, and the false and traitorous informer, when the violence has been committed?

- 5 The last title of the accusations is—"Our injury towards the reformed churches." Now how have we injured them, more than they have injured us? If you urge, by our example, I reply, that if you examine into records, beginning from the Waldenses, and people of Toulouse, and proceeding down-
10 wards to the famine of Rochelle, we shall be found to be the last of all the churches who have taken up arms against tyrants, though the first who have condemned one to a capital punishment: and in truth, because we were the first who had it in our power. What they would have done, if they had had
15 the same power, is not very well known, I apprehend, even to themselves. In short, my opinion is, that (if a man has any use of his reason) he, against whom we make war, is considered by us as an enemy; that, to put an enemy to death has always been lawful, by the same right as we oppose him; and
20 as a tyrant is not simply our enemy, but the general enemy as it were of the whole human race, that, by the same right as he may be resisted by arms, may he likewise be put to death. Nor is this my opinion alone, or any new opinion; the same was suggested, whether by prudence or common sense, to
25 others in ancient times. Hence Marcus Tullius for Rabirius: "If it was unlawful for Saturninus to be put to death, arms could not, without a crime, have been taken up against Saturninus; if you admit that arms were justly taken up, you nee-

sumpta concedis, interfectum jure concedas necesse est. Plura hac de re & supra dixi, saepe alias, & per se res obscura non est. Ex quibus quid Galli etiam, eadem data occasione fuissent facturi, ipse queas divinare. Addo & hoc amplius, quicumque
5 armis tyrannum oppugnant, iidem, quantum in se est, & interficiunt: immo, quicquid vel sibi vel aliis inepte satis persuadere cupiunt, jam interfecere. Sed & doctrina haec nobis haud magis quam Gallis, quos tu hoc piaculo cupis eximere, debetur: unde enim Francogallia illa, nisi ex Gallia, unde vindictae
10 contra tyrannos? qui liber etiam Bezae vulgo tribuitur; unde alii quorum meminit Thuanus? tu tamen, quasi ego solus, *id satagit*, inquis, *Miltonus*, *cujus ego piacularem vesaniam fro mentis excepissem*. Tu excepisses, furcifer? cujus nefaria flagitia si ecclesia illa Middelburgensis, te pastore infamis &
15 infelix, pro mentis excepisset, jamdudum te Satanae mandasset; si pro mentis excepisset magistratus, jamdudum adulteria patibulo pendens luisses: Et luiturus propediem sane videris; evigilavit enim, ut audio nuper, tua illa ecclesia Middelburgensis, suaeque famae consuluit, teque caprimulgum
20 pastorem, immo hircum potius olentissimum ablegavit ab se in malam crucem; hinc & magistratus Amsterodamensis pul-

essarily admit that he was justly put to death." I have said more on this subject above, and often elsewhere; besides, the thing is not dark in itself. Whence, you may judge what the French themselves would have done, if the same opportunity
5 had been given them. I moreover add: those who oppose a tyrant with arms, do all they can to put him to death; nay, they have already put him to death, whatever they may absurdly wish to persuade themselves or others. But this doctrine belongs no more to us, than to the French, whom you
10 would willingly exempt from this heinous crime: else, whence that Francogallia, if not from Gaul? Whence those *Vindications against Tyrants*—a book commonly ascribed to Beza himself? Whence other books mentioned by Thuanus? And yet you say, "This is the point which Milton is labouring with
15 such busy zeal," as if I were the only one, "and whose atrocious fury I would have received as it deserved." You would have received, you villain? whose nefarious profligacies if the church of Middelburg which has the misfortune and infamy of having you for a pastor, had received as they deserved, it
20 had long ago have sent you to the devil; if the magistrates had received as they deserved, you would long ago have expiated your adulteries on a gallows. To tell the truth, you seem very likely to make an expiation ere it be long: for, as I am lately informed, your church of Middelburg has watched you nar-
25 rowly, has consulted its own reputation, and has sent you about your business, that you may go and be hanged—goat-herd of a pastor as you are, nay, the rankest of goats. Hence too, the magistrates of Amsterdam laid an interdict for you

pitum quoque interdixit tibi, orchestram tuam; tuumque illud os impudicum co ex loco ad summam omnium bonorum offensionem conspici, illam impiam vocem vetuit in sacro public[^] audiri: restat jam tibi sola Graecarum literarum pro-
5 fessio; & haec quoque brevi eripienda, praeter unam illam literam, cujus non professor, sed discipulus mox pensilis merito futurus es. Neque haec iratus tibi ominor, sed duntaxat jus dico: maledicis enim tantum abest ut talibus offendamur qualis tu es, ut tales semper nobis vel exoptemus; immo divina
10 plane benevolentia fieri arbitremur, ut qui in nos acerrime clamitarunt, tales potissimum semper extiterint; qui maledicendo non infamant, sed honestant, sed laudant, nam laudando certe maledixissent. Sed irruentem modo quid te retinuit tarn fortem homuncionem? *Nisi mihi, inquis, religio*
15 *juissct in magni Salmasii provinciam cxcurrere, cui solida de magno scilicet adversario victoria relinquetur.* Siquidem & ille & ego nunc magnus tibi videor, eo difficilior provincia, praesertim mortuo, fortassis ero; de victoria, modo veritas vincat, parum sollicitus. Interim tu clamitas; *parricidium in*
20 *doctrinam vertunt, eoque reformatarum ecclesiarum consensionc cupiunt quidem, non audcnt apcrto ore defendere; juit, inquit Miltonus, ctiam summorum hcec sententia Theologorum, qui ipsi rejormandce ccclesice authores fuere.* Fuit,

on the pulpit, which is your stage; and forbad that shameless face of yours to be seen from that place, to the utter scandal of all good men; forbad that impious voice to be heard in public on a sacred subject. At this time, your professorship of
5 Greek alone remains; and this also is soon to be taken away, all but that single letter, of which, however, you will not be the professor, but ere long deservedly the disciple pensile from the top. Nor do I forebode these things for you in anger, but simply speak what is right: for, so far from being offended at
10 such revilers as you, we could even wish to have always such; and are persuaded that it is through the divine favour it has happened, that those who have raised the most virulent clamours against us, have always been eminently such, whose abuse is no infamy, but honour, but applause: for certain it
15 is, that their praise would have been a reproach. But as you are so courageous a fellow, what has checked your late violence? "Unless (you say) I had been religiously scrupulous not to invade the province of the great Salmasius, to whom shall be left the substantial part of the victory over his great
20 adversary, forsooth." Since you now seem to think *me* great as well as him, I shall perhaps be found to be a province the more difficult to be invaded, especially as he is dead. I am little solicitous about the victory, provided only truth be the victor.—Meanwhile, you pursue your clamour: "They convert
25 parricide into a doctrine; and this they would fain do, with the consent of the reformed churches; they dare not defend it openly. This was the opinion also, says Milton, of the most eminent divines, the very authors of the reformation in

inquam, & id fusius docui in eo libro qui nostro idiomate Tenor sive Tenura regum & magistratuum inscriptus est, secundiim editus, & alibi: mine actum toties, agendi fastidium cepit: illic ex Luthero, Zuinglio, Calvino, Bucero, Martyre, 5 Paraeo, citantur ipsa verbatim loca; ex illo denique Cnoxo, quern *unum*, me, *Scotum* ais *innuere*, *quemque hac in re reformatos omnes, prccsertim Gallos, Hid estate condemnasse*. Atqui ille conti, quod ibi narratur, se illam doctrinam nominatim a Calvino, summsque aliis ea tempestate theologis, 10 quibuscum familiariter consueverat, hausisse affirmat: plura etiam illic nostrorum, regnante Maria & Elizabetha, sinceriorum theologorum in eandem sententiam deprompta reperies. Tu ver6 tandem conceptis ad Deum precibus male prolixis peroras impius abominandis; & os illud adulterum, obduratus 15 coelo offers: sino te facile, neque interpello; major enim cumulus ad impietatem tuam accedere non potuit. Revertor nunc ad id quod supra pollicitus sum, & objecta Cromuello prae-cipua crimina quæ sunt, in medio hie ponam; ut sparsa quam fuerint levia possit intelligi, quæ collecta nullum pondus in se 20 habent. *Coram pluribus testibus pronunciavit sibi in animo esse, monarchias omnes evertere, reges omnes exitio dare*. quæ tua sit narrationum fides, jam aliquoties vidimus; dixit fortasse tibi perfugarum aliquis Cromuellum ita dixisse: ex

the church/" It was, I say; and this I have shown abundantly in the book, in our own tongue, entitled *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, second edition; and in other places. What I have done so often, I feel a reluctance to do again. In that
5 work, I have cited word for word the very passages from Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, Bucer, Martyr, Paraeus, and lastly from that Knox, "the only Scot (you say) I have of my side, and who was condemned, as to this matter, by all the Protestants of that age, especially by the French." On the con-
10 trary, he himself affirms, as is there related, that he drew this doctrine expressly from Calvin, and from other eminent theologians of that time, with whom he had familiar intercourse. You will there find also more upon the same subject taken from the sincerer part of our divines, in die reigns of Mary
15 and Elizabeth. But at length you impiously conclude in a tedious ready-made prayer to God, deserving of execration; and hardened in iniquity, offer up that adulterous mouth to heaven. I have no difficulty in suffering you to proceed without interruption: for your impiety could receive no accession.
20 I now return to what I promised above, and will here bring forward to public view the chief crimes which are laid to the charge of Cromwell; that it may be seen how light they must have been when scattered, when, in a body, they have no weight against him. "He declared it, before numerous wit-
25 nesses, to be his intention to overturn all monarchies, to exterminate all kings." What credit is due to your narratives, we have often seen already. One of the refugees, perhaps, told you that Cromwell had said so; of those numerous witnesses,

illis multis testibus nullum nominas: quod itaque sine auctore
maledicis, suopte vitio ruit. Non is est Cromuellus, quern de
suis jam factis ullus unquam vaniloquum audierit; tantum
abest ut infecta quæ sunt, tamque difficilia, de iis insolentius
5 quicquam promittere ac minitari consueverit: sane ista tibi
qui narrarunt, nisi voluntate atque natura magis quam con-
silio mendaces essent, hoc saltern quod ab ingenio ejus alienis-
simum est, non affinxissent. Regibus autem, quos ut sibi
caveant frequenter mones, licebit cum saluti prospexerint suae,
10 spreto te monitore tarn imperito, non sermunculos ex trivio
arripere, sed rationes se dignas mire, quibus quid sua intersit
facilius perspexerint. Alterum est crimen persuasisse regi
Cromuellum, *ut in insulam Vectim clanculum se subduceret*.
Constat regem Carolum rem suam multis alias rebus, ter fuga
15 perdidisse; primum cum Londino Eboracum fugit, deinde
cum ad Scotos in Anglia conductitios, postremo cum ad in-
sulam Vectim. At hujus postremae suasor erat Cromuellus.
Optime; sed tamen ego regios illos primum miror, qui Caro-
lum toties affirmare non dubitant fuisse prudentissimum, &
20 eundem simul vix unquam su& spontis; sive apud amicos sive
inimicos, in aula vel in castris, in aliena fere potestate semper
fuisse; nunc uxoris, nunc episcoporum, nunc purpuratorum,

you name not one; so that, that abuse of yours which is without authority, falls by its own default. Cromwell is not a man who has been ever heard, by any one, to boast of the achievements he has actually performed; and equally far is he from
5 making insolent promises and threats, as to those he intends to perform, especially achievements of such difficulty. Indeed, those who told you all this, if they had not been wilfully and naturally liars, rather than from deliberation, would at any rate, not have invented a forgery, which is totally foreign to
10 his character. But when kings, whom you frequently admonish to take care of themselves, look out for their own safety, they will not be obliged to snatch at any trivial tittle-tattle, but will be at liberty to despise so ignorant an adviser as you, and to listen to plans of policy worthy of themselves, and by
15 which they may more easily discern their true interests.—Another crime is, that Cromwell persuaded the king "to retire privately to the Isle of Wight." It is well known, that king Charles had rendered his affairs desperate from various other causes, and three times by flight: first, when he fled from
20 London to York; secondly, when he fled to the Scotch mercenaries in England; and lastly, when he fled to the Isle of Wight. But it was Cromwell who persuaded him to this last flight. Very well; and yet, in the first place, I cannot but admire those royalists, who persist in affirming, that Charles
25 was a paragon of prudence, when he scarcely ever had a will of his own: when, whether among his friends or enemies, in the court or in the camp, he was almost always at the disposal of others; at one time of his wife, at another of the bishops,

nunc militum, denique hostium; pejora plerumque consilia,
& pejorum ferme sequutum; Carolo persuadetur, Carolo im-
ponitur, Carolo illuditur, metus incutitur, spes vana osten-
ditur, velut praeda omnium communis, tarn amicorum quam
5 hostium, agitur & fertur Carolus. Aut haec e scriptis suis
tollant, aut sagacitatem Caroli praedicare desistant. Fateor
deinde, quamvis prudentia atque consilio praestare pulcrum
sit, tamen ubi respublica factionibus laborat, suis incommo-
dis haud carere; & consultissimum quemque eo magis ob-
10 noxium calumniis utriusque partis reddere: hoc saepe Crom-
uello obfuit; hinc Presbyteriani, inde hostes quicquid in se
durius fieri putant, non id communi Senatus consilio, sed
Cromuello soli imputant; immo siquid per imprudentiam
ipsi male gerunt, id dolis & fraudibus Cromuelli assignare
15 non erubescunt; culpa omnis in eum derivatur, omnis in eum
faba cuditur. Et tamen certissimum est, fugam ad Vectim
regis Caroli, absenti turn aliquot millibus passuum Crom-
uello, tarn novum accidisse & inopinatum, quam cuilibet ex
Senatu turn in urbe versanti, quern ut de re inopinatissima
20 sibi recens allata per literas certiore fecit. Res autem ita se
habuit; exercitus universi vocibus rex territus, qui eum nullis

now of the courtiers, then of the military, and lastly of his enemies: when, for the most part, he followed the worst counsels, and those commonly of the worst men; and Charles is persuaded, Charles is imposed upon, Charles is played upon, 5 he is smitten with fear, he is deluded with vain hopes; when Charles was driven and carried about, the common prey, as it seemed, of all; of friends as well as of enemies. Let them take away these things from their writings, or cease to extol the sagacity of Charles. Again, though it is an excellent thing 10 to excel in prudence and in counsel, yet, when the commonwealth is torn with factions, it is not without its inconveniences; and renders the man of the greatest capacity and experience the more obnoxious to the calumnies of both parties. This is what has frequently happened to Cromwell. Hence 15 the presbyterians, his enemies, for that reason, impute not to the parliament in general, but to Cromwell alone any measure which they may think harsh towards themselves; and even, when themselves, through their own imprudence, conduct any business unsuccessfully, they have the effrontery to ascribe 20 this also to the wiles and artifices of Cromwell. Every fault is fathered upon him; it is he who must bear the blame of every thing. And yet, it is beyond all doubt, that King Charles's flight to the Isle of Wight, happened as suddenly and unexpectedly to Cromwell, he being at the time some miles distant, as to the member of parliament then in the city, to whom he communicated it as a thing the most unexpected in the world, of which he had just been informed by letter. The truth of the matter is this: the king, terrified at the outcry of the

officiis suis aut pollicitis factum meliorem, ad supplidum
poscere jam tune cceperat, statuit cum duobus tantummodo
consciis nocturna fuga sibi consulere: verum fugiendi certior,
quam quo fugeret, per comitum suorum vel imperitiam vel
5 timiditatem, inops consilii quo se reciperet, Hamundo Vectis
insuk praesidi se ultro dedit; ea spe, facilem sibi ex ea insula,
parato clam navigio, transitum in Galliam aut in Belgium
fore. Haec ego de fuga regis in Vectim ex iis comperi, quibus
rem totam pernoscendi quam proxima facultas erat. Sed &
10 hoc quoque criminum est, quod per Cromuellum, *Angli
ingentem de Scotis parti sunt victoriam. Non parti sunt,
More, sed sine solaecismo claram sibi pepererunt; tu vero
cogita, quam Scotis cruentum illud praelium fuerit, cujus tu
mentionem tantummodo facere nequivisti, quin instabile prae
15 metu professorium caput tuum ad Prisciani pluteum nu-
tando allideres. Sed videamus porro quantum flagitium
Cromuelli fuerit, Scotos irrumpentes, imperium sibi in An-
glos jam pollicentes, nobilissimo post multas states prxlío
vicisse. *Inter has turbas, dum Cromuellus cum exercitu abest:*
20 Immo dum hostem in Angliae viscera jam progressum, jam
Parlamento ipsi imminentem Cromuellus, etiam deficientes*

whole army, (who, as he failed to alter his conduct for the better in consequence of any offices or promises of theirs, began, even at the time I speak of, to demand his punishment,) resolved to provide for his own safety by flying in the night, 5 with two attendants, the only persons privy to his escape. But more determined to fly than rightly knowing whither—at a loss where to seek refuge through the inexperience or timidity of his attendants, he made a voluntary surrender of himself to Hammond, governor of the Isle of Wight, in hopes of being 10 able to procure a ship privately, in which he might get an easy passage from that island into France or Holland. I had this account of the king's flight to the Isle of Wight from those who had the best possible opportunity of being acquainted with the whole affair thoroughly.—And it is likewise a crime, 15 it seems, that, through Cromwell, "the English gained a great victory over the Scots." Not *parti sunt*, More; but, without the solecism, *pepererunt*, gained for themselves a splendid victory. Imagine now, what a bloody battle that must have been to the Scots, when you could not even mention it, with- 20 out knocking your professorial head, made giddy by fear, against Priscian's desk! But further; let us see what great crime it was in Cromwell to have conquered, in the noblest batde which had been fought for many ages, the Scots who were meditating an irruption, and already promised them- 25 selves the supreme sway over the English. "Amidst this confusion, while Cromwell is absent with his army": Yes, while Cromwell, seeing the enemy advanced into the heart of England, threatening even the parliament, was conquering and

Cambros ad fidem reducendo, & obsidione longa defessus, ut vidit, ut vicit, ut gloriosissime fudit, Presbyterianos *tedium Cromuelli ceperat*: Hie verum dicis; dum is communem hostem cum vitae discrimine propulsat, hi militantem pro sese
5 & in acie fortiter dimicantem confictis criminibus accusant domi; & Huntingtonum centurionem quendam in ejus caput subornant. Quis tantae ingratitude sine fremitu vel audire possit? Eorundem instinctu, nequissimum genus homuncionum ac petulantissimum, tyrones tabernarum
10 ximo numero curiae fores obsident; Senatum, quicquid ipsis videtur, (quo quid indignius?) clamore suo ac minis cogunt decernere: jamque reducem a Scotis victorem fortissimum, aut exultantem, aut poenas indignissimas dantem vidissemus Camillum nostrum; nisi Fairfaxius imperator, invictissimi
15 Legati sui tantum dedecus perferendum non censuisset; nisi cunctus exercitus, & is quoque satis ingrate habitus, tam atrocia prohibuisset, Urbem itaque ingressus, urbicos nullo negotio repressit; Scotorum hostium partibus addictos merito Senatu movit: pars reliqua insolentis tabernariorum jam
20 liberata, colloquium Vectense, contra Senatus consultum editumque publicum, cum rege initum rescindit: Huntingtonus

gloriously dispersing that enemy; while he was harassing himself in reducing the revolted Welsh to obedience, and by a long siege—the presbyterians "began to be tired of Cromwell." Here you speak the truth. While he is repelling the
5 common enemy at the hazard of his life, while he is engaged in war for themselves and bravely fighting in the field, these men are accusing him at home of fabricated crimes, and suborn one captain Huntingdon, to charge him with a capital offence. Who can even listen with patience to such baseness
10 of ingratitude! At the instigation of the same persons—a most worthless and insolent set of fellows—the apprentices from the shops in great numbers beset the doors of the parliament-house; and with their clamour and threats, compel the parliament to resolve whatever they choose to dictate; and what
15 could be a greater indignity than this? And when returned, the bravest of conquerors, from the Scots, we should have seen our Camillus sent into banishment, or suffering the most unmerited of punishments, if general Fairfax had not thought it was not to be borne that such disgrace should be inflicted
20 on his invincible lieutenant; if the whole army, which was likewise treated with sufficient ingratitude, had not put a stop to conduct so atrocious. Cromwell, therefore, having entered the city, soon reduced the citizens to order, and deservedly turned out of the parliament the partisans of the hostile Scots;
25 the rest, now freed from the insults of the shopkeepers, rescinded the treaty which in contradiction to the vote of parliament, and a public declaration, had been entered into with the king, in the Isle of Wight. His accuser Huntingdon, left

autem ille accusator, impunis & sui juris relictus, tandem pœnitentia ductus, ipse sua sponte a Cromuello veniam petiit, & a quibus esset subornatus ultro fassus est. Haec fere sunt quæ fortissimo patriae liberatori, nisi ad quæ supra respondi, 5 crimina objiciuntur; quæ quid valeant videtis. Veriim ego tantum virum, deque hac republica tarn insignite meritum, si duntaxat nihil mali commisisse defendam, nihil egero; cum presertim non reipublicae solum, sed & mea quoque intersit, ut qui eadem infamia tarn prope sim conjunctus, quam opti- 10 mum eum, atque omni laude dignissimum, gentibus, quoad possum, omnibus atque saeculis demonstrare. Est *Oliverius Cromuellus* genere nobili atque illustri ortus: nomen republica olim sub regibus bene administrata clarum, religione simul orthodoxa vel restituta turn primum apud nos vel sta- 15 bilita clarius: Is matura jam atque firmata aetate, quam & privatus traduxit, nulla re magis quam religionis cultu purioris, & integritate vitae cognitus, domi in occulto creverat; & ad summa quæque tempora fiduciam Deo fretam & ingentem animum tacito pectore aluerat. Parlamento ab rege ultimi- 20 mum convocato, sui municipii suffragiis lectus Senatorium munus obtinuit; illic rectissimis sententiis consiliisque firmis-

in impunity and to his own disposal, at length repented, and of his own accord asked forgiveness of Cromwell, and without solicitation, confessed by whom he had been suborned. These are the chief crimes, with the exception of those to which I
5 have replied above, with which this magnanimous deliverer of his country has been reproached; and of what weight they are you now see.

But I shall have done nothing, if I only make it appear that this great man, who has deserved so highly of the common-
10 wealth, has done nothing wrong; when it concerns not the commonwealth alone, but myself in particular, conjoined as I am so closely with him in the same infamy, to show forth to the nations, and as far as I am able, to all ages, his transcendent merit, his sovereign worthiness of all praise. — Oliver
15 Cromwell was sprung from a noble and illustrious family. The name was famous of old under the kings for skill in the administration of public affairs; and it grew more famous in consequence of the orthodox or reformed religion being at the same period established among us for the first time. He
20 grew up in the privacy of his own family, and till his age was quite mature and settled, which he also passed in private, was chiefly known for his strict attendance upon the purer worship, and for his integrity of life. He had cherished his confidence in God, he had nursed his great spirit in silence, for
25 some extraordinary times. When a parliament was at last called by the king, he was returned member for his own town; and immediately became conspicuous for the justness of his opinions, and the firmness of his counsels. When the

simis statim innotuit: Ubi ad arma devenum est, delata sua
operS, equitum turmae pradficitur; sed bonorum virorum con-
curso, ad ejus signa undique confluentium, auctus copiis, &
gestarum rerum magnitudine & celeritate conficiendi sum-
5 mos fere duces brevi superavit. Nee mirum; sui enim noscendi
exercitatissimus miles, quicquid intus hostis erat, spes vanas,
metus, cupiditates, apud se prius aut deleverat, aut subactas
iam habuerat; in se prius imperator, sui victor, de se potissi-
mum triumphare didicerat; itaque ad externum hostem quo
10 primum die in castra venit, veteranus, & in ilia omni castrensi
militia consummatus accessit. Non est ut in his possim orati-
onis carceribus, tot urbes captas, tot praelia & quidem maxima,
in quibus nunquam victus aut fusus, Britannicum orbem to-
tum continuis victoriis peragravit, pro dignitate rerum exequi;
15 quæ justæ sane historic grande opus, & iterum quasi cam-
pum quendam dicendi, & exaequata rebus narrandi spatia de-
siderant. Sufficit hoc unicum singularis & prope divinse
virtutis indicium, tantam in eo viguisse sive animi vim atque
ingenii, sive discipline non ad militarem mod6, sed ad Chris-
20 tianam potius normam & sanctimoniam institute, ut omnes
ad sua castra tanquam ad optimum non militaris duntaxat
sciential, sed religionis ac pietatis gymnasium, vel jam bonos

appeal was made to arms, he was appointed, by his own choice, to a troop of horse; and as his force was augmented by the eager zeal of the good, who flocked from all quarters to his standard, he soon surpassed almost the greatest generals in
5 the grandeur of his achievements, and in the rapidity with which they were executed. Nor is this to be wondered at: for, he was a soldier, above all others the most exercised in the knowledge of himself; he had either destroyed, or reduced to his own control, all enemies within his own breast—vain
10 hopes, fears, desires. A commander first over himself, the conqueror of himself, it was over himself he had learnt most to triumph. Hence, he went to encounter with an external enemy as a veteran accomplished in all military duties, from the day he first entered the camp. It would not be possible for
15 me, within the limits of this discourse, to follow him with all suitable dignity, through so many captured cities, so many battles, and those of the greatest order, in none of which was he ever conquered or put to flight; but he traversed the whole circle of Britain in one continued series of victories—victories,
20 which demand the great work of a regular history; another field, as it were, on which they may be told; a space for narration equal to the things to be described. To evince his extraordinary, his little less than divine virtue, this mark will suffice; that there lived in him an energy whether of spirit
25 and genius, or of discipline, established not by military rule only, but by the rule of Christ and of sanctity, that he drew all to his camp, as to the best school both of military science, and of religion and piety—nay those who were already good and

& fortes undique attraheret, vel tales, ipsius maxime exemplo, efficeret: eosque toto belli, pads etiam nonnunquam intermedia tempore, per tot animorum & rerum vicissitudines, non largitionibus & militari licentia, sed authoritate & solo
5 stipendio, adversantibus licet multis, in officio contineret & adhuc contineat: qua quidem laude neque Gyro, neque Epaminondae, neque antiquorum ulli excellentissimo Imperatori laus ulla major attribui solet. Hinc enim exercitum, quo
10 paravit, & per omnia dicto audientem, & civibus gratum atque dilectum; & hostibus, armatis quidem formidolosum, pacatis admirabilem, quorum in agris atque sub tectis ita non gravis, & sine omni maleficio versabatur, ut cum regionum
15 suorum vim, vinolentiam, impietatem atque libidines, cogitarent, mutata sorte laeti, non nunc hostes, sed hospites advenisse crederent; praesidium bonis omnibus, terrorem malis, virtutis etiam omnis & pietatis hortatores. Sed neque te fas est
praeterire, *Fairfaxi*, in quo cum summa fortitudine summam modestiam, summam vitae sanctitatem, & natura & divinus
20 favor conjunxit: Tu harum in partem laudum evocandus tuo jure ac merito es; quanquam in illo nunc tuo secessu, quantus olim Literni Africanus ille Scipio, abdis te quoad potes;

brave, from all parts, or made them such principally by his own example; and although there were many who opposed him, retained them in their duty, (and yet retains,) during the whole period of the war, sometimes even of an intervening
5 peace, through so many changes of minds and of circumstances, not by largesses and military licence, but by his authority and their pay alone: and greater praise than this we are not wont to bestow either upon Cyrus, Epaminondas, or upon any of the first generals of antiquity. Hence it is, that no
10 one ever raised for himself a larger or better disciplined army in shorter time, obedient in all things to the word of command, welcome to the citizens and beloved by them; to its enemies in arms terrible indeed, but when reduced to peaceable subjection, the objects of their admiration: for so far
15 from being oppressive and mischievous, when quartered in their fields, and their houses, when those enemies recollected the violence, the drunkenness, the impiety and lust of their own royalists, they were happy at the change, and now thought themselves visited not by enemies, but by guests; a
20 protection to the good, a terror to the evil, the encouragers to all virtue and piety.

Nor must I forget you, Fairfax, in whom nature and the divine favour have conspired to unite the greatest modesty, the most exemplary sanctity of life, with the highest courage.
25 Your merit and your right entitle you to be called forth to receive your share of these eulogies; though in your present secession, like that Scipio Africanus of old at Linternum, you hide yourself, as much as possible, from the public view. It is

nee hostem solum, sed ambitionem, & quæ præstantissimum quemque mortalium vincit, gloriam quoque vicisti; tuisque virtutibus & præclare factis, jucundissimum & gloriosissimum per odum frueris, quod est laborum omnium & humanarum actionum vel maximarum finis; qualique otio cum antiqui Heroes, post bella & decora tuis baud majora, fruerentur, qui cos laudare conati sunt poete, desperabant se posse alia radone id quale esset digne describere, nisi eos fabularentur, coelo receptos, deorum epulis accumbere. Verum te sive
10 valetudo, quod maxime crediderim, sive quid aliud retraxit, persuasissimum hoc habeo, nihil te e radonibus reipublicæ divellere potuisse, nisi vidisses quantum libertatis conservatorem, quam firmum atque fidum Anglicanæ rei column ac munimentum in successore tuo relinqueres. Te enim salvo,
15 Cromuelle, ne Deo quidem sads confidit, qui rebus Anglicorum, satis ut salvæ sint, metuat; cum videat tarn faventem dbi, tarn evidenter opitulantem ubique Deum, Verum tibi turn soli decertanda alia bellorum pakstra erat.

Quid autem multa? res maximas, qua tu celeritate soles,
20 eadem si possum brevitate expediam. Amissa Hibernia præter unam urbem tota, tu, exercitu transmisso, uno statim

not the enemy alone, you have conquered; you have conquered ambition, and what itself conquers the most excellent of mortals, you have conquered glory; and are now enjoying, in the most delightful and glorious of retirements, your virtues and illustrious deeds, which is the end of all labours, of the greatest even of human actions—a retirement, which when the ancient heroes enjoyed after their battles and famous exploits no greater than yours, the poets who attempted their eulogies, despaired of being able to describe with appropriate dignity, but by fabling that they were received up into heaven, and sat at table with the gods. But whether you have withdrawn on account of your health, which I am most inclined to think, or whether from any other motive, of this I am fully persuaded, that nothing could have torn you from the service of the commonwealth, if you had not seen what a protector of liberty, what a firm and faithful pillar, what a rampart of England's prosperity you have left in your successor. For, while you, Cromwell, are in safety, he shows not a sufficient confidence in the supreme, who has any fears for the prosperity of England; seeing, as he must, that God so manifestly favours you, that, in all things he is your helper. But you were now left to yourself, and had to engage in a fresh struggle of battles.

But what need of many words? I will recount your principal exploits as briefly, if I can, as you are accustomed to achieve them rapidly. All Ireland was lost, with the exception only of one city, when you transported an army, and immediately, in a single battle, broke the power of the Irish. What

pradio Hibernicorum opes fregisti; reliqua indies conficiebas; cum repente ad bellumoticum revocariss. Hinc contra Scotos irruptionem cum rege suo in Angliam parantes, indefessus proficisceris; regnum illud, quod omnes reges
5 nostri octingentis annis non poterant, uno circiter anno perdomuisti, & Anglorum ditioni adjecisti; reliquas eorum copias, validissimas tamen & expeditas, per summam desperationem in Angliam turn fere praesidiis nudatam, inopina impressione facta, Vigornium usque progressas, magnis itineribus
10 assecutus, uno praelio delevisti; capta pene tota gentis nobilitate. Hinc aha pax domi: turn te, sed neque turn primum, non minus consiliis, quam belli artibus valere sensimus: id quotidie in senatu agebas, vel ut cum hoste pacta fides servaretur, vel uti ea, quæ ex republica essent, mature decernerentur.
15 Cum videres moras neeti, private quemque rei, quam publicae, attentiozem, populum queri delusum se sua spe, & potentia paucorum circumventum esse, quod ipsi toties moniti nolebant, eorum domination! finem imposuisti. Parlamentum aliud convocatur novum; concessa iis duntaxat,
20 quibus par erat, eligendi potestate; conveniunt electi; nihil

remained to be done you were dispatching daily, when you were suddenly recalled to the war in Scotland. Quitting Ireland you advance, unwearied, against the Scots, who, with their king, were preparing for an irruption upon England; 5 and in about one year, reduced, and added to the dominion of England a kingdom, which all our kings, during a period of eight hundred years, had been unable to subdue. The remains of their forces, which however were in high condition and well-equipped, marched, in their utmost despair into Eng- 10 land, which at that time was almost destitute of garrisons. You pursued them with forced marches, and overtaking them when they had advanced as far as Worcester, fell upon them suddenly, and destroyed them in a single battle; taking the chief part of their national nobility prisoners. There was now, 15 at home, a profound peace: and it was then we felt, but not then for the first time, that your power was not less in counsel than in the arts of war. In the parliament, it was your daily care to see, either that the faith of the treaty entered into with the enemy should be maintained, or that without delay such 20 resolutions should be adopted as might be for the benefit of the state. But perceiving that delays were artfully contrived; that every one was more attentive to his private interest than to the interest of the public; that the people complained they were disappointed in their expectations, and circumvented by 25 the power of a few, you put an end to their arbitrary authority, which they, though so often advised to it, had refused to do. A new parliament is called; the privilege of voting is allowed to those only, to whom it was proper to allow it; the

agunt; cum se invicem dissidiis & altercationibus diu defatigassent, animadvertentes plerique se rebus tantis exequendis, neque pares esse, neque idoneos, ipsi sese dissolvunt. Deserimur Cromuelle; tu solus superes, ad te rerum summa nostrarum rediit; in te solo consistit; insuperabili tuae virtuti cedimus cuncti, nemine vel obloquente, nisi qui aut aequales inaequalis ipse honores sibi quærit, aut digniori concessos invidet, aut non intelligit nihil esse in societate hominum magis vel Deo gratum, vel rationi consentaneum, esse in civitate nihil
10 aequius, nihil utilius, quam potiri rerum dignissimum. Eum te agnoscunt omnes, Cromuelle, ea tu civis maximus & gloriosissimus, dux publici consilii, fortissimorum exercituum Imperator, pater patriae gessisti: sic tu spontanea bonorum omnium & animitus missa voce salutaris: alios titulos te dignos
15 tua facta non norunt, non ferunt, & siiperbos illos, vulgi licet opinione magnos, merito respuunt. Quid enim est titulus, nisi definitus quidam dignitatis modus? tuae res gestae cum admirationis, turn certe titulorum modum omnem excedunt; & velut pyramidum apices coelo se condunt, populari titulo
20 rum aura excelsiores. Sed quoniam summis etiam virtutibus,

elected meet; do nothing; and having harassed one another for a while with their dissensions and altercations, and most of them being of opinion that they were unfit persons, and not equal to undertakings of such magnitude, they dissolve themselves. Cromwell, we are deserted; you alone remain; the sovereign authority of the state is returned into your hands, and subsists only in you. To your invincible virtue we all give place, all but such, who without equal ability are desirous of equal honours; who look with envy upon the honours bestowed upon others more worthy than themselves, or who know not, that there is nothing in human society more pleasing to God, or more agreeable to reason; that there is nothing more just in a state, nothing more useful, than that the most worthy should possess the sovereign power. That you are such, Cromwell, that such have been your deeds, is acknowledged by all—you, who are the greatest and most glorious of our citizens, the director of the public counsels, the leader of the bravest of armies, the father of your country: for by this title do all good men hail you with spontaneous voice sent forth from the heart. Other titles, though merited by you, your actions know not, endure not; and those proud ones, deemed great in vulgar opinion, they deservedly cast from them. For what is a tide, but a certain definite mode of dignity? Your achievements surpass every degree even of admiration, and much more do they surpass every title;—they rise above the popular atmosphere of titles, as the tops of pyramids hide themselves in the clouds. But though it can add nothing to dignity, yet as it is expedient, for virtues even the most ex-

qui honos habetur, humano quodam fastigio finiri ac terminari, non dignum est, sed tamen expedit, assumpto quodam titulo patris patriae: simillimo, non evehi te quidem, sed tot gradibus ex sublimi descendere, & velut in ordinem cogi, 5 publico commodo, & sensisti & sustinuisti; regium nomen majestate longe majore aspernatus. Et merito quidem: quod enim nomen, privatus sub jugum mittere, & ad nihilum plane redigere potuisti, eo si tantus vir factus caperere, idem pene faceres, atque si gentem aliquam Idololatram Dei veri ope 10 cum subegisses, victos abs te coleres deos. Tu igitur, Cromuelle, magnitudine ilia animi macte esto; te enim decet; tu patriae liberator, libertatis auctor, custosque idem & conservator, neque graviorem personam, neque augustiorem suscipere potes aliam; qui non modo regum res gestas, sed Heroum quoque nostrorum fabulas factis exuperasti. Cogita saepius, quam caram rem, ab quam cara parente tua, libertatem a patria tibi commendatam atque concreditam, apud te depositam habes: quod ab electissimis gentis universae viris, ilia modo expectabat, id nunc à te uno expectat, per te unum 20 consequi sperat: Reverere tantam de te expectationem, spem patriae de te unicam; reverere vultus & vulnera tot fortium virorum, quotquot, te duce, pro libertate tarn strenue decertarunt; manes etiam eorum qui in ipso certamine occubue-

alted to be finished and terminated by a sort of human summit, which is counted honour, you thought it right, and suffered yourself, for the public benefit, to assume something like a title, resembling most that of *pater patria*, the father of
5 your country; you suffered yourself not to be raised indeed, but to descend so many degrees from on high, and to be forced as it were into the ranks; despising the name of king for majesty far more majestic. And justly so: for if, after becoming so great, you should be captivated with a name, which, as a
10 private man, you were able to subjugate, to reduce to a cipher, it would be all one, as if, after subduing, by the help of the true God, an idolatrous nation, you were to worship as gods those whom you had brought under subjection. Go on therefore, Cromwell, in your wonted magnanimity; it fits you
15 well. Your country's deliverer, the founder of our liberty, and at the same time its protector, you can assume no other character more dignified or more august; for your exploits have surpassed not merely those of kings, but even those which have been fabled of our heroes. Consider often, how precious
20 a thing you hold deposited with you, and by a parent how dear—liberty, commended and entrusted to your care by your country! who, what she before expected from the choicest men of the whole nation, now expects, and hopes to attain through you alone. Respect this high expectation of you, this only
25 hope of your country. Respect the countenances and the wounds of so many brave men who, under your conduct, have fought so zealously for liberty, and the departed spirits of those, who have fallen in the struggle. Respect also what

runt: reverere exterarum quoque civitatum existimationem de nobis atque sermones; quantas res de libertate nostra, tarn fortiter parta, de nostra republica, tarn gloriose exorta sibi polliceantur: quæ si tarn cit6 quasi aborta evanuerit, profecto
5 nihil aequè dedecorosum huic genti, atque pudendum fuerit: teipsum denique reverere, ut pro qua adipiscenda libertate, tot aerumnas pertulisti, tot pericula adiisti, earn adeptus, violatam per te, aut ulla in parte imminutam aliis, ne sinas esse. Profect6 tu ipse liber sine nobis esse non potes; sic enim natura
10 comparatum est, ut qui aliorum libertatem occupat, suam ipse primus omnium amittat; seque primum omnium intelligat servire: atque id quidem non injuria. At vero, si patronus ipse libertatis, & quasi tutelarior deus, si is, quo nemo justior, nemo sanctior est habitus, nemo vir melior, quam vindicavit
15 ipse, earn postmodum invaserit, id non ipsi tantum, sed universae virtutis ac pietatis rationi perniciosum ac lethale prope- modum sit necesse est: ipsa honestas, ipsa virtus decoxisse videbitur, religionis angusta fides, existimatio perexigua in posterum erit, quo gravius generi humano vulnus, post illud
20 primum, infligi nullum poterit. Onus longe gravissimum suscepisti, quod te penitus explorabit, totum te atque intimum perscrutabitur atque ostendet, quid tibi animi, quid virium insit, quid ponderis; vivatne in te vere illa pietas, fides, justitia, animique moderatio, ob quas evectum te prae caeteris

foreign nations think and say of us; what great things they promise themselves from our liberty, which has been won with so much bravery, from our commonwealth, which has sprung up with so much glory; and which, if it should vanish
5 as soon as it has arisen, no equal disgrace and shame could fall upon this nation. Last of all, respect yourself, and suffer not that liberty, which you have gained with so many hardships, so many dangers, to be violated by yourself, or in any wise impaired by others. Indeed, without our freedom, you yourself
10 cannot be free: for such is the order of nature, that he who forcibly seizes upon the liberty of others, is the first to lose his own, is the first to become a slave: and nothing can be more just than this. But if the patron himself of liberty, and as it were, her tutelary genius—if he, than whom none is esteemed
15 a more just, a holier, or a better man, should at last offer violence to her whom he has defended, this must, of necessity, be destructive and deadly not to himself alone, but, in a manner, to the very cause of all virtue and piety. Honour and virtue themselves will appear to have faded away; henceforward,
20 religious faith will be narrowed; reputation will be a poor thing indeed; and a deeper wound than this, after that first, it would not be possible to inflict upon human kind. You have taken upon you by far the heaviest burden, which will try you thoroughly; it will search you through and through,
25 and lay open your inmost soul; it will show what is the predominant disposition of your nature, what is your strength, what is your weight; whether there is indeed in you that living piety, that faith, justice, and moderation of mind, for

Dei numine ad hanc summam dignitatem credimus. Tres Nationes validissimas consilio regere, populos ab institutis pravis ad meliorem, quam antehac, frugem ac disciplinam velle perducere, remotissimas in partes sollicitam mentem,
5 cogitationesque immittere, vigilare, praevidere, nullum laborem recusare, nulla voluptatum blandimenta non spernere, divitiarum atque potential ostentationem fugere, haec sunt ilia ardua, prae quibus bellum ludus est; haec te ventilabunt atque excutient, haec virum poscunt divino fultum auxilio, divino
10 pene colloquio monitum atque edoctum. quæ tu, & plura, sæpenumero quin tecum reputes atque animo revolvas, non dubito: uti & illud, quibus potissimum queas modis & ilia maxima perficere, & libertatem salvam nobis reddere & auctiorem. Quod meo quidem iudicio, haud alia ratione
15 rectius effeceris, quam si primum quos laborum atque discriminum comites habuisti, eosdem, quod facis, consiliorum socios cum primis adhibueris; viros sanè & modestissimos, & integerrimos, & fortissimos; quos tot mortes conspectae, tot strages ante ora editae, non ad crudelitatem, aut duriciem
20 animi, sed ad justitiam, & numinis reverentiam, & humanae sortis miserationem, ad libertatem denique eo acrius retinendam erudierunt, quo gravioribus ejus causa periculis ipsi suum caput objecere: Non illi quidem ex colluvione vulgi,

which we have thought that you above all others deserved, by the will of God, to be elevated to this sovereign dignity. To rule by your counsel three most potent nations; to be desirous of leading the people from corrupt institutions to a better plan of life and of discipline than they had before; to send out your anxious mind, your thoughts, to the remotest parts; to watch, to foresee, to cavil at no toil, to despise all the blandishments of pleasure, to shun the pomp of wealth and of power,—these are those arduous things, in comparison of which war is a play-game; these will drive against you like a mighty wind, and shake your steadiness; these require a man who is upheld by divine help, who is admonished and taught by little less than divine converse. All these things and more, I doubt not, you frequently meditate, and revolve in your mind; as likewise, by what means you may give effect to those momentous considerations, and restore to us our liberty safe, and augmented. This, in my judgment, you could in no way be more likely to accomplish, than by associating those, as you do, among the first, in your counsels, whom you had first as companions of your labours and of your dangers—men distinguished alike for their modesty, their integrity, and their courage; whom the sight of such multitudes of deaths, such multitudes of slaughters, has not taught cruelty or hardness of heart, but justice, and reverence of God, and compassion for the lot of humanity; but, in fine, to be tenacious of their liberty in proportion to the danger to which they have exposed their lives for her sake. These men were not taken from the refuse of the people, or of foreigners; they are no mob of men,

aut advenarum, non turba collectitia, sed melioris plerique notae cives, genere vel nobili, vel non inhonesto, fortunis vel amplis, vel mediocribus; quid si ipsa paupertate aliqui commendatiores? quos non praeda convocavit, sed difficillima
5 tempora, rebus maxime dubiis, sæpe adversis, ad liberandam tyrannide rempublicam excitarunt; non in tuto aut curia sermones inter se atque sententias tantum, sed manus cum hoste conserere paratos. Qu6d nisi spes semper infinitas, atque inanes persequemur, in quibus tandem mortalium sisti aut
10 confidi possit non video, si his horumque similibus fides non habebitur. Quorum fidelitatis, certissimum pignus, & indubitatum habemus, quod pro republica vel mortem oppetere, si ita sors tulisset, non recusarint; pietatis, quod implorato suppliciter dei auxilio, totiesque ab eo insigniter adjuti, a quo
15 auxilium petere, eidem gloriam tribuere omnem rerum prospere gestarum consueverint; justitiae, quod etiam regem in iudicium adduxerint, damnato parci noluerint; moderationis, quod & earn experti jam diu sumus, &, quam ipsi sibi pepere-
rere pacem, si eorundem per injuriam rumpatur, quæ mala
20 inde oritura sunt, ipsi primi sint persensuri, ipsi prima vulnera suis corporibus excepturi, deque suis omnibus fortunis atque ornamentis feliciter jam partis rursus dimicaturi; for-

but most of them citizens of the better note, either of a noble origin, or of an origin not disreputable; possessed, some of ample, others of moderate fortunes. And what if some be recommended even by their poverty? These were not called together by the hope of plunder, but were excited to the deliverance of the commonwealth from tyranny, by the difficulty of the times, when the situation of affairs was eminently critical, often adverse; prepared not only to talk and interchange opinions, in a place of safety, or in the parliament, but to join
10 in close fight with the enemy. And unless we are to be for ever in pursuit of vague and idle hopes, I see not in what men we can at last rest and confide, if we are not to have confidence in these, and such as these. Of their fidelity we have a certain, an undoubted pledge, in their not refusing to meet even death,
15 if such should be their destiny, for the public good: of their piety, in their having been accustomed, after humbly imploring the assistance of God and being often signally assisted by him, to ascribe all the glory of their success to him whom they had asked for succour: of their justice, in their having brought
20 even the king to judgment, and refused to spare him when condemned; of their moderation, since this we have ourselves long experienced; besides, if the peace which they have obtained for themselves should be broken, through their own fault, they themselves would be the first to feel the evils which
25 would thence arise, would receive on their own bodies the first wounds, would have to fight again for all those fortunes and ensigns of dignity which they had so happily won before: last of all, of their courage; for, in the recovery of their liberty,

titudinis denique, qu6d nulli unquam libertatem felicius aut fortius recuperaverint; ne arbitremur ullos alios posse diligentius conservare. Gestit clarorum virorum nomina commemorare oratio mea: te primum, Fletuode, quem ego ab
5 ipsis tyrociniiis ad hos usque militiae honores, quos nunc obtines a summis proximos, humanitate, mansuetudine, benignitate animi eundem novi; hostis fortem & imperterritum, sed & mitissimum quoque victorem sensit: Te, Lamberte, qui vix modicae dux manus, ducem Hamiltonum juvenis,
10 totius Scoticae juventutis flore ac robore circumseptum, & progredientem retardasti, & retardatum sustinuisti: Te, Desboroe, Te, Hualei, qui atrocissimas hujus belli pugnas vel audienti mihi vel legenti, inter hostes confertissimos expectati semper occurristis: Te, Overtone, mihi multis abhinc
15 annis, & studiorum similitudine, & morum suavitate, concordia plusquam fraterna conjunctissime; te Marstonensi praelio illo memorabili, pulso sinistro cornu nostro, respectantes in fuga duces stantem cum tuo pedite, & hostium impetus propulsantem inter densas utrinque caedes videre: Scotico deinde
20 bello, ut primum Cromuelli auspiciis, tuo Marte occupata Fifae littora, & patefactus ultra Sterlinium aditus est, te Scoti occi-

no men ever showed greater courage, or had greater success: and let us not suffer ourselves to think that there are any who can preserve it with greater diligence.

My speech is impatient to commemorate the names of men
5 who have risen to distinction: and first you Fleetwood, whom I have known to have been always the same in the humanity, gentleness, and benignity of your disposition, from the time you first entered upon the profession of a soldier to your obtainment of these military honours, the next only to the first;
10 and whom the enemy has found of dauntless valour, but the mildest of conquerors: and you Lambert, who, when a young man, at the head of a mere handful of men, checked the progress of the duke of Hamilton, attended with the flower and strength of the Scottish youth, and kept him at check:
15 you, Desborow, and you, Whalley, whom, whenever I heard or read of the fiercest battles of this war, I always expected, and found, among the thickest of the enemy: you Overton, who have been connected with me for these many years in a more than brotherly union, by similitude of stud-
20 ies, and by the sweetness of your manners: in that memorable battle of Marston Moor, when our left wing was routed, the chief officers looking back in their flight beheld you keeping your ground with your infantry, and repelling the attacks of the enemy, amid heaps of slain on both sides:
25 and afterwards, in the war in Scotland, no sooner were the shores of Fife occupied, under the auspices of Cromwell, with your troops, and the way opened beyond Stirling, than both the western and the northern Scots acknowledged you for the

dentales, te Boreales humanissimum hostem, te Orcades extremae domitorem fatentur. Addam & nonnullos, quos toga celebres & pacis artibus, consiliarios tibi advocasti, vel amicitia vel fama mihi cognitos; Huitlochium, Picheringum, 5 Striclandium, Sidnamum, atque Sidneium (quod ego illustre nomen nostris semper adhaesisse partibus ktor) Montacutium, Laurentium, summo ingenio ambos, optimisque artibus expolitos; aliosque permultos eximiis meritis cives, partim senatorio jampridem munere, partim militari opera insignes. 10 His & ornatissimis viris & spectatissimis civibus libertatem nostram proculdubio recte commiseris; immo quibus tutius committi possit aut concredi, haud facile quis dixerit. Deinde si ecclesiam ecclesiae reliqueris, teque ac magistratus eo onere, & dimidio simul & alienissimo, prudens levaveris; nee duas 15 potestates longe diversissimas, civilem & ecclesiasticam, siveris inter se scortari; seque invicem promiscuis ac falsis opibus in speciem quidem firmare, re autem vera labefactare ac demum subvertere: si vim omnem ab ecclesia sustuleris; vis autem nunquam aberit, quandiu pecunia, ecclesiae toxicum, veritatis 20 angina, enuntiandi evangelii merces, vi etiam ab nolentibus

humanest of enemies, and the farthest Orcades for their civilizing conqueror. I will yet add some, whom, as distinguished for the robe and arts of peace, you have nominated as your counsellors, and who are known to me either by friendship or
5 reputation: Whitlocke; Pickering; Strickland; Sydenham; and Sidney (an illustrious name, which I rejoice has steadily adhered to our side); Montague; Lawrence—both men of the first capacity, and polished by liberal studies: besides numberless other citizens, distinguished for their rare merits,
10 some for their former senatorial exertions, others for their military services.

To these accomplished men and chosen citizens you doubtless might properly commit the care of our liberty; indeed, it is not easy to say, to whom it could more safely be committed
15 or confided. After this, I could earnestly wish that you should leave the church to itself, and have the prudence to relieve yourself and the magistrates from that burden, which is one half, and at the same time, most remote from your own province; and that you should not suffer the two powers, the ec-
20 clesiastical and the civil, which are so totally distinct, to commit whoredom together, and, by their intermingled and false riches, to strengthen indeed, in appearance, but in reality to undermine, and at last to subvert one another. I could wish, that you should take away all power from the church—and
25 power will never be wanting as long as there shall be money, the poison of the church, the quinsy of truth; as long as there shall be hire for preaching the gospel, coercively collected even from those who have no disposition to pay it; that you

coacta, erit; ejeceris ex ecclesia nummularios illos, non columbas sed columbam, sanctum ipsum spiritum cauponantes. Turn si leges non tot rogaveris novas, quot abrogaveris veteres; sunt enim saepe in republica, qui multas leges ferendi, ut
5 versificatores multa carmina fundendi impetigine quadam pruriunt: sed leges quo sunt plures, eo fere sunt deteriores; non cautiones sed cautes, tu necessarias duntaxat retinueris, alias tuleris, non quæ bonos cum malis eodem jugo subjiciant, aut quibus, dum improborum fraudes praecaventur, quod
10 bonis liberum esse debet, vetatur, sed quæ in vitia tantum animadvertant, res per se licitas abutentium ob noxam, non prohibeant. Leges enim ad fraenandam malitiam solum sunt comparatae, virtutis libertas formatrix optima atque auctrix est. Deinde si juventutis institutioni ac moribus melius pro-
15 spexeris, quam est adhuc prospectum, nee dociles juxta atque indociles, gnavos atque ignavos, impensis publicis ali aequum senseris, sed jam doctis, jam bene meritis doctorum prxmia reservaveris. Turn si libere philosophari volentibus permiseris, quæ habent, sine magistelli cujuspiam privato examine,

should cast out from the church those money-changers, who sell not doves, but the dove, the holy spirit itself. Again, I could wish, that you should introduce fewer new laws, than you abrogate old ones: for there are often to be found in a
5 state men, who have a sort of diseased itching for the enactment of a multiplicity of laws, like that of versifiers for the fabrication of a multitude of verses; but laws are commonly bad, in proportion as they are numerous—acting not as warnings to men, but as rocks on which they must split. You should
10 retain only those which are necessary; should enact others; yet not such as would bring the good and the bad under the same yoke, or such as, while they provided against the knavery of the unprincipled, should, at the same time, prohibit what, to honest men, should be free from all restraint; but such as
15 should punish only actual crimes, and not forbid things, in themselves lawful, for the fault of those who abuse them: for laws have been provided only to restrain malignity; to form and increase virtue, the most excellent thing is liberty* Next, I could wish you should make a better provision for the edu-
20 cation and morals of youth, than has been yet made; and that you should feel it to be unjust, that the teachable and unteachable, the diligent and the idle, should be maintained at the public charge; and that you should reserve the rewards of the learned for those who are already proficient in learning, for
25 those whose merit is already established.—Again, it is my earnest wish, that you would give permission to those who are inclined to freedom of inquiry, to publish what they have to communicate at their own peril, without the private inquisi-

suo periculo in lucem proficere: ita enim maxime veritas efflo-
ruerit; nee semidoctorum semper sive censura, sive invidia,
sive tenuitas animi, sive superstitio aliorum inventa, omnem-
que scientiam suo modulo metietur, suoque arbitrio nobis im-
5 pertiverit. Postremo si ipse neque verum neque falsum, quic-
quid id est, audire metueris: eos autem minime omnium audi-
eris, qui sese liberos esse non credunt, nisi aliis esse liberis, per
ipsos non liceat; nee studiosius aut violentius quicquam agunt,
quam ut fratrum non corporibus modo sed conscientis quo-
10 que vincula injiciant; pessimamque omnium tyrannidem, vel
pravarum consuetudinum vel opinionum suarum & in rem-
publicam & in ecclesiam inducant; tu ab eorum parte semper
steteris, qui non suam tantummodo sectam aut factionem, sed
omnes aequae cives, aequali jure liberos esse in civitate arbitran-
15 tur oportere. Haec sicui satis libertas non est, quæ quidem a
magistratibus exhiberi potest, is mihi ambitionis atque tur-
barum, quam libertatis ingenuae studiosior videtur; praeser-
tim cum agitatus tot factionibus populus, ut post tempestatem,
cum fluctus nondum resederunt, statum illum rerum opta-
20 bilem atque perfectum, ipse non admittat.

Nam & vos, o cives, quales ipsi sitis ad libertatem vel acqui-
rendam vel retinendam baud parvi interest: nisi libertas vestra
ejusmodi sit, quæ neque parari armis, neque auferri possit,

tion of any magisterial censor: for nothing could contribute so much to the growth of truth; nor would all science be for ever measured out to us in the bushel, and be bestowed at the good pleasure of the half-learned, whether arising from their
5 censure, their envy, their narrow-mindedness, or from their having detected superstition in others. Lastly, it is my fervent wish, that you should not be afraid to listen either to truth or falsehood, of whatever description that may be; but that you should listen the least of all to those, who never fancy that
10 themselves are free, unless they deprive others of their freedom; who labour at nothing with so much zeal and earnestness, as to enchain not the bodies only, but the consciences of their brethren; and to introduce into church and state the worst of all tyrannies—the tyranny of their own misshapen
15 customs and opinions. May you ever take part with those, who think it just, that not their own sect or faction alone, but all the citizens alike should have an equal right to be free. Should any one think this liberty, which may be dispensed by the magistrates, to be not enough, such a man seems to me to
20 have his thoughts employed more about ambition and disturbance, than a generous liberty; and the more, as, notwithstanding the people have been agitated with so many factions, as after a tempest before the waves have yet subsided, he refuses to admit so desirable and perfect a state of things.

25 And as for you, citizens, it is of no small concern, what manner of men ye are, whether to acquire, or to keep possession of your liberty. Unless your liberty be of that kind, which can neither be gotten, nor taken away by arms; and that alone

ea autem sola est, quæ pietate, justitia, temperantia, verâ denique virtute nata, altas atque intimas radices animis vestris egerit, non deerit profect6 qui vobis istam, quam vi atque armis quæsivisse gloriâmini, etiam sine armis cito eripiat.

5 Multos bellum auxit, quos pax minuit: si perfuncti bello, pacis studia neglexeritis, si bellum pax vestra, atque libertas, bellum tantummod6 vestra virtus est, vestra summa gloria, invenietis, mihi credite, ipsam pacem vobis infestissimam; pax ipsa vestrum bellum longe difficillimum, & quam putastis

10 libertatem, servitus vestra erit. Nisi per veram atque sinceram in Deum atque homines pietatem, non vanam atque verbosam, sed efficacem & operosam, superstitiones animis, religionis verae ac solidae ignoratione ortas, abegeritis, habebitis, qui dorso atque cervicibus vestris, tanquam jumentis inside-

15 bunt; qui vos etiam victores bello suam veluti praedam sub hasta non bellica nundinabuntur; & ex ignorantia & superstitione vestra, uberem quæstum facient. Nisi avaritiam, ambitionem, luxuriam mentibus, immo familiis quoque vestris luxum expuleritis, quem tyrannum foris & in acie quærendum

20 credidistis eum domi, eum intus vel duriorum sentietis, immo multi indies tyranni ex ipsis præcordiis vestris intolerandi pululabunt. Hos vincite in primis, haec pacis militia est, hae sunt victoriae, difficiles quidem, at incruentae, illis bellicis &

is such, which, springing from piety, justice, temperance, in fine, from real virtue, shall take deep and intimate root in your minds; you may be assured, there will not be wanting one, who, even without arms, will speedily deprive you of
5 what it is your boast to have gained by force of arms. Many were made greater by the war, whom the peace has again made less. If, after putting an end to the war, you neglect the arts of peace; if war be your peace and liberty, war alone your virtue, your highest glory, you will find, believe me, that
10 your greatest enemy is peace itself; peace itself will be by far your hardest warfare, and what you think liberty will prove to be your slavery. Unless by real and sincere devotion to God and man, not an idle and wordy, but an efficacious, an operative devotion, you drive from your minds superstition, which
15 originates in an ignorance of true and substantial religion, you will not want those who will sit upon your backs and upon your necks, as if you were beasts of burden; who, though you are the victors in the war, will sell you, though by no military auction, as their plunder to the highest bidder; and will make
20 an excellent market of your ignorance and superstition. Unless you banish avarice, ambition, luxury from your thoughts, and all excess even from your families, the tyrant, whom you imagined was to be sought abroad, and in the field, you will find at home, you will find within, and that a more inexorable
25 one; yea, tyrants without number will be daily engendered in your own breasts, that are not to be borne. Conquer these first; this is the warfare of peace; these are victories, hard, it is true, but bloodless; more glorious far than the warlike and

cruentis longe pulchriores; nisi hie quoque victores eritis, ilium modo in acie hostem atque tyrannum, aut non omnino aut frustra vicistis: nam pecuniae vim maximam in aerarium inferendi rationes posse calidissimas excogitare, pedestres
5 atque navales copias impigre posse instruere, posse cum legatis exterorum caute agere, societates & fcedera perite contrahere, si qui majus atque utilius ac sapientius in republica existimavistis esse, quam incorrupta populo judicia praestare, afflictis per injuriam atque oppressis opem ferre, suum cuique
10 jus expeditum reddere, quanto sitis in errore versati, turn ser6 nimis perspicietis, cum ilia magna repente vos fefellerint, *hxc* parva vestro nunc iudicio & neglecta adversa turn vobis & exitio fuerint. Quin & exercituum & sociorum, quibus confiditis, fluxa fides, nisi justitiae sola auctoritate retineatur: &
15 opes atque honores, quos plerique sectantur, facile dominos mutant: ubi virtus, ubi industria, & laborum tolerantia plus viget, eo transfugiunt, & ignavos deserunt. Sic gens gentem urget, aut sanior pars gentis corruptiorem proturbat: sic vos reges dejecistis. Si vos in eadem vitia prolabi, si illos imitari,
20 eadem sequi, easdem inanitates aucupari ceperitis, vos profecto regii estis, vel eisdem adhuc hostibus, vel aliis vicissim

the bloody. If ye are not the victors here also, that enemy and tyrant, whom you so late have conquered in the field, you have either not conquered at all, or have conquered to no purpose: for, if, to be able to devise the subtlest expedients for
5 filling the treasury; if, to furnish out sea and land forces, with the utmost expedition; if, to treat warily with the ambassadors of foreign states; to enter, with dexterity, into coalitions and treaties, be accounted by you more grand, more useful, more wise in a state, than to administer uncorrupted justice
10 to the people; than to succour the oppressed, and those who are injuriously afflicted; than to give to every man his free, unshackled right—when you have suddenly found those grand things to be delusive, and the things which are now thought little and are neglected by you shall prove adverse and de-
15 structive; it will then be too late for you to discover how great has been your error. Again, the fidelity of the armies and adherents, in whom ye confide, is uncertain, unless it be maintained by the authority of justice alone: and wealth and honours, the objects of pursuit to most men, easily change masters.
20 Where virtue, where industry, and patience of labour are in greatest vigour, thither do they take their flight; the indolent they forsake. Thus nation presses on nation; or the sounder part of a nation thrusts out the more corrupt. Thus have you thrust out the royalists. If you suffer yourselves to turn aside
25 to the same vices; to imitate them; to follow the same courses; to hunt after the same vanities, you will, in effect, be royalists yourselves, and in your turn will lay yourselves open to these, either to the same as have been hitherto your enemies, or to

opportuni; qui iisdem ad Deum precibus, eadem patientia, integritate, solertia freti, qua vos prim⁶ valuistis, depravatos nunc, & in regium luxum atque socordiam prolapsos, merito subjugabunt. Turn ver⁶, quod miserum est, videbimini, plane
5 quasi Deum vestri poenituisset, pervasisse ignem ut fumo pereatis: quantae nunc admirationi, tantae tunc omnibus contemp-
tioni eritis; hoc solum quod aliis fortasse, non vobis, prodesse in posterum queat, salutare documentum relicturi, quantas
res vera virtus & pietas efficere potuisset, cum ficta & adum-
10 brata, duntaxat belle simulando, & aggredi tantas, & progressus in iis tantos per vos facere valuerit. Non enim, si propter vestram sive imperitiam, sive inconstantiam, sive improbitatem tarn praeclare facta male cesserunt, idcirco viris
melioribus minus post haec vel licebit vel sperandum erit. Sed
15 liberare vos denuo tarn facile corruptos nemo, ne Cromuellus quidem, nee tota, si revivisceret, Brutorum natio liberatorum, aut si velit, possit, aut si possit, velit. Quid enim quisquam
vobis libera suffragia & eligendi quos vultis in senatum potestatem turn assereret, an ut suae quisque factionis homines per
20 urbes, aut qui conviviis unctius vos, & maioribus poculis per municipia colonos ac rusticos exceperit, eum quantumvis in-

others; who, trusting to the same prayers to God, the same patience, integrity, and skill, by which you first prevailed, will deservedly bring you under the yoke, corrupted as you then will be, and sunk into royalist excess and folly. Then, as
5 if God had utterly repented him of you, which is a miserable thing, you will appear to have passed through the fire only to perish in the smoke; and then you will become as much the contempt of mankind, as you are now their admiration; and will leave behind you this only salutary lesson, which here-
10 after may haply be useful to others, though not to yourselves, —how great achievements true virtue and piety could perform, when the false counterfeit of these qualities, merely well dissembled, could, in your case, attempt so much and succeed so far in their attempt. But if, either through your
15 inexperience, or inconstancy, or want of principle, achievements so splendid have turned out unfortunately, they will not be the less feasible, on that account, or the less likely to succeed, for the time to come, in the hands of better men. But no man, not Cromwell himself, not the whole nation
20 of those deliverers the Brutuses, if it should revisit us, either could, if it would, or would, if it could, deliver you again, if you are thus easily corrupted. For, to what purpose, in such a case, would any one stand up in your behalf, for freedom of suffrage, and for the privilege of returning whom
25 you please to parliament?—that every candidate may entertain the men of his own party in the cities? or, that you may elect the man, however unfit, who should treat you with the most lavish feastings, or the farmers and countrymen, in

dignum eligere possitis? ita non prudentia, non autoritas, sed factio & sagina, aut ex tabernis urbicis caupones & institores reipublicae, aut ex pagis bubulcos, & vere pecuarios senatores, nobis creaverit. Illis nempe rempublicam commendaret, quibus vel rem privatam nemo committeret? illis aerarium & vectigalia qui rem suam turpiter prodegere? illis publicos redditus, quos depeculentur, quos ex publicis privates reddant? an legislatores ut illi extemplo gentis universal fiant, qui ipsi quid lex, quid ratio, quid fas aut jus, rectum aut curvum, licitum aut illicitum sit, nunquam intellexerint? qui potestatem omnem in violentia, dignitatem in superbia atque fastidio positam existiment? Qui in Senatu nihil prius agant, quam ut amicis pravè gratificentur, inimicis memores adversentur? qui propinquos sibi ac necessarios, tributis imperandis, bonis proscribendis, per provincias substituant, homines plerosque viles ac perditos, qui suarum ipsi auctionum sectores, grandem exinde pecuniam cogant, coactam intervertant, rempublicam fraudent, provincias expilent, se locupletent, ad opulentiam atque fastum ex mendicitate hesterna ac sordibus repentini emergant? quis tales ferat servos furaces, dominorum vicarios? quis ipsos furum dominos ac patronos, libertatis idoneos fore custodes crediderit, aut illiusmodi curatoribus

the borough-towns, with the greatest quantity of drink ? Thus would faction and cramming, not prudence and authority, create for us the men who are to watch over the state; and we should have victuallers and hucksters from the city-shops, and
5 herdsmen and graziers from the villages, for our senators. That is, the concerns of the public would be entrusted to those, to whom nobody would entrust his private concerns—the treasury and taxes to such as had shamefully squandered their own substance, the public revenue to those who would be
10 guilty of peculation, who would convert public into private property. Can men become all at once the legislators of a nation, who have never learnt what law means, what reason, what is right or wrong, lawful or unlawful ? Who think that all power consists in violence; dignity, in pride and haughti-
15 ness ? Whose first acts in the parliament, are to confer corrupt favours on their friends, and to take care to thwart their enemies ? Who appoint in the provinces their relations and dependents to superintend the assessments, and to sequester property—most of them men of worthless character and des-
20 perate fortunes, who from being the purchasers at their own auctions, amass immense sums of money, which they convert to their own use, and thus defraud the public, plunder the provinces, enrich themselves, and from the beggary and meanness of yesterday, suddenly emerge to opulence and
25 pride? Who can bear such thievish servants, their masters deputies? Who would believe that the very masters and patrons of thieves could be proper guardians of liberty, or think himself made one jot the more free by such adminis-

reipublicae (quingenti licet consueto numero sint ex municipiis omnibus hunc in modum electi) pilo se factum liberio-rem putet, dim & libertatis ipsi custodes & quibus custoditur tarn pauci turn sint futuri, qui libertate uti atque frui vel sciant
5 vel digni sint? Libertate autem indigni, quod omittendum postremd non est, erga ipsos primum liberatores ingratissimi fere existunt. Quis nunc talium pro libertate pugnare, aut vel minimum adire periculum velit? non convenit, non cadit in tales esse liberos; ut ut libertatem strepant atque jactent, servi
10 sunt & domi & foris, nee sentiunt; & ciam senserint tandem, & velut ferocientes equi fraenum indignantes, non verae libertatis amore (quam solus vir bonus recte potest appetere) sed superbia & cupiditatibus pravis impulsu, jugum excutere conabuntur, etiamsi armis rem saepius tentaverint, nihil tamen pro-
is ficient; mutare servitutem fortasse poterunt, exuere non poterunt. Id quod Romanis etiam antiquis luxu jam fractis ac diffluentibus perssepe accidit; recentioribus multo magis; cum longo post tempore Crescentii Nomentani auspiciis, & postea duce Nicolao Rentio, qui se tribunum plebis nomina-
20 verat, antiquam renovare gloriam Romanam, & rempublicam restituere affectarent. Scitote enim, ne forte stomachemini, aut quemquam praeter vosmetipsos inculpare possitis, scitote, quemadmodum esse liberum idem plane est atque esse

trators of the state (though the customary number of five hundred should be returned, after this manner, from the counties and towns) when there would be so few among the very guardians of liberty, and by whom it is guarded, who
5 could either know how to use, or could be worthy to enjoy it? But last of all, it is not to be forgotten, that those who are unworthy of liberty are commonly the first to show their ingratitude towards our deliverers. Who would now fight, or incur the least danger, for the liberty of such men? It does
10 not suit, it does not fall to the lot of such men to be free. However they may bawl and boast about liberty, they are slaves both at home and abroad, and yet perceive it not; and when they shall at length perceive it, they will disdain the curb like headstrong horses, and from the impulse of pride and little
15 desires, not from a love of genuine liberty (which a good man alone can properly attain) they will try to shake off the yoke. They may make the same attempt by arms again and again; but they will make no progress: they may change their slavery perhaps; but they will never be able to shake it off. This is
20 what very frequently happened even to the ancient Romans, after they had become effeminate and unnerved through luxury: and much more did it happen to the modern Romans, when, after a long interval they affected—under the auspices of Crescentius Nomentanus, and afterwards of Nicolaus Ren-
25 this, who got himself nominated tribune of the people—to renew their ancient glory, and to restore the republic. For know, that you may not feel resentment, or be able to blame any body but yourselves, know, that as to be free is precisely

pium, esse sapientem, esse justum ac temperantem, sui providum, alieni abstinentem, atque exinde demum magnanimum ac fortem, ita his contrarium esse, idem esse atque esse servum; solitoque Dei judicio & quasi talione justissima fit,
5 ut quæ gens se regere seque moderari nequit, suisque ipsa se libidinibus in servitutem tradidit, ea aliis, quibus nollet, dominis tradatur; nee libens modo, sed invita quoque serviat. Quod etiam & jure & natura ipsa sancitum est; ut qui impos sui, qui per inopiam mentis aut furorem suas res recte admini-
10 strare nequit, in sua potestate ne sit; sed tanquam pupillus, alieno dedatur imperio; nedum ut alienis negotiis, aut reipublicae praeficiendus sit. Qui liberi igitur vultis permanere, aut sapite imprimis, aut quamprimum respiscite: si servire durum est, atque nolitis, rectae rationi obtemperare discite,
15 vestrum esse compotes; postremo factionibus, odiis, superstitionibus, injuriis, libidinibus ac rapinis invicem abstinete. Id nisi pro virili vestra parte feceritis, neque Deo neque hominibus, ne vestris quidem jam nunc liberatoribus, idonei poteritis videri, penes quos libertas & reipublicae gubernatio, &
20 imperandi aliis, quod tarn cupide vobis arrogatis, potestas relinquenda sit: cum tutore potius aliquo rerumque vestrarum fideli ac forti curatore tanquam pupilla gens, turn quidem

the same thing as to be pious, wise, just and temperate, careful of one's own, abstinent from what is another's, and thence, in fine, magnanimous and brave—so, to be the opposite of these, is the same thing as to be a slave; and by the wonted judgment, and as it were by the just retribution of God, it comes to pass, that the nation, which has been incapable of governing and ordering itself, and has delivered itself up to the slavery of its own lusts, is itself delivered over, against its will, to other masters—and whether it will or no, is compelled to serve. For this we have the sanction of law, and of nature herself; since he who has no command of himself, who, either through imbecility or derangement of mind, is unable to manage properly his own affairs, is not left at his own disposal; but, like a ward, is given up to the direction of another; and much less is he set to manage other people's affairs, or the affairs of a state. Do you, therefore, who have the wish to continue free, either begin with being wise, or repent without delay. If it be hard, if it be against the grain, to be slaves, learn to obey right reason, to be masters of yourselves; in fine, keep aloof from factions, hatreds, superstitions, injuries, lusts, and plunders. Unless you do this to the utmost of your power, you will be thought neither by God nor man, not even by those who are now your deliverers, to be fit persons in whose hands to leave liberty, the government of the commonwealth, and what you arrogate to yourselves with so much eagerness, the government of others, when like a nation in pupillage, you would then want rather a tutor, and a faithful and courageous superintendent of your own concerns.

indigeatis. Ad me quod attinet, quocunque res redierit, quam ego operam meam maxime ex usu reipublicae futuram iudicavi, haud gravatim certe, & ut spero, haud frustra impendi; medque arma pro libertate, non solum ante fores extuli, sed
5 etiam iis ita late sum usus, ut factorum minime vulgarium jus atque ratio, & apud nostros & apud externos explicata atque defensa, bonis certe omnibus probata, & ad meorum civium summam laudem, & posterorum ad exemplum praeclare constet. Si postrema primis non satis responderint, ipsi viderint;
10 ego quæ eximia, quæ excelsa, quæ omni laude prope majora fuere, iis testimonium, prope dixerim monumentum, perhibui, haud cito interitum; & si aliud nihil, certe fidem meam liberavi. Quemadmodum autem poeta is qui Epicus vocatur, si quis paulo accuratior, minimeque abnormis est, quern He-
is roem versibus canendum sibi proponit, ejus non vitam omnem, sed unam fere vitae actionem, Achillis puta ad Troiam, vel Ulissis reditum, vel Æneae in Italiam adventum ornandum sibi sumit, reliquas praetermittit; ita mihi quoque vel ad officium, vel ad excusationem satis fuerit, unam saltern popu-
20 larium meorum heroice rem gestam exornasse; reliqua praetereo; omnia universi populi præstare quis possit? si post tarn fortia facinora foedius deliqueritis, si quid vobis indignum commiseritis, loquetur profecto posteritas, & iudicium feret;

As for myself, to whatever state things may return, I have performed, and certainly with a good will, I hope not in vain, the service which I thought would be of most use to the commonwealth. It is not before our own doors alone that I have
5 borne my arms in defence of liberty; I have wielded them on a field so wide, that the justice and reason of these which are no vulgar deeds, shall be explained and vindicated alike to foreign nations and to our own countrymen; and by all good men shall no doubt be approved; and shall remain to the matchless
10 renown of my fellow-citizens, and as the brightest example for after-ages. If our last actions should not be sufficiently answerable to the first, it is for themselves to see to it. I have celebrated, as a testimony to them, I had almost said, a monument, which will not speedily perish, actions which were
15 glorious, lofty, which were almost above all praise; and if I have done nothing else, I have assuredly discharged my trust. But as the poet, who is styled epic, if he adhere strictly to established rules, undertakes to embellish not the whole life of the hero whom he proposes to celebrate in song, but, usually,
20 one particular action of his life, as for example, that of Achilles at Troy, or the return of Ulysses, or the arrival of Æneas in Italy, and leaves alone the rest; so likewise will it suffice for my duty and excuse, that I have at least embellished one of the heroic actions of my countrymen. The rest I pass by: for who
25 could do justice to all the great actions of an entire people? If, after achievements so magnanimous, ye basely fall off from your duty, if ye are guilty of any thing unworthy of you, be assured, posterity will speak, and thus pronounce its judg-

jacta strenue fundamenta fuisse, praeclara initia immo plus quam initia; sed qui opus exaedificarent, qui fastigium im-
ponerent, non sine commotione quadam animi desiderabit;
tantis incoeptis, tantis virtutibus, non adfuisse perseverantiam
5 dolebit; ingentem gloriae segetem, & maximarum rerum ge-
rendarum materiam praebitam videbit, sed material defuisse
viros: non defuisse qui monere recta, hortari, incitare, qui
egregie turn facta, turn qui fecissent, condecorare, & victuris
in omne aevum celebrare laudibus potuerit.

FINIS.

ment: The foundation was strongly laid, the beginning, nay more than the beginning, was excellent; but it will be inquired, not without a disturbed emotion, who raised the superstructure, who completed the fabric! To undertakings so
5 grand, to virtues so noble, it will be a subject of grief that perseverance was wanting. It will be seen that the harvest of glory was abundant; that there were materials for the greatest operations, but that men were not to be found for the work; yet, that there was not wanting one, who could give good
10 counsel; who could exhort, encourage; who could adorn, and celebrate, in praises destined to endure forever, the transcendent deeds, and those who performed them.

The End.

NOTES

DEFENSIO SECUNDA

THE title-page of the *Defensio Secunda* bears the date 1654. A reprint of this edition appeared at The Hague in the course of the same year—*Ex Typographia Adriani Vlacq.* The present text has been prepared from photostats of the Columbia University Library copy of the original London edition. All corrections made in the *Errata* have been incorporated into the text, but are not listed in the following notes.

PAGE 14

—22 vera] vera

PAGE 16

—9 cum primis] cumprimis

PAGE 18

—10 contra humana;] contraliumanse

PAGE 28

—19 extrahere,] extrahere

PAGE 30

—2 vacat,] vacat

PAGE 34

—9 licuit,] licuit

PAGE 40

—16 causa publica] causa publica

PAGE 42

—9 epistolam cum] epistolam, cum —10 rogabat] rogabat,
gratia] gratia, —12 voluerint] volue- (end of line) erint (begin-
ning of next line)

PAGE 54

—9 teneat,] teneat —II altera] altera —19 carnibus]
carnibus,

PAGE 66

—4 propugnatorem?] propugnatorem.

PAGE 70

—2 ipsa gloria] ipsa gloria —4 quanta] quanta

PAGE 72

—4 discrucior] discrutior

PAGE 76

—3 oculos] oculos, —12 lingua] lingua

PAGE 82

—12 optime] optime

PAGE 86

—14 injuria] injuria

PAGE 88

—5 impudentia tua] impudentia tua 5—6 tua fami] tua fama
—6 mala] mala nociturum] nosciturum

PAGE 90

—9 horrescant] horescant —nAbde,] Abde —13 audeas]
audias

PAGE 92

—4 sunt;] sunt, —5 ratio,] ratio —11 ceventem, More]
ceventem more

PAGE 94

—I audeas] audias —7 causa] causa

PAGE 96

—14 Ea] Ea —I4 legibus,] legibus —17Audite,] Audite

PAGE 98

—18 tota ilia] tota ilia

PAGE 100

—16 arriperetur] arriperetur, —I7prseceps] prseceps

PAGE 102

—6 fama] fama

PAGE 106

—7ulla] ulla

PAGE 108

—23 reppererim] repererim

PAGE 112

—14. *Academia*] *Academia*

PAGE 114

—15 solemne] solehe —21 scelerate] scelerate —23 vide,
inquam,] vide inquam —23—24 subversa] subversa —24
Salmasiana] Salmasiana

PAGE 116

—15 una] una

PAGE 118

—4 dicta] dicta, 15-16 probatissima] probatissima —21
cum] cum

PAGE 120

—2 percepta] percepta —13 gratia] gratia

PAGE 122

—i9Florentia] Florentia —23 Roma] Roma

PAGE 124

—4 gratia] gratia

PAGE 130

—6 Apologia] Apologia

PAGE 132

—3 tota] tota Mosaica] Mosaica

PAGE 136

—4 mea] mea

PAGE 138

—23 *maxime*\ *maxime*

PAGE 142

—I7capitis] capitis,

PAGE 144

—4 'parricidis\ faricidis —5 te] te, —12 etay[^]/ar[^]] *efayxto*TM —21 concubitus] concubitus,

PAGE 146

—I locupletes] locupletes, —IQ *invecta*} *invecta*

PAGE 148

—I More] More

PAGE 150

—I3accepta] accepta summa] summa •—i6suae] suae,

PAGE 152

—9 sua] sua —II agmine] agmine, —17 *virtute*\ *virtuti*

PAGE 156

—5 perfugarum] per fugarum —6 quas] quas, causa] causa

—8 sempiternae] sempiternae —9 familia] familia —22

providentia] providentia

PAGE 158

—2 tantum] tantum —13 benevolentia] benevolentia

PAGE 160

—5 merito] merito

PAGE 162

—6 meritoria] meritorias

PAGE 166

—losanctius] sanctius

PAGE 172

—7 effutiret] eflFutiret, —I2eadem] eadem —21 dedita

opera] dedita opera

PAGE 176

—9 venerea] venerea

PAGE 178

—17 monitis,] monitis

PAGE 182

—12 ccelitus] ccelitus,

PAGE 184

—8 nostras] nostras,

PAGE 186

—9 ilia] ilia —10 victoria] victoria —17 locum] loco

PAGE 188

—iQsententia] sententia

PAGE 190

—7 amplectuntur;] amplectuntur?

PAGE 192

—4cogito?] cogito.

PAGE 194

—iiGenevensi] Genevense —19 maxime\ maxime

PAGE 198

—3 eadem data] eadem data —lounde] unde —17 sane]

sane

PAGE 200

—6 discipulus] discipulus —16 relinquetur.\ relinquetur

PAGE 202

—I fusius] fusius —7 ilia] ilia —11 Maria] Maria

Elizabetha] Elizabetha

PAGE 204

—6 natura] natura —11 sua] sua —I4fuga] fuga

PAGE 206

•—7 prudentia] prudentia —11 Presbyterian!] presbyteriani

PAGE 210

—I longa] longa

PAGE 212

—2 sua] sua —9 eadem infamia] eadem infamia —12

republica] republica —13 administrate] administrata —14

orthodoxa] orthodoxa restituta] restituta stabilita] stabilita

—15matura] matura firmata] firmata —16 nulla] nulla

PAGE 214

—I delata sua] delata sua —2 opera] opera

PAGE 216

—4licentia] licentia —15mutata] mutata —21 jure]

jure,

PAGE 218

—20 eadem] eadem

PAGE 220

—i o tota] tota —19 concessa] concessa

PAGE 222

—3 neque] neque —loaequius,] asquius

PAGE 226

—9 natura] natura —23 fides,] fides

PAGE 228

—I summam] summam. —3 antehac] ante hac —14 alia]
alia —22 causa] causa,

PAGE 230

—3 ipsa] ipsa —6 rempublicam] republ. •—14 totiesque]
totiesque

PAGE 234

—3 amicitia] amicitia —4 fama] fama —17 firmare,]
firmare

PAGE 238

—8 violentius] violentius

PAGE 240

—7-8 invenietis,] invenietis

PAGE 242

—14 sola] sola

PAGE 244

—I eadem patientia] eadem patientia —2 solertia] solertia
qua] qua

PAGE 246

—18 locupletent,] locupletent

PAGE 248

—I3superbia] superbia

PAGE 250

—4Justissima] justissima •—I7vestra] vestra

NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

CHANGES in the English translation have been made only in cases where the meaning of the original translator's English is different from the meaning of Milton's Latin. No attempt has been made to add elegance or to supply omissions of phrases which do not alter the meaning of the text. Notes are here supplied only in the cases of puns or of literary allusions so tangible as to carry a certain connotation for the Latin reader.

PAGE 31

—16 *Morus* (*pup6\$*) signifies 'fool and profligate.'

PAGE 33

—12—13 An indecent but effective pun. " . . . to engraft a *Morus* ('mulberry' or 'More') in a *figus* ('fig' or 'feminine genital'), thence to raise *sycomori* ('fig-mulberries' or 'fig-Mores').

PAGE 55

—22—28 Latin authors speak of bad literature as useful only for wrapping fish. Martial, for example, hopes his book will not be put to such use (4.86.8: *nee scombris tunicas dabis molestas*).

PAGE 57

—13—14 The *impression* of the book makes a pun with *compression* of Pontia.

PAGE 63

—27 The passage in Apollonius is 2.181-184.

PAGE 68

—15—20 The passage in the *Iliad* is 9.411—416.

PAGE 74

—3—9 The passages from Euripides are *Orestes* 795 and *Hercules Furens* 1398, 1402.

PAGE 81

—12—13 The allusion is to Horace, *Satires* 2.6.38—39:

*Tune, Syrii Dama, aut Dionysi filius, audes
deicere e saxo civis aut trad ere Cadmo.*

The sense of these lines is: "Will you, a mere freedman, (the names are typical slave names) dare execute or deliver to the executioner (Cadmus) citizens free-born?"

—17 Oscan is a primitive Italic dialect. 'Croaking' (*coaxare*) is an allusion to the chorus of Aristophanes' *Frogs*.

—27 Orbilius was Horace's martinet school-master (Horace, *Epistles* 2.1.70-71).

PAGE 83

—21—85, 5 The reference is to Quintus of Smyrna (or Calabria) 5.139—164. The quotation is 5.157, 162—164.

PAGE 89

—13 Literally, 'from Pontia though she be with hair*. The form of the name is reminiscent of Pontius Pilate, a contrast is formed with 'shaven* (line 11), and allusion is made to the custom of the ancients that courtesans were depilated.

PAGE 113

•—15-18 In Psalms 22.6 David says: "But I am a worm and no man." In Isaiah 66.24 occurs the phrase, "their worm shall not die."

PAGE 115

—27 *Rem publicam* means 'commonwealth' as well as 'public thing'.

PAGE 117

—8 Curius is a Roman name which became an appellative for a bold and moderate man.

PAGE 139

—20 The use of the Greek word for 'hold your peace' is a definite allusion, with an insulting connotation, to Mark 1.25.

PAGE 143

—6 The Greek word employed is reminiscence of Acts 17.18.

—7 *morigeranti* means 'accommodating' or 'More-bearing'.

—14—17 The allusion is to the ancient modes of punishing adulterers.

PAGE 147

—ii The unusual word for 'alien' (*exoticus* = *keuTiK.6s*) means 'heathen' in ecclesiastical writers.

PAGE 157

—8 *Mores* carries the added meaning of 'fools'.

PAGE 161

—16 Salmoneus was punished by Jupiter for presuming to make artificial thunder.

PAGE 167

—21—169, 6 The citation (partly verbatim, partly otherwise, as indicated) is from *Pro Plancio* 93, 94.

PAGE 177

—25 The proverbially bad Annals of Volusius are called by Catullus (36.1) *cacata charta*.

—28 Lerna was the bog which sheltered the monster which Hercules slew.

PAGE 183

—21-22 Romans 14.4.

—24-25 Psalms 69.10.

PAGE 197

—26-199, I Cicero, *Pro Rabirio* 19.

PAGE 206

—15 *omnis in eum fata cuditur* is a reminiscence of Terence, *Eunuch* 381.

PAGE 209

—21 Priscian (flourished at the beginning of the sixth century) was the most used Latin grammarian. A sculpture on Chartres cathedral represents Grammar and Priscian.

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